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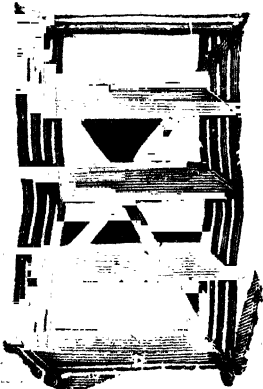
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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1935

## PROUST AND RUSKIN

ANDRÉ MAUROIS

MARCEL Proust is, I believe, among those French writers of the present age, who have rapidly won extensive fame both in England and America. That triumph is largely due to the novelty of Proust's achievement. It would nevertheless have been less easy if Proust had not possessed certain peculiarities of style and thought which he owed to his intimacy with some great English writers and which make of him, for the Anglo-Saxon reader, a monster less surprising. A French critic has just remarked that Proust is the greatest of English romancers; the phrase seems to me to be a brilliant paradox rather than a profound truth because, by other tests, Proust attaches himself clearly to the French models like Saint-Simon and also more subtly to models like Flaubert and Balzac as well. What is true is that among the masters whom he had studied so minutely for the style of writing, for constructing a book, or conceiving a character, many were English. "It is curious," writes he, "that there has been nothing in literature which has influenced me so much as the literature, English and American, in all the widely varying kinds from George Eliot to Hardy, from Stevenson to Emerson."

Of all the intellectual friendships of Proust, the most intellectual and the most direct has undoubtedly been that which links him to Ruskin, because he has translated two of Ruskin's books, the *Bible of Amiens* and *Sesame and Lilies*, adding notes to his translations and introducing them by prefaces which are very little known (specially that of the *Bible of Amiens*) and perhaps extremely important because they already contain all the aesthetic doctrines of Proust. I would try to show here why the affinity between Proust and Ruskin was natural and how an exact knowledge of Ruskin's style has contributed to make Proust the marvellously original writer that he has been.

Proust himself has shown that the secret of creative originality may not be analysed by merely carefully collecting and comparing an author's peculiar characteristics: "If the critic does not know how to unravel some of the singular and essential traits, he may write all the books in the world on Ruskin the man, the writer, the prophet, the artist, all his constructions may be very high, but they are away from his subject. They may convey the literary situation of the critic to nakedness, but still they would not have, for the understanding of the work, the exact precision of a just shade, however light."

In the case of Ruskin and Proust, many of these characteristics are common to both. Since in France some men like Robert de la Sizeranne and Jacques Bordoux introduced Ruskin, that work was bound to draw the attention and sympathy of Marcel Proust, then adolescent. The two men had been born in very respectable and cultured families. Both had in infancy been accustomed to observe and had passed their early days in the gardens, minutely and curiously watching the birds, the flowers, etc. Both lived the lives of rich art-lovers, an existence which had perhaps its dangers because it puts the infant or the young man out of touch with a large part of real life, but which, in allowing him a skin more sensitive and in assuring him a possibility of prolonged meditation, permits him to come by a delicacy of nuances very particular and very rare. Both of them, at last, like Flaubert, have mixed up moral with aesthetic leanings, and have become "Saints" in literature.

What novelty did Proust find in Ruskin? At first, the knowledge of, and the taste for, the plastic arts. Many of the painter friends of Proust (particularly Jacques-Emile Blanche) have shown us that the taste was not natural with him. Ruskin, in carrying to him

a literary image of the work of art, formed some sort of a bridge between the intelligence of Proust and certain aspects of reality. From the time that one reads Proust, one finds Ruskin again. If Proust compares a character to the *Charité* of Giotto, it is because Ruskin often refers to that figure. It is through Ruskin's books that Proust has come to see the cathedral of Amiens, of Abbeville, of Rouen. In the beginning he found there less their own beauty than their beauty such as the writer loved and he admired. He went on pilgrimage to the cathedral of Rouen to follow there, in the portail des Libraires, a small figure which Ruskin had described and after long researches, he had discovered. At Amiens, Proust wished to follow the Ruskinian prescriptions and found on the left wing of the church, at a place indicated by Ruskin, the beggars of whom he speaks here as having been so old that they were perhaps the same: "I have had to give alms to all of them with the illusion" (here he enters into a fetish) "of accomplishing a lofty, pious act towards Ruskin." Ruskin was for him the spirit which roused these dead stones to life.

He felt, while reading Ruskin's books, that by the charm of this thought "The universe would enrich itself with all that I ignored till now of Gothic cathedrals and many paintings of England and Italy which had not yet roused my curiosity,—an indispensable condition of real knowledge." He left for Venice, to touch and to see Ruskin's ideas on architecture embodied in the decaying palaces standing still with a bloom of roses on them. To those who spoke to him: "The things that are fine deserve to be seen in themselves and not because such a great critic has spoken well of them or in support of his theories," he would probably reply: "Nothing is seen in itself. We can never see the objects except through our conditions of soul. To a man in love such a countryside seems admirable, such a piece of music is moving, because chance has associated them on his first meeting with such a lady. Likewise such a scene, such a palace, becomes suddenly very precious for the traveller who comes there to discover those impressions of a master because those who have accepted a spiritual discipline feel that their power of comprehension and feeling has infinitely increased." Proust, pupil of Ruskin, finds himself in a "state of grace" in regard to works of art, while he was not so before the Ruskinian communion. If one thinks now what a great rôle these works of art played in the comparisons and descriptions of Proust, one feels how a *Recherche du temps perdu*

would have been a different book if Ruskin had not revealed to Proust the mystery of plastic beauty.

What is true of works of art is also true of nature. One of the favourite ideas of Proust is the impossibility of understanding nature otherwise than through the great artists. Many times, in *A l'ombre des Jeunes filles en Fleurs*, does he show us how the painter Elstir sought to find again in reality what moved him so strongly in the paintings. Ruskin has been for him one of the interceding spirits which are necessary to us, at the beginning of our life, for getting into touch with the reality. Ruskin has taught him to look at the waves, the flowers, to look at them from close quarters as certain Japanese artists sketch them, or as leaves or animals or flowers are painted in the sketches of Dürer, of Albertina of Vienna. The same innate taste for the shades, a similar manner of knowing the colours and forms, were common to both. With Proust, as Curtius shows it so well, one finds again "the French taste which rests on a faculty of feeling differentiated in the extreme and of which the ideal type is the Connoisseur." The art of a Proust may not be fully comprehended except from this view-point. That art is an analysis of light touches, a specialisation of the sensibility carried to extreme. He discovers the shades of reality with unequalled precision. And they are on all the grounds. When Bergotte says: "If I love the *Chateaubriand* of *Atala* more than that of *René*, it seems to me that it is sweeter," he reveals the same refinement of taste which the Baron of Charlus shows when he asks for pears at a restaurant. I would add: he shows the same refinement of taste as Ruskin, speaking of the wines which the citizens of his Utopia drink, and decreeing that one may not distribute anything which has not been at least ten years old.

Another common point: with both of them science plays a very great part in the composition of the work of art; Ruskin says that each class of rocks, each variety of soil, each patch of clouds should be studied and rendered with a geological and meteorological exactitude; Proust sets forth to describe sentiments with the precision of a medical man.

Both of them have the same moral idea of art. Ruskin demonstrated the need of sacrifice in all his works, and all his pleasures even to the extent of his own life which was for him the only way possible for entering into contact with reality. Proust also considered that to be almost the only duty of an artist—the establishment of contact

with that reality which is his own. "That Beauty," says he about Ruskin, "to which he found it necessary to consecrate his life, was thus not conceived by him as an object of pleasure and made to charm it, but as a reality infinitely more important than life, for which he would have given his. From this you come to see clearly all the aesthetics of Ruskin." But from there you could also see clearly the aesthetics and the ethics of Proust himself. The last volume of his work, the *Temps retrouvé*, is altogether consecrated to show that the re-creation of the world by memory and by art is infinitely more important than life and that in fact life without art is nothing but time lost, "and that nothing may ever be truly possessed otherwise than under the aspect of eternity which is also the aspect of art."

But it is above all in the matter of style that Ruskin's influence on Proust seems to me to be so great that I am surprised critics have not to this day analysed it. Like the vision of Proust, the vision of Ruskin is a vision gradually receding, nearly microscopic. Take for example a passage like that where Ruskin describes the waves: "Their hollow surface is marked by parallel lines, like those of a smooth mill-weir, and graduated by reflected and transmitted lights of the most wonderful intricacy, its curve being at the same time necessarily of mathematical purity and precision; yet at the top of this curve, when it nods over, there is a sudden laxity and giving way, the water swings and jumps along the ridge like a shaken chain, and the motion runs from part to part as it does through a serpent's body." The passage well translated might have been from Proust. Compare this description of the jet of water with the beginning of the second part of *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, you find there the same mathematical precision, and still graceful.

The use of the adjective is the same with both. They both try by a continued series of happy adjectives to make the description of the object more and more compact. For example, in Proust: "The jet of water, thin, immobile, tough." In Ruskin "the thick, creamy, curdling, overlapping, massy foam, which remains for a moment only after the fall of the wave, and is seen in perfection in its running up the beach." It is certainly from Ruskin again that Proust has caught his taste for fine images from precious stones. Compare Ruskin describing a cherry, "Clustered pearl and pendant ruby," with Proust: "Les Guermantes restaient reconnaissables, faciles à discerner et à suivre, comme les filons dont la blondeur veine le jaspe



et l'onyx." (The Guermantes could be recognised, easy to discern and to follow, as the veins of which the blondness shows the jasper and the onyx.) And when I find, at the beginning of Ruskin's *Præterita*, an admirable passage on the flowers of the almond tree and on the importance which these almonds and the pilgrimages undertaken to see them have had in the life of Ruskin, I cannot but think of the hawthorns of Marcel Proust.

The subject of hawthorns has probably come from Ruskin, and also I think, the general idea, so powerful with Proust, of the necessity of the topic in a work of art. In a note on the *Sesame and Lilies*, he says: "But it is precisely the charm of Ruskin's work that there have been between the ideas of the same book, and between diverse books, some connections which he does not show but which he leaves to appear hardly for an instant, and which he has however perhaps woven together with an effect, but connections never artificial because they are always drawn from substances, always identical to those of his thought. It should be said the many constant pre-occupations of that thought assure to these books a unity more real than the unity of composition, generally absent." May not one say that, in the passage where he analyses the charm of Ruskin's work, written at a time when his great novel was hardly more than a project or a sketch, he indicates already what comes to be his own peculiarity of composition?

But I believe one may say that if Proust has taken from Ruskin the idea of the lessening vision, he has carried it on further than his master. The notes which Proust has put down at the bottom of the pages of the *Sesame and Lilies* are very striking from this view-point. His analysis always goes deeper than that of Ruskin. When he goes to analyse the state of the original soul of the reader, he is much more preoccupied with the rigorous truth of his observation than Ruskin, anxious above all to impart moral teaching. "Be sure," says Ruskin, "that if an author is worth anything, you will not get at his meaning all at once; nay, that at his whole meaning you will not for a long time arrive in any wise. Not that he does not say what he means, and in strong words too; but he cannot say it all; and what is more strange, will not, but in a hidden way and in parables, in order that he may be sure you want it."

Proust responds with an analysis still more delicate. But this sort of mist which envelopes the splendour of fine books like that of

good mornings is a natural fog, some sort of a halo of genius, which it unwittingly exhales, and not an artificial veil with which he surrounded his work voluntarily to screen it from the vulgar gaze. When Ruskin says: "He wishes to know if you have been worthy," it is a simple figure. In order to give to his thought a brilliant form, more accessible and more charming for the public, he tones it down, and makes the writing easy, a writing of the second order. But to conceal his thought, so that those who would not take the trouble of removing the veil may not seize it, makes the writing difficult—writing of the second order.

In brief, Proust, having taken over from Ruskin a new style of looking at the works of art and nature at the same time, has developed that style and has in fine carried it much further than his master. Not only are his descriptions finer still and more precise, but he has, above all, applied the minuteness of Ruskin's vision to the delineation of feelings, which Ruskin has not done. He has applied it also to the moral sentiments, which Ruskin has not dared to do. It is none the less true that without reading Ruskin and without the great love which he had for his work Proust would never perhaps have so completely discovered himself. Thus Byron would not have been himself without Goethe, nor Corneille without the Spanish dramatists, nor Alfred de Musset without Byron. The innumerable progeny of Proust which, at this moment, is multiplying in France, is thus, without knowing it, a progeny of Ruskin whom in the majority of cases it ignores. So a single example of a book, transported by chance, and fallen on a spirit which is a favourable ground for that particular fashion, suffices to bring to an entire country a new literary species, just as a single grain borne by the wind from isle to isle suffices to grow on a soil a plant not found there till then, but suddenly growing and covering the ground.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Authorised and approved translation from the original French article in the *Essays and Studies* by Members of the English Association, Vol. XVII, by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, with the kind permission of the Secretary, English Association and M. Andre Maurois,

# FOREIGN POLICY OF FASCIST ITALY

MAHMUD HUSAIN, D.PHIL.,

*Reader in Modern History, Dacca University*

THERE are certain factors which govern the foreign policy of states. On analysis it will be found they are five in number: (1) the psychological factor, (2) the historical factor, (3) the geographical factor, (4) the political factor, and (5) the economic factor. By psychological factor is meant the mentality of a people and of its rulers, their general outlook on life, their attitude towards other peoples and above all towards the most fundamental question of foreign policy—towards war and peace. History and past relationships also influence the foreign policy of states. Victories and defeats invariably leave their mark on the later development of foreign policy. Then, geographic situation of the country and strategic considerations cannot be ignored by responsible statesmen. Similarly political considerations, the maintenance of a balance of power for instance, play an important part in the formulation of foreign policy. But above all is the economic factor. All other considerations may be set aside, but not the economic consideration. Governments may overlook their historical past and their philosophical theory, but they cannot afford to overlook their economic interests.

An attempt has been made in this paper to explain how these factors have influenced the foreign policy of Italy.

The Fascist system of government is an autocratic system. It is opposed to Liberalism and Democracy and all they stand for. And the foreign policy of an autocracy—be it an absolute monarchy, be it a dictatorship—is bound to be different from that of a liberal democracy. An autocrat's psychology is very different from that of a democrat. Their outlook on life differs. They represent not only two types of "political animals," they represent two types of men. Democracies stand for liberty at home. It is only natural that they should respect the liberty of other peoples. In autocracies, on the other hand, people are deprived of their individual freedom. How can it be expected from such a government that it would respect the independence of other nations? In their foreign relations, therefore, democracies, as a rule, are not inclined towards territorial expansion and consequently they

stand for peace and international understanding. Autocracies are inclined towards imperialism, and therefore they are warlike and militarist. But this does not mean that democracies have never waged wars of conquest and have never thought of building up empires, or autocracies have never served the cause of peace. Such an assumption will not be in conformity with historical truth. But what is claimed is not that democracies have never been imperialist and warlike, and autocracies never peaceful ; the idea is just to point out the main tendency in each of these systems of government. The domestic politics of democracies is made up of too many checks and balances, too many discussions and understandings, too many concessions and compromises. And therefore there is a tendency to justify even the political actions of foreign policy through what has been termed a "rational-pacifistic ideology." It is necessary for a democracy to characterize its every war as a war of defence. This is something which an autocracy, because of its belief in militarism and in the heroic method, does not at all require. An autocracy would rather glorify war, and would take pride in subduing other peoples.

Fascist Italy, true to the autocratic type, is imperialist ; it is intensely nationalist, it opposes internationalism, it ridicules pacifism, it believes in the inevitability and even in the desirability of war.

Mussolini's Italy is imperialist. According to the Duce—and whose word is more authoritative in the authoritarian state?—"Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life. At bottom it is but the need, the desire and the will for expansion which every living, healthy individual or people has in itself." This was, however, written in 1919 when Mussolini had not yet seized the reins of power. But we have many such later examples. In 1932, for instance, he wrote in an article on the theory of Fascism in the *Encyclopaedia Italiana*: "For Fascism the growth of empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality and its opposite a sign of decadence. Peoples which are rising or rising after a period of decadence, are always imperialist ; any renunciation is a sign of decay and death."

As nationalists and imperialists, Fascists cannot be pacifists or internationalists. Let us again quote from the author, the creator of Fascism :

• "Humanity is still and always has been an abstraction of time and space ; men are still not brothers, do not want to be and evidently

cannot be. Peace is hence absurd, or rather it is a pause in war..... Man will continue to be, wolf among wolves for a bit of land, for a trickle of water, for a crumb of bread, for a woman's kiss, for a necessity or a caprice .....” And again, “Internationalism is an article of luxury, good for the aristocracies of art, banking, industry and snobbish imbecility ..... at bottom internationalism is an absurd fable.”

On the other hand, Mussolini has many good things to say on nationalism, militarism and war. To him, as has been pointed out, war is not only inevitable, it is desirable. “Strife,” he says, and it is very typical of Mussolini, “is the origin of all things, for life is full of contrasts: there is love and hate, white and black, night and day, good and evil, and until these contrasts are reduced to an equilibrium strife will always remain at the root of human nature, like a supreme fatality. And on the whole it is well that it is so ..... the day in which there should be no more strife would be a day of melancholy, of the end of things, of ruin.” Only recently Mussolini declared in a speech that “Italy was a military, militarist, and warlike nation.” Unfortunately for themselves some of the Italian newspapers left out the word ‘militarist’ while reporting the speech in their columns. Mussolini was furious over this unpardonable omission. In an article in *Popolo D'Italia*, which it is confidently asserted comes from the pen of the Duce himself, it is said: “Evidently this is like a glass of castor oil to weak stomachs, but there cannot be any weak stomachs in the ranks of the Fascist party. We say, we repeat, we cry out that Fascist Italy must be militarist. Militarist is the nation that subordinates to military necessities everything else of the material and moral life of the individual as well as of the community.”

These are some of the typical utterances of the Italian dictator, and they leave no doubt that Fascist Italy stands for an aggressive foreign policy. And these are no mere declarations. These are the ideals which guide the course of Italian foreign relations and determine the attitude of Italy to the question of disarmament. The policy of Italy with regard to the League of Nations is similarly a consequence of this attitude. In Italy there is a general distrust of and contempt for the League. Fascists would like to create a substitute for the League in which the more powerful states should be in a position to decide the fate of the whole world. Several schemes to this effect have been put forward by the Government of Italy, the latest being that of the year 1933. Mussolini's declarations with regard

to militarism cannot be regarded as mere bluff. Military preparations are going ahead, and from the military point of view Italy is much stronger to-day than at any time during the past few centuries. Besides armaments Italy is being taught the necessity of militarism. According to a recent decree Italian boys in schools over eight years are to be given compulsory military instruction. And from now on proficiency in military culture will be obligatory for the award of diplomas and degrees. Another decree provides for military instruction for Reservists for ten years following their period of military service.

This much with regard to Fascist ideology and its general influence on Italian foreign policy. Now let us take the historical factor.

Since the unification of modern Italy her foreign policy has been directed towards the achievement of two objectives: the ambition to recover Italia Irredenta and the desire to create a colonial empire in Africa. The first objective could be achieved at the expense of Austria, the second at the expense of France. Consequently the foreign policy of Italy from 1870 to 1914 was a policy of indecision. Although formally attached to the Central Empires, Italy could not be relied upon by them because of her two irreconcilable objectives. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance when the Great War came on the 1st of August, she did not consider herself bound to come to the help of the Central Powers. Instead she declared her neutrality, and she actually remained neutral for many months. She had her own grievances both against Austria and France, and she wanted to make use of this favourable opportunity. She knew that both the parties were eager for her support. During this period of neutrality the Central Powers as well as the Allies tried their best, by means of lavish promises, to purchase Italian support. In the bargain the principal Allied Powers, namely France, Great Britain and Russia, promised more than the Germanic Empires. They could well afford to be generous at the expense of others. Italy accepted their offer. The bargain was made in London. According to the Secret Pact of London (26th April, 1915) the principal Allied Powers made large but very definite promises to Italy. She was promised all territory lying south of the Brennero Pass. This was clearly in violation of the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. It was, however, granted to Italy, for it would give her a strategic frontier in the north. Trieste, Istrian Peninsula,

the northern portion of Dalmatia, certain islands in the Adriatic and Valona (a port of great importance in Albania, just opposite the heel of the Italian "boot"), all were to be handed over to Italy, in the event of victory. These gains would have undoubtedly made her supreme in the Adriatic. But the gain of Italy would have meant not only the loss of Austria-Hungary, but also of one of the Allies, namely Serbia, for whose sake the war had primarily begun. Besides these territorial gains in Europe, Italy was entitled to compensation in Africa, if either France or Great Britain increased their possessions in that continent. Italian interest in the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean was also recognised with regard to Asia Minor. These promises, if fulfilled, would have meant even more than the achievement of both the main objectives of Italian foreign policy—the recovery of Italia Irredenta and the creation of a colonial empire.

It was only after these definite promises were made to Italy that she declared war against the Central Powers. Italian support was certainly of some value to the Allies. We may well imagine the difficulties with which France would have been confronted on two sides, had Italy joined the Central Powers.

The Allies came out victorious in the Great War. Italy had joined the conflict on clear understandings. At the Peace Conference of Paris the time had come for the fulfilment of all those promises. But the principal makers of peace—Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George—found that it was impossible for various reasons to satisfy Italy. The outcome of the Peace Conference came as a great disappointment to Italy. Of all the victors she came out of the War as perhaps the most disappointed. It is true that by the Treaty of Saint Germain Italy obtained one of her two important objects, the Brennero frontier. But all her claims with regard to German colonies and Turkish possessions, and most of her claims with regard to the Adriatic Coast, were overlooked. Besides, what was more important from the political view-point was that although her traditional foe, the Habsburg Empire, was no more, another state, which was perhaps capable of doing more harm than the defunct Empire, had come into being. Jugoslavia, because of her situation and because of French influence, which was noticeable from the very beginning, was regarded by Italy as even a greater danger than the deceased Dual Monarchy. A new balance of power was created to the great disadvantage of Italy.

Fascists are bitter over the outcome of the Peace Conference. They blame France more than any other country for the unfavourable peace terms. True, Wilson was also opposed to Italian claims. But, so the Fascists argue, America was not a party to the Pact of London. France, on the other hand, made certain precise promises and then went back upon her word. Hence Italian resentment against France. The attitude of France during the peace negotiations is also quite understandable. As a result of the Great War France had succeeded in crushing the most formidable of her opponents. Germany was reduced, for the time being at any rate, to a second class Power. French supremacy on the continent was established. She was not prepared to share it with any other Power, not even with an ex-ally and a Latin brother. Besides, the repeated declarations with regard to the right of peoples to self-determination could not be easily disregarded by the chief representatives of Powers at the Peace Conference. The result was disappointment and bitterness on the part of Italy. She was specially bitter against France and Jugoslavia.

Now let us for a moment look at the map of Italy. Italy's immediate neighbours are France, Switzerland, Austria and Jugoslavia. Of these states, Switzerland may be regarded as harmless. Austria, so long as she remains independent, which now means under the informal protectorate of Italy, constitutes no danger. But the other two neighbours, specially when united, may prove dangerous. These are the two states which challenge Italian supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. In the Mediterranean Great Britain and Russia have their interests besides Italy and France. But Italy and France are either wholly or predominantly Mediterranean Powers. And apart from that France must have direct communication with her North African Empire, with Tunis, Algeria and Morocco. Similarly Italy, apart from being an exclusively Mediterranean state, has her interests in Tripoli and in her possessions on the Red Sea. As a consequence of this the two Latin Powers are great rivals for the supremacy over the Mediterranean, and because of this rivalry, many international problems, especially the problem of naval disarmament, have not yet been solved. Just as the geographic situation of Italy is to a certain extent responsible for Franco-Italian rivalry, so is it responsible for strained relations between Italy and Jugoslavia. Italy desires a complete control over the



Adriatic. By the creation of Yugoslavia Italy was not only deprived of extensive territorial gains, but also of her dominance over the Adriatic. The position of Italy is now challenged across the narrow sea by a formidable alliance of France and Yugoslavia. In opposition to this alliance Italy has built up her own system of alliances, and the rivalry of the two Latin Powers is observable in the Balkans and in Central and Eastern Europe. Both the Powers have got their own faithful and doubtful allies. France has to reckon with two principal enemies—Germany and Italy. France is aware that she cannot wholly depend on her own military and financial strength, on her armaments and her gold. She must have allies. The French system of alliances consists of pacts of friendship and mutual help between France on the one hand and Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia on the other. Of all these alliances the one that is most unwelcome to Italy is that between France and Yugoslavia. Italy cannot watch this development without serious misgivings. In order to combat the French system Italy has built up her own system of alliances. The basis of the Italian system has been the treaties of friendship between Italy and Albania, Italy and Bulgaria, and Italy and Hungary. Until recently Germany and Italy were also good friends, and this was due to the policy of Italy towards France. Italy has been championing the cause of German re-armament and of the revision of the Treaty of Versailles in favour of Germany provided the northern frontier of Italy remains intact, and the Anschluss does not become an accomplished fact. Of more recent origin is the alliance between Italy and Austria. All these Powers joined the Italian group because they had their grievances either against France or against her allies. Albania and Bulgaria, for instance, are opposed to Yugoslavia, Hungary is opposed to Czechoslovakia. Austria has joined the group because she is not in a position to stand alone. Austria left to herself will be helpless against Nazi Germany unless she is supported by one of the Great Powers. She has preferred Italian support to the friendship of France. She has apparently done so for several reasons. The Austrian Government, led by Dollfuss and now by his successor, prefer an autocracy to a democracy. What is however much more important is that Austrian interests come into conflict with the interests of the Little Entente, which in its turn is supported by France.

These are the two hostile groups in Europe to-day, one being

led by France, the other by Italy. Their armies are trained by French and Italian generals respectively, and it is French and Italian money which is their main financial support.

During the last two years, however, and more especially during the last few months, this hostility between France and Italy has given place to a better understanding and even friendship between the two nations. This important change in inter-European relations is very significant and is undoubtedly a direct result of the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany. Austro-German union is one of the avowed aims of the Nazis. This is however opposed not only by France but by Italy as well. Just as France is afraid of a greater Germany, so is Italy. Italy cannot tolerate the presence of such a formidable state on her own borders, which might be at a future date in a position to take away from her what she has achieved as a result of the Great War. The common opposition to the ambitions of Germany with regard to Austria has brought France and Italy much nearer each other. Even if there are no specific Franco-Italian agreements of a political and military character at the present time, as was recently reported in the press, it is certain that the two states recognize the common danger and understand each other much better to-day than at any time during the post-war period. But let us not forget that this friendship is the result of extraordinary circumstances. And when these circumstances are no more the same rivalry is bound to reappear. Once Italy feels that her northern frontiers are safe she will turn to colonial expansion, and the result will be Franco-Italian tension.

And now let us come to the most important of those factors which determine the foreign policy not only of Italy but of every state, we mean the economic factor. There are three economic facts which we at once notice in this connection. Firstly, there is what has been called "population pressure" in Italy; secondly, there is a shortage of essential raw materials and fuels and thirdly, there is the dependence of Italy upon imported food-stuffs for domestic consumption.

Italians, as is well known, are a growing nation, and they are growing rapidly. Even before the War Italy felt the need for increased resources in order to feed the growing population. To-day Italians count eight million more than in 1914, and the population is still increasing at the rapid rate of about half a million per year. Clearly there is the need for an outlet for this large surplus population.

Before the War about 400,000 Italians used to emigrate to other countries, principally to America. This was by no means a very happy arrangement. For in this way Italy was deprived of her best labour material, those who emigrated being young and hardy people. However that was one way out of the difficulty. Owing to the post-war Immigration policy of America even that is now practically closed. Then during the post-war period Italians in large numbers emigrated to France and her colonies. But now France is alarmed at the growing immigration of Italians in Southern France. She does not seem to be prepared to have any more Italians. She does not like to create an unemployment problem on a gigantic scale, from which unlike other countries she has not yet suffered. Then, the Italians, who under the Fascist regime went to France or her colonies, were staunch nationalists; they were not prepared to merge themselves into the French and forget their own nationality, of which they were so proud. France would either turn them into Frenchmen or would not have them at all. The question of the nationality of Italians in France and in French colonies, especially in Tunis, where Italians by the way form a majority of the population, is one of the most important causes of Franco-Italian tension. According to French law the third generation of all immigrants will be legally regarded as French. Fascism desires to conserve man-power for military and economic purposes. Mussolini is very particular in retaining the sons of Italy, for according to him "Italy must appear on the threshold of the second half of the century with a population of not less than 60,000,000 inhabitants. If we fail ...we cannot make an Empire." Consequently, the Italian Government insists that Italian nationality is inalienable, that it is permanent, wheresoever an Italian might have his or her domicile. The result of French legislation has been that Italian emigration to France and her colonies has practically been stopped. The colonies of Italy herself cannot solve the population problem, since they mostly consist of deserts and barren mountains. These colonies are unfit for colonization. Nor are they in a position to supply Italy with the raw materials which she requires. In the markets of the world, therefore, Italy stands at a disadvantage as compared with other great industrial nations. Italy is poor in all basic minerals, and she depends upon import of food-stuffs for her own population. She could get these foodstuffs in exchange for her manufactures. But because of her poverty in basic minerals

and important raw materials, she cannot rapidly develop her industries. The population problem must however be solved. Italy would not take to birth control. The powerful Catholic Church is opposed to it, and the still more powerful Fascist State encourages an increase in population for political and military reasons. Then how the problem is to be solved ? Mussolini gives a simple and straight answer to the question. It is to be solved by means of a revision of the peace treaties and by re-allotment of colonies and mandates.

Speaking of the pressing need for more colonies Mussolini once said : " These two colonies (he meant the Italian possessions in Africa) cannot solve our population problem...We missed that legitimate satisfaction which should have come to us from right and from duty fulfilled during and after the War. Colonial development would have been for us not merely a logical consequence of our population problem, but would have constituted a formula for the solution of our economic situation. Even now, at a distance of ten years from the War, this situation has to find its solution."

Italy cannot understand why France with an almost steady population should have such vast overseas possessions in the form of colonies and mandates, especially when these areas happen to be so very near Italy. It seems very unjust to Italians that Tunis, where Italians form a majority of the population, should be a French and not an Italian possession, in spite of its nearness to Italy and in spite of the imperative need of colonies on the part of their country.

Now is it possible to draw any conclusion from what has been stated above ? To us it seems that so far as Italy is concerned she will not remain satisfied for long with her present position. She must one day seriously take up the task of building up a colonial empire. And empire-building unfortunately involves war. We need not, however, be unjust to Italian Fascism. It is not only Fascist ideology, but Italian circumstances which would ultimately lead Italy to war. Overcrowded Italy cannot be expected to remain quiet indefinitely. The Italian nation would not be prepared to starve itself. And why should it when it sees that there are lands which are suitable for settlement, which are so near to Italy and which are practically lying idle. One day Italy must go to war with **France**, unless Germany becomes united with Austria and threatens Italy at the Brennero Pass. To-day there is this danger and the

result is better relations between France and Italy. Once this danger is removed—and it may be removed in either of the two ways: Germany may after all honestly give up her Austrian policy, which is very improbable, or it may be removed by the final overthrow of Germany at the hands of France and Italy, which is not at all so unlikely—once, however, this danger is no more, there will come the inevitable conflict between the two Latin powers. Mussolini knows it. He is well aware that a war will prove to be the only solution of the difficulties of his country. If the conflict is not yet come it is because Italy is not yet prepared. She is weak. She is still the weakest of all the Great Powers in spite of the enormous progress which she has made during the last twelve years. Even dictators are not so reckless, even autocrats do not go to war unless they are well-prepared and unless victory seems to them at least probable. Italy is therefore preparing for the coming conflict. The rapid increase in the armaments—military, naval and specially aerial—during the last few years, is a distinct indicator of what is coming.

We may conclude this paper with a quotation from Mussolini, which speaks for itself. He said a couple of years ago :

“...We must at a given moment be able to mobilize five million men thoroughly armed, we must strengthen our navy, while aviation must be on such a scale and so powerful that the roar of its motors must surpass any other noise and the area of the wings of our aeroplanes must obscure the sun from our land. Then between 1935 and 1940, when we shall reach the crucial point in European history, we shall be able to make our voice heard and see at last our rights acknowledged. This preparation requires some years more.”

Are we really so near the crisis ?

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# THE CATTLE OF THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION: THEIR ORIGIN AND RELATIONSHIPS.

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THE early history of India is shrouded in mystery, and before the discovery of the Chalcholithic civilization of the Indus Valley at Mohenjo-daro it began with the times when the Aryans migrated to India sometime during the latter part of the 2nd millennium B. C. Very little is known of the Neolithic Age except for a few flint implements discovered at various sites and the dolmen burials of South India. Even the Aryans of the earlier stages were apparently nomadic people, as very few material monuments of their times have been discovered in any part of India, and our only sources of the history of these times are the Vedas, and other Sanskrit works. In 1923 the veil shrouding the early history of India was suddenly lifted by the discovery in Mohenjo-daro, Larkana District, Sind, of the remains of a pre-historic civilization of the Chalcholithic or Stone-Copper Age by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee of the Archaeological Survey of India. Since this date the site of Mohenjo-daro has been the scene of careful excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India, and the results of the earlier excavations were published in three monumental volumes under the editorship of Sir John Marshall<sup>1</sup> while an account of the more recent discoveries is being published in another volume edited by Mr. E. Mackay. Shortly after the discovery of Mohenjo-daro, a further site of the same age was discovered in Harappa, some 450 miles distant from Mohenjo-daro, on the old bed of the river Ravi in the Montgomery District, Punjab. Harappa though known to the Archaeological Survey since 1872, was only recognised as a centre of the Indus Valley Civilization after the discovery of Mohenjo-daro, and excavations were started on this site in 1924-25. It is on the material obtained from these two centres that the major

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, Sir John, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vols. I-III (London, 1931).

part of our knowledge of this very interesting pre-historic civilization of India is based.

The excavations in both these sites have yielded valuable information in reference to this peculiar civilization, but the interest of the zoologists is naturally confined to the animal remains that have been unearthed there. Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F.R.S., described the animal remains from Mohenjo-daro<sup>1</sup> while I have studied those excavated at Harappa.<sup>2</sup> In this article I propose to give a short account of the remains of cattle, and discuss their significance in reference to the very interesting question of their domestication with a few remarks about their ancestries and relationships. These studies, incomplete as they are at the present time, are of sufficient importance in connection with the study of ancient history and archaeology, inasmuch as they enable us to trace the domestication of different animals during the various epochs and their connections with the pre-historic cultures of the different centres.

Our sources of information in reference to the cattle and other animals of the Indus Valley are twofold : (i) the actual bony remains, and (ii) representations of various animals on seals and other objects, and the models executed as terra-cotta figurines, etc.

The collection of animal remains from Mohenjo-daro, though fairly large, contained comparatively few and rather fragmentary remains of the cattle of the family Bovidae. These remains were identified by Col. Sewell as belonging to the humped cattle *Bos indicus* Linn. or the Zebu of most European naturalists. Harappa yielded a much richer crop, and though most of the cattle remains are fragmentary, they can without much doubt be referred to two distinct types of cattle : (i) a large, massive form which certainly represents the long-horned, humped cattle, and (ii) a smaller type with short horns, and which apparently constituted the humpless race. Sir John Marshall from the representations of the cattle on seals and other objects<sup>3</sup> concluded that there were two breeds of cattle in the Indus Valley : (i) the large-horned, humped race, engravings of which are found on seals 329-40, and which, according to the author, "was closely allied to, if not identical with the magnificent white and grey breed still common in Sind,

<sup>1</sup> Sewell, R. B. Seymour, *Zoological Remains in Marshall, Mohenjo-daro, etc.*, II, pp. 649-'73 (1931).

<sup>2</sup> The detailed report on the animal remains from Harappa is being published in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

Northern Gujarat and Rajputana," and (ii) "a small short-horned and humpless species which are not infrequently represented among the terra-cottas of this period," but "of which no actual bones or horns have yet been identified."

Mackay in describing the figurines and models of the animals of Mohenjo-daro remarked that "by far the most popular animal was the short-horned bull, followed by the humped or Brahmani bull."<sup>1</sup> He added that there is some doubt as to the country in which the Brahmani bull originated; whether it was in Africa or in India is not certain though the Mohenjo-daro figures prove that the humped variety was known in India from very early times. After referring to the records of humped cattle in Mesopotamia of about 1000 B.C., the finds of clay figures of about 950 B. C. at Gerar in Palestine and the models of humped cattle in Northern and Southern Baluchistan in Chalcolithic sites, he concluded that there is "some reason to believe that humped cattle are indigenous to India rather than to Africa."

The long-horned Brahmani bull as represented on the seals excavated from Mohenjo-daro is a large, massive animal, with well developed long horns. The horns curve outwards from their bases, but turn inwards towards one another or sometimes even outwards near the tips. The animals have a well developed and prominent hump, and a very large dewlap. The short-horned race, on the other hand, consisted of much smaller animals. These, however, had a more massive head but with much smaller horns, and were without either a hump or a dewlap. The chief characteristics of the skull of the Indian cattle consist in its relatively larger length and comparatively shorter breadth, a very pronounced arching of the forehead, narrowly elongated snout area and much less projecting eye-sockets.

Keller<sup>2</sup> following the earlier view of Ruetimeyer, suggested that Zebus had originated from the Banteng,<sup>3</sup> but after careful studies of the skeletons Gans<sup>3</sup> and Antonius<sup>4</sup> found that there is only a superficial resemblance between these two forms. My studies of the Harappa remains of the cattle fully bear out the views of these two authors. In this connection reference may also be made to the

<sup>1</sup> Mackay, E., *Figurines and Model Animals, Mohenjo-daro, etc.*, I, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Keller, C., *Die Abstammung der aeltesten Haustiere* (Zurich, 1902).

<sup>3</sup> Gans, H., *Banteng* (*Bibos sondaicus*) und *Zebu* (*Bos indicus*) und ihr gegenseitiges Verhaeltnis (Halle a.d. Saale, 1915).

<sup>4</sup> Antonius, O., *Stammesgeschichte der Haustiere* (Jena, 1922).



studies of Duerst on the cattle of Babylonia, Syria and Egypt,<sup>1</sup> as a result of which he came to the conclusion that the short-horned cattle of Asia and North and East Africa all belong to the *Brachyceros* type. He is further of the opinion that the *Brachyceros* type of cattle of Europe originally came from Asia, where they had been domesticated even much earlier than the beginning of the Babylonian culture. In reference to the long-horned cattle of Egypt he concluded that they are closely allied to the Indian Zebu, and were probably imported from the Asiatic continent in prehistoric times.

The earlier naturalists separated the domestic cattle into two main types: (1) the humped or the Zebu inhabiting the tropical countries in general, and to which the name *Bos indicus* was given by Linnaeus<sup>2</sup> and (2) the non-humped European cattle for which the name *Bos taurus* was proposed by the same author.

Geoffroy St. Hilaire,<sup>3</sup> placing more reliance on philology than on actual structural characters, opined that the European cattle were imported from the East. Darwin,<sup>5</sup> however, suggested that the "domestic cattle are almost certainly the descendants of more than one wild form," and considered the humped and non-humped cattle as distinct species.

Ruetimeyer,<sup>4</sup> from a comparative study of the skeletons of the Zebu, the Urus and other forms, concluded that the Indian Zebu, as is clear from the structure of its skull, skeleton and general form, is a distinct species. From very ancient times the Zebu has been the sole type of domestic cattle of Asia and Africa, and has, therefore, undergone much less structural modifications than the European forms. According to him the Zebu is in no way allied to the European Urus, but its vertebral column and limb bones show affinities with the Bison.

Hilzheimer,<sup>5</sup> from his detailed studies on the skeleton of the Indian Bovinae, considered the wild Gayal or Mithan as an "aberrant species leading to *Bos*."

Blyth<sup>6</sup> proposed for the Zebu the name *Zebus gibbosus*, and remarked that the "humped cattle are unknown in an aboriginally wild

<sup>1</sup> Dierst, J. U., *Die Rinder von Babylonien Assyrien und Aegypten und ihr Zusammenhang mit der Rindern der alten Welt* (Zurich, 1899).

<sup>2</sup> Linnaeus, C. Von., *Syst. Nat.* (10th ed.), pp. 71, 72 (Holmiae, 1758).

<sup>3</sup> Geoffroy St. Hilaire, I., *Hist. Nat. Gen.*, III, pp. 82, 92 (Paris, 1854-62).

<sup>4</sup> Ruetimeyer, L., *Nouv. Mem. Soc. Helvet*, XIX, pp. 149, 222 (1862).

<sup>5</sup> Hilzheimer, M., *Die Saugetier in Bronn's Tierleben* (4th ed.), pp. 3, 34-347 (Leipzig and Wien, 1920).

<sup>6</sup> Blyth, E., *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXIX, pp. 284, 285 (1860).

state; and I am strongly of opinion that they will prove to be of African rather than Asiatic origin, however ancient their introduction into India." He further added that the fossil taurine of the Nerbudda deposits, *Bos namadicus*, is "barely (if at all satisfactorily) distinguishable from the European *D. primigenius* (or true Urus of Caesar)."

Ruetimeyer <sup>1</sup> considered *B. namadicus*, Falconer from the Nerbudda Pliocene to be the oldest known taurine, but was not sure of any of the recent cattle being its descendants. The Urus, *B. primigenius* Boj. he considered to be the ancestor of most types of European cattle, and regarded it as a parallel form of *B. namadicus*. In connection with the descent and relationships of the Indian Zebu, Ruetimeyer in his first work expressed the opinion that it is closely allied to the Yak, but after studying the skulls of the Yak and the Banting, he concluded that the resemblance between the Yak and the Zebu is merely superficial, while there appears to be some affinity between the Zebu and the Banting.

Lyddekker <sup>2</sup> remarked that "there is no true taurine at the present time living anywhere in Asia, the aberrant *Bos indicus* being the only representative in India of the genus *Bos* as restricted by Hodgson and Gray." He described the differences between the skulls of the Nerbudda ox of the Pliocene times and the Urus, and added that the cranium of the former approaches that of the genus *Bibos* in which are included all the recent wild cattle of India.

Blanford <sup>3</sup> followed the earlier authors in considering *Bos indicus* as distinct from *B. taurus*, and remarked that its origin "is unknown, but was in all probability tropical or subtropical, and was regarded by Blyth as probably African. No ancestral form has been discovered amongst Indian fossil bovines."

Duerst's views on the cattle of Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt have been referred to already. In his detailed account of the Anau forms <sup>4</sup> he as a result of his comparative studies of the fossils of the bovines of the Indian Pliocene, concluded that the Nerbudda ox, *Bos namadicus*, represents "the European Urus for the Asiatic Continent."

<sup>1</sup> Ruetimeyer L., *Verhandl. Naturfor. Gesel. Basel*, IV, pp. 346-354 (1165); and *Nouv. Mem. Soc. Helvet*, XXII, pp. 107-171 (1867).

<sup>2</sup> Lyddekker, R., *Mem. Geol. Surv. Ind., Pal. Ind.* (Ser. X), pp. 89, 90, 96-112 (1878).

<sup>3</sup> Blanford, W. T., *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, p. 117 (1877).

<sup>4</sup> Duerst, J. U., *Explorations in Turkestan, Prehistoric Civilization of Anau*, II, pp. 341-442 (Washington, 1908).

From Anau he recorded remains of the wild *B. namadicus* and of a domestic race, which, according to him, had originated from the wild *B. namadicus*, and "is absolutely the same ox that was possessed by the ancient Egyptians." The earliest remains of this breed from Anau he considered to be as old as 8000 B.C., and added that according to the Chinese accounts this form reached India with tribal migrations about 3468 B.C.

Hilzheimer <sup>1</sup> after discussing the five main groups of cattle suggested by various authorities concludes "das der Ur allein der Stammvater saemtlicher Hausrinder ist." The Urus, according to this author, is very closely allied to the ancestral type, and he ascribes to it a very wide range throughout Europe, North Africa, Western and Central Asia. In reference to the domestication of the cattle his conclusions are not very definite, but he suggests that it may have been in Europe or in "Ostasien;" he, however, does not agree with Hahn's view <sup>2</sup> that they were first domesticated in Mesopotamia.

Antonius <sup>3</sup> considers the massive and very large-horned *Bos planifrons* Ruetimeyer of the Indian Pliocene as the oldest known ancestral form of the cattle. He regards *B. namadicus* as closely allied to this form and adds that this Nerbudda ox, which was smaller and had shorter horns, is known to have been a contemporary of man. The local races of this ox spread north-west in other parts of Asia, but, except for the remains described by Duerst from Anau, they are only known from drawings, sketches and relief figures. Antonius also believes these local races to be closely allied to the Urus. In the earlier days these oxen were captured by nets in Mesopotamia, but were later hunted by Assyrians, Egyptians, Spaniards and the inhabitants of Central Europe. He derives the Primigenius-stock directly from the Urus, and suggests the northern Balkan States as the centre of its domestication. The Brachyceros-stock, which Nehring, Duerst and Hilzheimer derived from the Urus, but which Ruetimeyer considered to be descended from the Indian Banting, is supposed by Antonius to be descended from a separate form closely allied to but distinct from the Urus. Its domestication he believes to have taken place at the latest about 6000 B.C. The history of the Zebu-stock, according to this author, is very complicated and far from clear, but

<sup>1</sup> Hilzheimer, M., *Die Säugetier in Bronn's Tierleben* (4th ed.), pp. 334-347 (Leipzig and Wien, 1920).

<sup>2</sup> Hahn, E., *Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft der Menschen* (Leipzig, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> Antonius, *op. cit.*

he opines that its ancestor was without doubt a local race of the Urus, probably some such form as *B. namadicus* of the Indian Pliocene.

Max Weber <sup>1</sup> agrees in the main with Antonius, and derives the Zebu-stock from the Asiatic Urus, and all the domestic races of the cattle of Asia and Africa, from the Central African Sanga to the dwarf cattle of Japan, are believed by him to be the direct descendants of this ancestral form.

The summary of the literature pertaining to the ancestry and descent of the Zebu-stock leaves little doubt that *Bos namadicus* of the Indian Pliocene and its earlier progenitor *B. planifrons* have, with our present knowledge of the subject, to be accepted as the sole ancestral forms of the cattle of the genus *Bos*. From these ancestral forms the long-horned, humped cattle of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa must have been evolved and domesticated at a fairly early date by the people responsible for the prehistoric civilization of the Indus Valley. According to Sir John Marshall <sup>2</sup> "there appears to be no sufficient reasons for pushing back the *terminus a quo* of its antiquities earlier than 3250 B. C. At the same time it is evident—and I should like to stress this point once again—that the Culture represented must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India, taking us back to an age that at present can only be dimly surmised." The domestication of the long-horned, humped form must have taken a fairly long time, and it would not be far wrong to surmise that it may have taken two to three thousand years. This would make the date of the domestication of cattle contemporaneous with that of the European forms, as suggested by Antonius. I am not inclined to agree with Duerst's suggestion that domestic cattle reached India with tribal migrations about 3468 B. C., as an autochthonous origin for the Indian domestic cattle somewhere in the Indus Valley is distinctly indicated. The short-horned race of the Indus Valley probably originated as a result of "decline of the cattle-breeding" such as is suggested by Duerst <sup>3</sup> for a similar type of the Anau cattle. In any case it is difficult to surmise for this race a migration from any outside centre.

Hilzheimer <sup>4</sup> rightly considers the domestic cattle as the basis of our present-day civilization and, in admitting that the development of agricultural pursuits was rendered possible only through this agency, seems to suggest that their domestication must have been antecedent to man taking to agricultural activities. This view is apparently based

<sup>1</sup> Weber, Max., *Die Säugetiere*, II, p. 594 (Jena, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Duerst, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> Hilzheimer, *op. cit.*

on Hahn's remark: "Als diese Erwerbung (domestication of cattle) vollzogen war, als man Milch trank und der Ochsen an den Pflug spannte, waren wesentlich alle Erwerbungen für unsere asiatisch-europäische Kultur vorhanden."<sup>1</sup> Mucke, on the other hand, in his theory of domestication<sup>2</sup> contends that the domestication of animals could not have been accomplished by people in the hunting stage and probably the breeders of cattle and the cultivators of soil were two separate entities. He also suggests that domestication was brought about from animals which came to the dwellings of these primitive inhabitants spontaneously in quest of food, from which it has to be inferred that these people had taken to agriculture, for, as Duerst rightly points out,<sup>3</sup> ruminants like oxen, sheep, etc., could not have been "attracted by meat or other products of hunting and fishing life." Consequently Duerst is of the opinion that the "agricultural state of human development must also have preceded the state of cattle-breeders." Though it is impossible to dogmatise about the sequence of events, one would be justified in presuming that whereas in the earlier stages primitive agriculture may have antedated domestication of animals, its further development and evolution to the stage at which it had reached in the Indus Valley, could not have been possible without the domestic cattle. Probably in the Indus Valley the two processes went on simultaneously over a long period before reaching the stage of culture which Sir John Marshall considers to be as ancient as 3250 B.C. There are thus indications that the domestication of cattle in the Indus Valley was accomplished at a very early date and that from this centre cattle were exported to other countries.

Blanford<sup>4</sup> in 1877 remarked "It has long been known that we are probably indebted to the early inhabitants of India for two domestic animals, the buffalo and the peacock; the origin of the humped cattle is obscure, and the common fowl appears to be a descendant of the Burmese and not of the Indian race." Jeitteles further suggested that some of the most valued races of European dogs are of Indian origin. The studies on the animal remains from the Indus Valley seem to add weight to Mackay's suggestion, referred to already, that the humped cattle are of Indian origin and were domesticated in this country.

<sup>1</sup> Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Mucke, J. R., *Urgeschichte der Ackerbaues und der Viehzucht* (Griefswald, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> Duerst, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Blanford, *op. cit.*

# PRINCIPLES OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE

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THAT Architecture is essentially different from Civil Engineering or mere art of building in any form was clearly understood in India in very early times even by those who casually referred to the subject. It is probably due to this that the architect was designated *Viśvakarman* in all classes of Sanskrit literature and identified with the Creator of the Universe Himself, in whose creation there is hardly an object which does not signify a subjective and symbolic meaning through its form. The religious-minded would naturally go a step further and read a spiritual significance into each of the innumerable forms of an endless variety of natural objects. But the philosophers have recognised individuality only for a certain class of beings who claim conscience and intelligence as their monopoly. The scientists, however, have classified the so-called unintelligent but living objects without conscience into species each of which is endowed with a special form and an intricate organism or machinery every component part of which has been assigned a function, amply proving the fact that nothing is meaningless in the creation. But the mere fact that each and every part of a structure or an engine has got a special purpose to serve would not necessarily signify a subjective meaning of its form, unless, however, it was originally intended by the designer to express an idea, spiritual or material, of which the plan of the structure is a symbol. All ideas to be expressed through symbolic forms need not be spiritual as opposed to temporal or material, relating to something sacred and divine, intangible and mystic, involving a sacred or secret meaning hidden from the eyes of the ordinary reader and only revealed to a spiritually enlightened mind. A symbol or an emblem, however, is an arbitrary mark or an abbreviating method, which, when conventionalised, serves as a sign by which one knows a thing. In this sense a form to be truly symbolic must bear an idealistic rather than a realistic significance. An additional number of heads and arms to imply a correspondingly multiplied amount

of intellect and strength would hardly serve as a symbol of brain power and physical superiority. Neither an aeroplane imitating the form of a bird would properly symbolise that bird. The cross on the other hand being nothing but an ancient crude machine used for capital punishment, is, with Christians, a symbol or conventionalised sign for sacrifice of life by Christ for the sake of a certain faith. The non-Christians need not read the symbol of cross in the same sense as the Christians do, if there is nothing in the scripture or in the etymology of the word to indicate such a significance of the term 'cross.' It is because of the convention alone and due to the absence of surer mark or sign that there is a sharp difference in the reading of a symbol. For an absolutely arbitrary conclusion no recognised sign or premises are required.

In architecture, however, of different countries, creeds, and peoples, symbols are not so arbitrary. In most of those instances the conventions are well established. In Indian architecture the conventions are further strengthened by certain indications which being missed by most of the historians and critics, there has been a wide range of conjectures. These conjectures have further been unchecked owing to the fact that the scanty and fragmentary archaeological remains on which the study of the subject has been so far entirely based, cannot give any connected idea of Indian architecture. A dilapidated fortress, a fallen town, a demolished village, a broken pillar, a top-less building, a forgotten crown or throne could never furnish an entire picture of the structure that alone may indicate some hidden meaning which the architect might have in his mind to express through its symbol. Besides, the fragmentary remains of architecture do not bear any special designations for the component parts or the whole structure by which some special sense might have been intended to be expressed. A complete idea of the whole structure together with special designations for the component parts and ornamental mouldings, so far as Indian architecture is concerned, can be gathered from the literary descriptions spread over all classes of Sanskrit literature,<sup>1</sup> especially in the hundreds of architectural texts<sup>2</sup> which have survived mostly in fragmentary condition like the archaeological remains themselves. Of the avowedly

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 1-34.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, Appendix A, pp. 749-804.

architectural texts the *Mānasāra* <sup>1</sup> (Essence of measurement) appears to be the only standard work on architecture and sculpture, being complete and full in all details. It deals with both the method and principle and the constructional details of all architectural and cognate matters. In this standard work, *Mānasāra*, the term architecture is taken in its broadest sense and implies almost everything that is built or constructed according to a design and with an artistic finis. Thus it includes what is generally known as sculpture also and deals with its different branches in a scientific manner. Architecture proper or house-building is preceded by an elaborate treatment of the village-scheme, the town-planning and all the cognate subjects, such as, laying out gardens, constructing market-places, commercial ports and harbours, making roads, bridges, gateways, triumphal arches ; digging wells, tanks, trenches, drains, sewers, moats ; building enclosure walls, embankments, dams, railings, landing places, flights of steps for hills and rivers and ladders. All kinds of buildings in use at the time or which were likely to be required by the country, including religious temples, common dwellings, gorgeous edifices, pompous palaces and mansions, and the military establishments are treated with the minutest detail, alternative measures, and a large variety of options to suit all requirements. Articles of furniture are similarly treated and includes bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, wardrobes, baskets, cages, nests, mills, conveyances, lamps and lamp-posts for the street. Thrones and crowns for different ranks of kings and deities form a distinct branch. Personal ornaments and dresses and garments include various chains, ear-rings, armlets, anklets, foot-rings, waist bands, jackets, head-gears, and foot-wears. The preliminary subjects include consideration of ground conditions and atmospheric conditions, temperature, sunshine, wind direction, humidity, rainfall, dryness, growth of vegetation and other site conditions, elevation and sloping of the ground, testing of soil and finding out exact cardinal points for

<sup>1</sup> It has been published through the Oxford University Press by the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in five volumes covering some 3,000 pages of crown quarto size and comprising a critically edited Text, a fully annotated Translation in English, an encyclopedic Dictionary of some three thousand technical terms, and an up-to-date Introductory volume surveying the whole range of the subjects both historically and comparatively with connected literature of this and other countries, and a set of plates in line and in colours drawn in measure and strictly after the description as given in the original text.



orientation of buildings and determining proper aspect and necessary prospect and privacy.

In this article nothing more than the general principle of this vast subject of which the foregoing list may supply a picture may at best be touched. This principle appears to have been based upon a fundamental truth and a settled rule of action. But the laws are flexible to a great extent inasmuch as a large number of options are allowed and discretionary right is permitted in order to suit the different and unforeseen conditions. There is, however, a regulating principle which is inviolable and that inviolable principle consists in 'the fine art of designing and constructing ornamental buildings.' The truly architectural design always implies a mental scheme which is expressed in a plan in outline and intended to indicate a subjective and symbolic meaning.

After a thorough examination of the meteorological conditions and testing of the soil and surroundings of the ground, when a site is finally selected for any of the above-mentioned objects, it is considered under one of the thirty-two schemes into which the site-plans are distinguished. Each of these site-plans is given a significant name and is divided into a certain number of square-plots bearing symbolic designations.

The first of these site-plans is called *Sakala* or one plot, which means 'all' or an 'undivided whole' as opposed to *vikala* or that which can be divided into separate plots.<sup>1</sup> Its northern side is designated Som, the moon, who is the recognised lord of the north. The eastern side is named after the quarter-lord Āditya, the Sun. The southern side is called Yama, generally known as the god of death, but really meaning 'the restrainer,' the burning horizon of the south of India. And the western side is named after the lord of that quarter, Varuṇa, god of water, that which encompasses the western ocean of India.

The second plan is called *Pechaka*, which ordinarily means an owl, and may etymologically imply a couch or bed. It is divided into four square plots, the four sides being designated by the same four epithets as in the *Sakala* plan, but the corners bear separate designations. The north-east is called Īśa, that which lords over, having the purifying morning Sun on the right and the invigorating Himalayan wind on the left. The south-east is called Agni or fire,

<sup>1</sup> In several towns the municipal boards do not permit the partition of a plot although more than one residences are allowed to be built in the same plot.

implying the hottest zone, as it gets the maximum heat from the Sun. The south-west is called *Pavana* or wind, which supplies the sea-breeze both from the southern and western Indian ocean. The north-west is called *Gagana* or the sky, joining the endless horizon over the highest peak of the Himalayas.

The third plan *Pīṭha* etymologically means pedestal or back, and is divided into nine plots, eight of which bear the same epithets as the eight directions of the *Pechaka* plan, and the ninth plot at the centre is called, *Prithvī*, the earth, which serves as the base or support for all structures. In the subsequent plans the centre plot is assigned to *Brahmā*, who, as the Creator, is always considered by the Hindus as the pivot around which everything else moves. The increasing number of plots in each plan are assigned to different quarter-lords numbering some forty-five. There is no room for a detailed examination of all the plans for there are as many as one thousand and twenty-four plots in the thirty-second plan called *Chandrakānta*, the moonlight or moon-glade. Most of these plans are considered in square form, but triangular and circular varieties also are referred to. A look into the drawings may give some idea of the subject.<sup>1</sup>

These site-plans are used both in designing villages, towns and dwellings and other houses. The exact situation of a particular quarter, building or room is ascertained by a reference to the quarter-lord to whom a plot is assigned in these plans.

The village scheme is considered under eight groups. Each class bears a symbolic designation and lay-out. The first group is called *Danḍaka*, which etymologically means a 'stick' and is based upon a straight plan. Like other groups it is also divided into different blocks which are flanked by roads and lanes running straight from one end to the other.<sup>2</sup> The next group is called *Sarvato-bhadra*, having the main gates on all the (four) sides. It is divided into four blocks and there is a public hall or temple in the centre of the village. The plate (No. XVI) will show that it looks all-auspicious. The third group of villages is called *Nandyāvarta* and its plan, blocks and very look will amply justify its title 'the repetition of pleasant look.' The plate (XVII) will show that it is a prosperous small town. The next group is called *Padmaka* or lotus. Its lotus-plan is maintained by its

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. V, Plates III-XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Plate XV of the writer's book of illustration referred to above will supply an idea of the *Dandaka* village.

surrounding lotus-like look as well as the plan of the four blocks into which the village is divided. It is more a town than a village and is honoured by the king's palace. The plate (XVIII) will further show the cosmopolitan character of its population which is not possessed by an ordinary village. The fifth group of villages called *Svastika* is also honoured with the royal palace and residences of nobles and ministers. It derives its symbolic name from its general plan which is generally translated by a cross shape but comprises various forms.<sup>1</sup> The plate (XIX) will give some idea of one of the forms. The next group is called *Prastara* and the plate (XX) will show that it is an enlarged form of the *Dandaka* plan and contains a cosmopolitan population including the king's palace. The seventh group is called *Kārmuka* because of its bow-shape. It is situated on the river-side and is divided into four triangular blocks lengthwise and into three semi-circular blocks breadthwise. A reference to the plate (XXI) will supply other details of its being a small commercial town or riverside market place. The towns like Mirzapur, old Patna, Benares, etc., appears to have been based on this plan. The last group of village schemes is called *Chaturmukha* or of four (uniform) façades. The plates (XXII) will show its four faces and interesting details of the plan. Its spiritual nature is emphasised by the fact that its central heart portion is assigned to the Brahmans and priests, while the royal palace if required is built at the north-west corner, and the surrounding road is called the circumambulatory passage.

The town-plan is an enlargement of the village scheme. But while the latter is classified on the basis of the requirements of the village life, the former is based upon the requirements of the city population, of which the seat of government, royal residence, secretariat and other offices are the leading things. The complexities of city life are further increased in consideration of the social and political rank of its chief resident, the head of the government. For this and other purposes the royalty is divided into nine ranks, from an imperialist to a petty chief or head-man. The limited space would not permit a detailed examination of the eight main city-plans and their highly complex details. Only a reference to the plates (XXIII-XXV)<sup>2</sup> may supply an idea, if not an elucidation, of the scientific, artistic

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 733-36.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. V.

and symbolic character of the plans. The plate (XXIII) will show the details of what is called *Rājadhāniya-nagara* or the city with the seat of government as the chief thing. The Chakravartin king who is the first resident is highest in rank among the nine classes of kings. For the imperial purposes the cosmopolitan nature of temples, public halls, parks, office quarters, soldiers' barracks, police quarters and residence of civil population is emphasised in this plan. The next three plans, called respectively *Nagara*, *Pura* and *Nagarī*, are cities of smaller types and vary only in minor details. The fifth type is called *Kharvata*. The plate (XXIV) will supply the general outline and elucidate its circular plan based upon the disc of Vishnu, the centre being reserved for the city temple.<sup>1</sup> The sixth type is called *Kheta* and is built both on the river or sea side as well as in the valley of a mountain. A comparison of Plates XXIV and XXI will show that *Kheta* and *Kārmuka* have got a family similarity, although different in look. Towns like Ranikhet appears to have been based on this plan. The eighth type is called *Pattana*, settlement, a commercial town on the seaside. Cities like Bombay, Madras and many others are apparently based on this type.

There are fifteen types of fortresses and forts many of which are fortified towns, the rest being military establishments which have now become matters of the past and of only historical interest. They are also symbolic in nature.

Houses for various purposes were built in villages, towns and fortified cities. There were both semi-detached and detached pavilions and halls. The *ārāma* or rest-house is stated to have been built not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all.....by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm.<sup>2</sup> Abodes of five kinds are mentioned in Buddhist literature.<sup>3</sup> *Vihāra* denotes the well-known monasteries or temples of the Buddhists, originally implying halls where the monks met. *Ardhayoga* seems to be a special kind of Bengal buildings partly religious and partly residential. *Prāsādas* are wholly residential storeyed buildings. *Harmyas* are a larger type of storeyed mansions. *Guhās* are smaller buildings originally built underground for middle-class people. The designs,

<sup>1</sup> The modern city of London appears to be on a similar plan, with the St. Paul's Cathedral in the centre.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Hindu Architecture*, p. 11; Chullavagga, VI. 4, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Vinaya Texts, Mahāvagga, I, 30, 4, Chullavagga, VI. 1, 2.

features and internal disposition of component members of these buildings are quite in keeping with the symbolic significance of their technical names.

This classification went on changing with the progress of time and art of building but the underlying principle remained unaltered. Some of the *Purāṇas* retained a five-fold division under different names. Thus in the *Agni* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* the *Vairāja* class of quadrangular pattern includes nine types of building with various details. The *Pushpaka* group is rectangular in shape and includes another nine types. The *Kailāsa* class is round in shape and includes another nine types. The *Manika* class is oval in shape and includes another nine types. Lastly the *Trivishtapa* group is octagonal in shape and comprises another nine types of buildings with characteristic features and details. The *Matsya* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*, as also the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* each describes twenty types of edifices with such details as hundred towers (*śringa*), sixteen storeys, many steeples (*śikhara*) and fifty cubit in dimension. The *Kāṁikāgama* similarly describes another twenty types and the *Suprabhedāgama* ten types<sup>1</sup> each, and every one of all these main classes and subdivisions is symbolic in plan and in character and can be shewn by drawings and sketches.

The *Śilpaśāstra* like the *Mānasāra* supplies more scientific classification and constructional details. There are ninety-eight ordinary types and numerous special groups described therein of which no adequate elucidation is possible here.<sup>2</sup> Thus there were small tenements and flats, cottages and middle-class houses, and rest-houses in gardens and bungalows with orchards. The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences, which are again surrounded with bamboo fences and ditches. The larger palaces and mansions and temples comprise various courts each of which is furnished with a gate-house. These edifices run up to twelve storeys, while their gate-houses are raised to seventeen storeys. The large mansions are built in rows in various shapes. Each and every one of these objects is artistic in design and symbolic in character.

The smaller residential houses were built comprising "dwelling rooms and retiring rooms and store-rooms, and service halls, and

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Hindu Architecture*, pp. 113-19.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Hindu Architecture*, pp. 111-18.

halls with fire-places in them, and store-houses and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds, and open-roofed sheds." The devotee (*upāsaka*) built for his own use " a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, a one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well-house, a bathing place for hot sitting baths, a room therefor, a lotus pond and a pavilion." The inner chambers of larger houses were divided into three classes, called '*Śivikā-garbha* or square halls, *Nālikā-garbha* or rectangular halls, and *Harmya-garbha* or large dining halls.<sup>1</sup> A middle-class house with a quadrangular courtyard in the centre and comprising sixteen rooms was a favourite plan both in the ages of the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* on the one hand and the later *Śilpaśāstras* on the other.<sup>2</sup> In the north-east-corner was built (1) the family chapel ; in the east (2) the room for all things, (3) the bath room, and (4) the room for churning milk ; in the south-east corner (5) the kitchen, in the south (6) the *Britasa-griha*, (7) the *Saina-griha*, and (8) the privy ; in the south-west corner (9) the library ; in the west (10) the study, (11) the dining hall, and (12) the weeping room ; in the north-west corner (13) the granary ; and in the room for north (14) the bed-room, (15) the store-room, and (17) the room for invalids or medicine.

All houses, large and small, were furnished with suitable doors, windows, staircases, and various kinds of verandahs, namely covered terraces, inner verandahs, over-hanging caves, and verandahs supported on pillars with capitals of elephant head. All houses together with their component members and auxiliary parts, big or small, bear certain symbolic features.

Thus there are five shapes of buildings, namely, quadrangular comprising both square and rectangular, octagonal, oval, round, and circular. Buildings are again divided into masculine, feminine and neuter classes which depend upon equiangular and other shapes, and in case of temples the sexes of the chief deities are also taken into consideration. The *Sthānaka* or standing, *Āsana* or seated, and *Śayana* or reclining groups depend upon a certain aspect, and in case of temples the

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's *Hindu Architecture*, pp. 11-12 ; Mahavagya, III, 5, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 612-14, for quotations from the *Matsya* and *Agni Purāṇas*, the *Kāmikāgama*, the *Vāstu-tattva*, *Vāstu-pravandha*, and *Śilpaśāstra-sāra-saṃgraha*.

posture of the chief deity is further taken into consideration. The *Śuddha* or pure, *Miśra* or mixed and *Samkīrṇa* or amalgamated divisions depend upon the materials, stone, brick and wood, of which a house is mainly built. The *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa*, and *Ābhāsa* classes depend on the units of measurement which comprise the cubit of twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six and twenty-seven *aṅgula* each measuring exactly three-fourths of an inch. *Samchita*, *Asamchita*, and *Apasamchita* groups depend upon the standard of measure, the height, breadth and length of the building being respectively the regulator of measure for the whole structure. Lastly, a building must belong to one of the three main styles called *Nāgara* or northern, *Vesara* or eastern and *Drāviḍa* or southern. The northern style is distinguished by its quadrangular shape. The eastern style of building is marked by its round shape from the neck upwards. In the southern style the upper portion of buildings from the neck is octagonal ; of this style there is a subdivision called *Andhra* in which the upper portion is hexagonal.<sup>1</sup>

Limitation of space would not permit proper elucidation of the artistic design and symbolic character of all these matters. By way of an instance a reference may be made to the proportions alone. The technical names of the proportions of height are significant. The first one is called *Śāntika* or peaceful. In this proportion the height is equal to the breadth, and this is aesthetically a graceful proportion for a building. The second one is called *Paushtika*, meaning strong, eminent or rich. In this proportion the height is one and one-fourth of the breadth, and this would give the building a good stability. The third one is called the *Jayada* or jay-giving. In this proportion the height is one-and-one-half of the breadth, and this gives a pleasant appearance to the building. The fourth one has two names. *Sarvakāmika* or good in every way, and *Dhanada* or wealth-giving. In this proportion the height is one-and-three-fourths of the breadth, and according to the literal meaning of the term, *Sarvakāmika*, this would make the building strong as well as

<sup>1</sup> वेदाग्रं नागरं प्रोक्तं वस्त्रं द्राविडं भवेत् ।

सुवर्तं वेसरं प्रोक्तमश्वं स्यात् षडग्रं कम् ॥

(Mānasāra, XLIII, 124-125.)

कण्ठादारभ्य द्वारं यत्तद्वेसरमिति सूतम् ॥

श्रीवमारभ्य चाष्टाग्रं विमानं द्राविडाख्यकम् ।

सर्वं वै चतुरग्रं यत्प्रासादं नागरं त्विदम् ॥

(Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 38-39.)

beautiful. The fifth or last one is called *adbhuta* or marvellous. In this proportion the height is twice the breadth, and this gives a wonderful loftiness and gorgeous look to the building.<sup>1</sup>

In whichever of these heights a building is erected the roof thereof may terminate in the flat, pent or spherical shape. The flat roof was an imitation of the cave houses, which at first were the mere natural caves used as shelters both by unskilled man and beasts. The pent roof was the next development in the art of building where the stability was still supplied on the three sides by the rocks. The highest development in architecture is the spherical roof. The spherical roof is divided into four main parts, called *śikhara* or cupola, *śikhā* or pinnacle, *śikhānta* or finial, and *śikhāmaṇi* or apex. No distinction has been made in the *Śilpa-śāstra* of the constructional details of either between the Vishṇu and Śiva temples, or among the Brahminical, Buddhist and Jain temples regarding their *Sikhara* or spherical roof. The height is, however, stated to vary castewise rather than sectwise. In matter of the finial of temples a comparison of the Hindu *Sikhara* with the steeple of a Christian church on the one hand and the dome of a Muhammadan mosque on the other will show the degree of scientific knowledge, artistic skill, aesthetic sense, and spiritual aspiration of the Christian, Hindu and Muslim builders. There is however an important agreement among those three leading faiths in the symbolic spiritual expression of the place of worship, each endeavouring in its own way to point to the highest of the high and the finest of the fine.

So far as the Hindu architecture is concerned the all-important *Sikhara* appear to have been developed from the very origin of the idea of temple. Idol-worship and origin of temple did not go hand in hand. Even in the absence of the later images of deities we had our sacrificial altars which are essentially temples. The *Śulva-sūtras*, which are the supplementary portions of the *Kalpa-sūtras*, treating of the measurement and construction of the different *vedis* or altars, furnish us with some interesting structural details of the Agnis, the large altars built of bricks. The construction of these altars, which were required for the great *soma* sacrifice, seems to have been based on sound scientific principles and was probably the beginning of religious architecture or temple-building in India.

These altars were constructed in different shapes, the earliest enumeration of which is found in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (V. 4, 11).

<sup>1</sup> *Mānasāra*, XXXV. 22-26. See also the writer's Dictionary, pp. 82-83.



Following this enumeration, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of all these different *chitis* (altars) and the bricks which were employed for their construction.

The *Chaturaśra-śyena-chit* is so called because it resembles the form of a falcon and the bricks out of which it is composed are all square-shaped. The *Kaṅka-chit* in the form of a heron<sup>1</sup> is the same as the *Śyena-chit* except the two additional feet. The *Alaja-chit* is the same except the additional wings. The *Prauga-chit* is an equilateral triangle. The *Ubhayataḥ-Praugachit* is made up of two such triangles joined at their bases. The *Rathachakra-chit* is in the form of a wheel, (i) a massive wheel without spokes and (ii) a wheel with sixteen spokes. *Droṇa-chit* is like a vessel or tube, square or circular. The *Parichayya-chit* has a circular outline and is equal to the *Rathachakra-chit*, differing in the arrangement of bricks which are to be placed in six concentric circles. The *Samuhya-chit* is circular in shape and made of loose earth and bricks. Lastly the *Kūrma-chit* resembles a tortoise and is of a triangular or circular shape.<sup>2</sup>

Everyone of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together came up to the height of the knee; in some cases ten or fifteen layers, and proportionate increase in the height of the altar were prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks, so that the whole Agni (altar) contained a thousand; the first, third and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form. The first altar covered an area of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *purushas*, which means  $7\frac{1}{2}$  squares, each side of which was equal to a *purusha*, i.e., the height of a man with uplifted arms. On each subsequent occasion the area was increased by one square *purusha*. Thus, at the second layer of the altar one square *purusha* was added to the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  constituting the first *chiti* and at the third layer two square *purushas* were added and so on. But the shape of the whole and the relative proportion of each constituent part had to remain unchanged. The area of every *chiti*, whatever its shape might be—falcon, wheel, tortoise, etc.—had to be equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  square *purushas*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Burnell, Catalogue, 29, of a carrion kite, and Thibaut, J.A.S.B., 1875, Part I.

<sup>2</sup> These may account for the various shapes of temples disclosed by the archaeological remains.

<sup>3</sup> See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 7-8. *The Pandit*, New Series, June, 1876, No. 1, Vol. I, IV, 1882; Old series, June, 1874, No. 97, Vols. IX and X, May, 1876.

The artistic shape, symbolic character and scientific construction of these structures are apparent and need no elaborate elucidation. They in time grew up to be the twelve-storeyed temples together with seventeen-storeyed gate-houses. They were not mere skyscrapers ; they expanded sidewise also. Thus we see the courts of four classes of edifices, each comprising five to seven varieties, built for offerings, family members, beauty and defence. Each of the *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa*, and *Ābhāsa* classes of edifice comprises five courts where hundreds of residences or shrines for attendant deities of Vishṇu, Śiva, Buddha, Jaina and other temples were built. The innermost court called *Antar-maṇḍala* both in temples and palaces where the main shrine or the palace is situated is furnished with the gate-house called *Dvāra-śobhā* or beauty of the gate. The second court both for temples and residential buildings, called *Antanihāra*, is furnished with the gate-house known as *Dvāra-śālā* or gate-hall. The third court called *Madhyama-hārā* is furnished with the gate-house known as *Dvāra-prāsāda* or gate-palace. The fourth court known as *Prākāra* or enclosure proper is furnished with the gate-house called *Dvāra-harmya* or gate-edifice. The fifth court, called *Mahāmaryādā* or larger boundary, is furnished with the gate-house known as *Mahāgopura* or great gate-house. The sixth and the seventh courts mainly serve the purposes of defending walls wherein are housed the soldiers and such other defence forces.<sup>1</sup> The very names of all these objects will indicate their symbolic character : the details will show their artistic designs also.

Pavilions of some hundred types, classified as belonging to temples and residential buildings in accordance with shapes, faces and number of columns, are also symbolic in character and highly artistic in design and construction.<sup>2</sup>

The storeyed mansions of six types each comprising several varieties, running up to twelve storeys, built for the sake of beauty, health and enjoyment of the kings and others, reached the highest development of architectural designs with symbolic significance. Elucidation of details would require the space of a separate book. Only a passing reference can at best be made here. The *Daṇḍaka* group, deriving its epithet from the straight plan, is an isolated mansion comprising a single row of building generally built for the Maṇḍaleśa and the inferior classes of kings. The *Śvastika* group

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations see the writer's *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> See Plates CVIII-CXII.

of mansion is plough-shaped and consists of two rows of buildings and is used generally by the Paṭṭadhara and other inferior classes of kings. The *Maulika* mansions are shaped like the winnowing basket and comprises three rows of buildings, and assigned to the Pārshnika and the inferior classes of kings. The *Chaturmukha* group of mansions comprises four rows of buildings and is meant for the Narendra and other inferior classes of kings. The *Sarvato-bhadra* mansions consist of seven rows of buildings and are assigned to the Mahārājā and other inferior classes of kings. Lastly the *Vardhamāna* (progressive) mansions comprise as many as ten rows artistically joined together and are assigned to the Chakravartin and other inferior classes of kings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations see Plates CXIII-CXVI, *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. V.

# RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

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UNDER the Sultanate India was mainly held by the military strength of the Muslim rulers. The Sultans and their governors kept what peace they could, collected the land revenue and other taxes and were mostly content to leave their subjects alone except where their religious policy was concerned. The Sultanate in India was based on the distinction between its Hindu and Muslim subjects. The Muslims formed a caste apart and were the only active citizens in the state. Theory apart, the position of the Hindus differed in various ways from that of their Muslim neighbours in practice.

The foremost among these distinctions was the payment of a special tax, the Jizya, payable under peculiarly humiliating circumstances.<sup>1</sup> *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*,<sup>2</sup> a digest of Muslim Law prepared under Aurangzeb, but embodying earlier practices, recognizes two types of the Jizya. One was the payment of an agreed-upon amount by the ruler of a territory or the people thereof. This left its collection to the ruler concerned or to the people. It then did not always mean an additional tax, because the amount could have been paid out of the existing sources of revenue. But in the territories directly under Muslim rulers the Jizya was levied from individual tax-payers and its amount had to be individually assessed. Except probably in the earlier days of the Muslim occupation of India, the Jizya seems to have been levied directly. Even when new territories were conquered or vassal princes subdued, it was now no longer customary to make any bargains with them so far as the payment of the Jizya was concerned. If the new territory formed part of the dominions of a Muslim ruler, its inhabitants were expected to pay the Jizya according to the rates prevailing elsewhere. If a prince was made feudatory he was expected to pay a tribute which though it may have originally included the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on the imposition and collection of the Jizya under Aurangzeb, *Calcutta Review*, September, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Volume III, Article on Jizya (Urdu translation published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow).

Jizya, was now only the sign that he had accepted an overlord. His subjects were not expected to pay the Jizya which seems to have been levied only in the territories directly under Muslim rulers. At first the Brahmans were exempted from the payment of this tax. But in Firoz Shah's reign it was discovered that it was unreasonable to tax humble followers of a religion in this fashion leaving the leaders of the error alone. The Brahmans therefore were ordered to pay the Jizya and their priestly profession did no longer protect them.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes an exceptionally enlightened monarch, like Zain-ul-Abadin (1420 to 1470 A.D.) in Kashmir, might remit the Jizya<sup>2</sup> even.

As we have discussed elsewhere, the Jizya formed a very heavy burden on the masses.<sup>3</sup> But it was not its burden alone which was irksome. It was a badge of inferiority round the necks of the unfaithful reminding them constantly that they formed a subject people under an alien rule.

The Jizya was not the only additional tax imposed on the non-Muslims. A pilgrimage tax was collected at Hindu places of religious fairs under most Muslim rulers. As we shall presently see, it represented a compromise between the strict injunction of the Muslim law not to tolerate public celebration of non-Islamic practices and the desires of a vast Hindu population to perform their religious rites. Under a pious Muslim king, like Firoz Shah Tughluq, the source of profit to the Muslim state from an unholy source, was sacrificed to the stricter demands of Muslim law. An Alla-ud-Din would sometimes improve upon the injunctions of his theologians even and order a scheme of confiscatory taxation leaving the Hindus only their daily needs. But these were accidents alone. Ordinarily the Hindus paid the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax as additional burdens. The Jizya could not be avoided but the tax on pilgrimage could be shirked by those who attended no fairs. The Jizya was an annual tax whereas the pilgrimage tax was an occasional affair alone. The Jizya was paid only by those living in a Muslim territory whereas the pilgrimage tax was paid by all who visited places of pilgrimage situated in the Muslim territory. As certain ceremonies connected with deaths in one's family had usually to be performed in certain holy places, most Hindus paid the tax. Firoz Shah's order prohibiting these fairs, however, would

<sup>1</sup> Aif, 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Urdu), Vol. II, p. 545.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the article already cited.

lead us to believe that the usual fairs which formed so important a part of mediaeval economic and religious life and which were held in most places at certain occasions were also made a source of income to the state. In that case the pilgrimage tax would almost be as universally paid as the Jizya.<sup>1</sup>

The payment of the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax was intended to secure the non-Muslims free exercise of their religion. But this was limited to private worship alone. Public worship of Hindu idols was forbidden. It is difficult to say definitely how far this injunction was enforced and obeyed. In villages where there were hardly any Muslims it would have always been possible to carry on the worship of the village gods as before. Of course there may have been chances of trouble if a zealous Qazi in a neighbouring town heard of such malpractices. The Muslim chroniclers record very few cases where Hindus were punished for open and public worship of their gods thus offending the eyes and ears of the faithful. This might either mean that these orders were usually obeyed and therefore no cases of defiance are recorded or that though the orders were disobeyed, it was only under very pious kings, like Firoz Shah,<sup>2</sup> that their defiance was punished. It would be safer to hold that in the important towns and cities where Muslim officials usually resided, some attempt at its enforcement must have been made. How often this led to clashes we have no means of judging. This inhibition against public worship implied denial of any extension of existing facilities for public worship. Thus it was held that the Hindus should not be allowed to build new public temples or to repair old ones. Again it is difficult to decide how far this was insisted upon in all parts of the Muslim territories. As in the case of public worship, in big cities where Muslim officers were present and where a considerable number of Muslims lived, building new public temples may have been prohibited. It should be borne in mind however that this did not mean denial of religious worship. Oftener than not, the houses of well-to-do Hindus contained temples of sorts where their humbler brethren could usually worship their gods. Public temples mainly existed in places which were sanctified by centuries of religious traditions. Such new places were not likely to appear in the Muslim period. Hinduism at this time

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ma'sir-i-Shah Jahani*, f. 143, for Sakandar Lodhi's orders.

<sup>2</sup> Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 388.

had become an individual religion where opportunities for co-operate public worship were not many. Of course, the cases of the public temples destroyed or desecrated at the time of the fresh conquest of a territory—as witness Firoz Shah Tugluq's desecration of the temples at Kangra (Firishta II, 547) and Jagannath, Puri (Afif, 379)—complicated matters. Here the restriction on the building of new temples was interpreted as a restriction, if not the denial, of already existing opportunities for public worship. Sometimes a peculiarly pious Muslim king, like Sikandar Lodhi, would have a fit of religiosity and desecrate or destroy already existing temples.<sup>1</sup> Then there was the question of religious fairs and festivals. As we have already seen these fairs were usually allowed on payment of a tax. Religious festivals like the Holi or the Dipavali further raised questions which had to be settled. Both of these implied public celebration of Hindu customs which may sometimes have proved obnoxious to the more orthodox among the Muslim rulers. The Muslim chronicles however are mostly silent on these questions and as we have no original records of the period we have to be content with their accounts.

The third distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims appeared in the public services. Revenue records were usually kept in Hindi except probably at the headquarters. This implied the employment of a large number of Hindus in the revenue department. Of these many were paid not by the state but by the cultivators themselves.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult therefore to consider them public servants; they were servants of the community. The lowest state officer in the revenue department seems to have been the officer-in-charge of a Parganah and it is extremely doubtful whether Hindus were ever employed in large numbers in this or the higher offices. Ordinarily, it would be safe to assert, the Hindus were excluded from all except the lowest jobs in the state. On the military side, it was customary at one time to employ Hindu soldiers. The Ghaznavids even had contingents of Hindu troops under them. There is no reason to believe that the practice completely disappeared under the Sultanate. We have however to remember that pre-Mughal Muslim dynasties in

<sup>1</sup> *Asar-i-Shah Jahani*, f. 143, refers to the appointment under Sikandar Lodhi of Muslim Collectors who collected dues from the Hindus if they came to Muttra for religious purposes. It also refers to the desecration of temples. *Haft Aqalim*, f. 127, b, however states that he forbade the Hindus bathing at Muttra, desecrated their temples and destroyed their idols.

<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari* credits Akbar with the abolition of these cesses.

India did not last very long. Three centuries saw the rise and fall of five dynasties. Thus every dynasty had to employ only such soldiers and commanders as commanded its confidence. This would sometimes restrict the choice even to particular branches of Muslims let alone allowing Hindus to be enlisted in large numbers. The Hindus made very good accountants and in various minor capacities must have been employed as such by the state as well as by Muslim high officials. It is safe to hold however that Hindus were excluded from all high offices and were employed otherwise only when their employment was unavoidable.

A fifth distinction existed in the sumptuary laws that were sometimes enforced. As *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* declares, Hindus were not to be allowed to look like Muslims.<sup>1</sup> This, as in the hands of Ala-ud-Din, meant the enforcement of certain restrictions. The underlying principle was that the Hindus should look humble and should have no occasion to trouble their Muslim rulers. Ala-ud-Din forbade the wearing of rich dresses, riding horses, driving carriages, or using palanquins. But these orders clearly sound exceptional. Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq very nearly did the same. Sometimes Hindus might be asked to wear distinguishing marks on their new dresses so that they may not be mistaken for Muslims. Again these, when and where enforced, must have been confined to the cities where alone there was any danger of the Hindus, if left to themselves, resembling the Muslims. In the villages where Muslim population did not amount to much, the Hindus must have been left alone.

Further there were laws against blasphemy. The unreasonable extent to which these could be carried is well illustrated by the fate of a Brahman mentioned in *Firishta*, who was beheaded under Sikandar<sup>2</sup> Lodhi for maintaining that Hinduism and Islam were both true. Blasphemy might well have included not only disrespect towards Islam but Islamic traditions and institutions as well.

Conversion of Muslims to Hinduism or the re-conversion of Hindu converts to Islam was not usually permitted.<sup>3</sup> There appeared sometimes exceptionally tolerant rulers, like Zain-ul-Abadin in Kashmir, who were prepared to allow the wholesale reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam back to their original faith. But this tolerant

<sup>1</sup> Article on the *Zimmis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, 281.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Conversion and Re-conversion to Hinduism during the Muslim Period* by the writer (in the D.A.V. College Historical Series, No. 2).



attitude was so exceptional that a story had to be invented proving him to be a Hindu recluse who had projected his own soul into the dead body of the king on his death-bed.

Usually this prohibition must have been strictly enforced as it would have been considered highly criminal in a Muslim king to encourage or tolerate apostasy which was a capital offence.

Under some Muslim rulers there were fits of fierce persecution. Forced conversion to Islam took place, sometimes in thousands, as under Sikandar Butshikan of Kashmir. Those who defied their fanatic persecutors were slain or had to seek safety in suicide. Jalal-ud-Din of Bengal (1414 to 1430), a convert himself, proved a new convert's zeal by converting hundreds of his Hindu subjects and persecuting the rest.<sup>1</sup> Most of the Tughluqs had the persecuting strain and Sikandar Lodhi suffered from the same defect. It is surprising, however, to find how few of the Muslim rulers tried to play the part of fanatic persecutors.

This seems to be a formidable count. But we have to remember that all these manifestations of religiosity were not always to be found together. Generally the Muslim rulers were content if the Hindus paid the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax and did not make any attempt to force either their wealth or their beliefs on the notice of their Muslim rulers. Of course they were not usually allowed to make converts. They were no doubt denied any share in the higher appointments in the state generally, but against this we have to place their monopoly of many petty offices in the revenue and accounts department. Secondly we have to remember that we are dealing with a set of circumstances that was universal in the Middle Ages and even after. The position of the Hindus in India was generally much better than that of many communities in Europe whose faith differed from that of their rulers. Roman Catholics in Ireland form a very instructive parallel. After the Reformation they formed the majority of the population as against their Protestant rulers. Yet their faith was penalized; they were long excluded from the higher appointments, they were made to support the Protestant Church, they were aliens in their own country. Again the position of the Protestants under Roman Catholic rulers or of Roman Catholics under Protestants was never happier. Even under prudent Elizabeth the Roman Catholics could abstain from attendance in Protestant churches by payment of a fine alone—which comes very near

<sup>1</sup> Riyazul Salatin, 116.

to the Jizya on the non-believers, the Roman Catholics. The position of the Protestants in the Netherlands under Spaniard Roman Catholic rulers again furnishes an instructive illustration of the prevailing mentality. The state was long subordinate to the church and it was considered to be a sin if its institutions were not used for the propagation of the state religion. Thus the religious policy which governed Muslim politics in India till the beginning of the sixteenth century was nothing singular. It was but one example of the intolerance and fanaticism which characterised the period and which continued elsewhere even long after that date. The only exception was the general policy of the Hindu rulers who usually let the religion of their subjects alone and did not indulge in persecution.

This was the system Babur inherited from the Lodhis. Sikandar Lodhi's fanaticism must have been still remembered by some of the officials whom Babur took over from his predecessors. Babur was not a great administrator. He was content to govern India in the orthodox fashion. He projected no great changes in the government of the country except the design of a royal road from Agra to Kabul. But the Hindus he came across occupied no humble position. Rana Sanga led a host wherein even Muslim armies were present under the disaffected Pathan chiefs and it was his success at the battle of Khanua that really enabled Babur to remain in India as her ruler. In religious policy therefore these two factors seem to have governed his policy. Babur, the born fighter against heavy odds, discovered the crisis of his life on the eve of his battle against Rana Sanga. The means he took to earn religious merit in order to win that field included the remission of the stamp duties on the Muslims thus confining that tax to Hindus alone. He thus not only continued but extended the financial distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects. There is no reason to believe that in any other way he relaxed the harshness of the religious policy which he found prevailing.

His son Humayun had not much chance of developing any distinct religious policy of his own. He followed the path of least resistance, the system already in vogue. We have no information whether or not he re-imposed the stamp duty abolished by his father. Probably he did.<sup>1</sup> His religious outlook is well exemplified in his behaviour when he set out against Bahadur Shah. He would not

<sup>1</sup> Firishtha Vol. I, 373.

attack him as long as he was busy against the Rana of Chitor besieging the fort. He sacrificed his own chances of an easy success against Bahadur Shah rather than interfere in his chances of earning religious merit by defeating an infidel.<sup>1</sup> But Humayun lived to begin a partially modified religious policy. Bairam Khan was the most brilliant of his officers who followed him into Persia and back into India. But he was a Shia. Now, as we shall see, to the orthodox Sunnis heresy was almost as great a crime as infidelity. But Bairam Khan's faithful services naturally led to a modification of the attitude of the state towards the Shias. Add to this Humayun's stay in Persia where he was obliged to show at least some outward respect to Shia practices. Thus Humayun tolerated heresy to a greater extent than his predecessor. One of his Sadr-us-Sadurs was reputed to be a heretic.

But we must go back a little and study the religious policy of Sher Shah Suri and his successors who supplanted Humayun for sixteen long years in the Government of India. Sher Shah was a great ruler, undoubtedly the greatest Muslim ruler before Akbar. We can understand therefore the anxiety of his biographer to credit him with a religious policy which he never dreamt of pursuing. He could not see the folly of putting Hinduism under a ban, as his biographer fondly imagines,<sup>2</sup> without abolishing the Jizya, the pilgrimage tax and various other signs of the religious hegemony of the faithful. If Muslim chroniclers do not praise him for his religious fanaticism as they do Ala-ud-Din, Firuz Shah, or Sikandar Lodhi, they simply bring him to the level of the general run of Muslim rulers who had been governing India before his time. The only positive evidence in his favour is the presence of a Hindu general of doubtful standing and the provision for Hindus in the post-houses that he established. The first does not prove much, as Hindu generals were found even in the army of Mahmud of Ghazni whom nobody would accuse of a liberal religious policy. The second brings us to the question of the nature of these rest-houses. They were essentially a part of a working postal system. Now the postal runners under him may well have been Hindus for whom provisions had to be made in these rest-houses. There is a separate caste of Hindus which even to-day works

<sup>1</sup> Firishta, I, 328, quotes the correspondence in verse between Bahadur Shah and Humayun on the occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Sher Shah by Qanungo, p. 417.

as the carriers. It is doubtful whether Muslims could have been found willing enough to undertake this humble work. Thus the provision for Hindus at these rest-houses was in the nature of a provision for a class of state servants. Hindu caste rules would not admit of these arrangements described being utilized by high-caste Hindus and the places seem clearly to have been utilized, if at all, by Hindus of a lower caste most probably public servants. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* does not say, as Qanungo holds, that he employed Brahman cooks for his free kitchens. Qanungo thinks, without any justification, that the 20,000 musketeers that he employed were probably Hindus. It is wrong to say that he did not destroy a temple or break an image. His conquest and occupation of Jodhpur was followed by the conversion of the Hindu temple in the fort into a mosque - a desecration indeed.<sup>1</sup> *Tarikh-i-Daudi* ascribes his attack on Maldev, Raja of Jodhpur, partly to his religious bigotry and a desire to convert the temples of the Hindus into mosques.<sup>2</sup> Sher Shah's treachery toward Puran Mal was not, as Qanungo tries to assert,<sup>3</sup> the work of a fanatic religious leader forced upon an unwilling being. It had been planned by Sher Shah beforehand, discussed by him with his officers and was deliberately meant for earning religious merit. Sher Shah said prayers of thanks after this religious deed. The expedition originated in Sher Shah's desire to earn religious merit by exterminating this arch infidel.<sup>4</sup> No amount of mere rhetoric can enable us to get over these accounts of the expedition especially when we find Sher Shah, who got ill on the eve of the battle, inviting his officers and confiding to them that ever since his accession he had been anxious to earn religious merit by defeating Puran Mal. All accounts give this expedition a religious colouring which no special pleading can destroy. Thus Sher Shah was only a product of his own age as far as his religious policy was concerned. Like Firoz Shah before him he combined administrative efficiency with religious intolerance so usual in his age. His place in history does not depend upon his initiating a policy of religious toleration or neutrality. He had no more to do with founding a nation in India, which is yet in the making even to-day, than Firoz Shah Tughluq or any other successful ruler before him.

1 Local tradition; the building still stands.

2 Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *M. S.*, p. 236.

3 P. 294.

4 *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 228 to 233. Cf. Subih Salik, p. 1710.

His successor, Salim Shah, brought the state under complete subjection to the Church. His relations with his Sadar-us-Sadar, whom he treated just as Charles X in a later age in France treated the Papal nuncio, prove his subordination to the Church. The civil war that followed Sikandar Shah's accession gave Hemu, a mere shopkeeper, a chance to become Adal Shah's Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister, thus breaking the religious tradition of intolerance in one of its worst aspects.

This was the system Akbar inherited when he came to the throne in 1556.

# THEORIES OF FALSE APPEARANCE IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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WHEN we perceive a rope as a snake, or a mother-of-pearl as a piece of silver, we say we have perceived falsely and we reject our cognition as a false apprehension. The question therefore arises, what is it that constitutes the falsity of the false apprehension? Is the epithet 'false' to be attributed to the apprehension itself, or to the content apprehended, or to both the apprehending and the apprehended? The present paper will deal with the principal Indian views of the question, and the enquiry will be confined to an exposition of the different views without any critical estimate which is reserved for a second paper.

Since the false apprehending takes its character as false from the nature of the content apprehended, and since further the correction which follows is a rejection of the content and is never a denial of the psychic facthood of the apprehension, the nature of the false appearance relates primarily to the objective content rather than the subjective apprehending. Hence controversies in Indian philosophy, called the *khyātivādas*, centre round the nature of the false content, i.e., the status of the content which appears rather than of the subjective fact of the apprehension itself.

There are six principal theories about the nature of the false appearance called respectively *Asatkhyāti*, *Ātmakhyāti*, *Akhyāti*, *Anyathākhyāti*, *Anirvacanīyakhyāti*, and *Satkhyāti*. We shall consider these theories serially, explaining each view as clearly as possible and reserving a critical estimate of each for a second paper to follow.

The *Asatkhyāti* view is professed by the *śūnyavādi* Buddhists or nihilists who maintain the *voidness* or absolute nothingness of all experiences and their contents. Error, according to the nihilistic Buddhists, is the cognition of the *asat*, of the absolute nought. When the rope is cognised as a snake, the snake which is falsely cognised is *asat* (non-existent), an absolute nought. We must distinguish

between an absolute *asat* and a relative *asat*, between absolute non-existence and relative non-existence. An absolute nought nowhere exists: it is without attachment to reality anywhere. A relative negation is only partially excluded from reality: it is non-existent in one place but exists in some other place.

A jar may be non-existent relatively, *i.e.*, it may be non-existent in one place, but may exist in another place; or it may be non-existent at one time but may exist some other time. But an absolute nought does not exist anywhere, or at any time, *i.e.*, it is excluded from the whole of reality. A sky-flower is an absolute non-existent in this sense. So is a horned hare. A sky-flower exists nowhere and no-when, and so does a horned hare. They are fictions of the imagination, absurd combinations suggested by the trickery of language—*alīka* or imaginary, without any attachment to reality anywhere. Of such imaginary fictions (*vikalpas*), we may distinguish two grades, *viz.*, (1) the factually non-existent, and (2) the logical impossible. Thus the horned hare is an absolute nought of the first type: it nowhere exists as a fact, but we do not perceive anything absurd in its existing. We may even suppose that nature may bring forth a horned hare in course of evolution, though till now it has no attachment to reality. A barren mother however illustrates the absolute nought of the second type: it not only is not existent but cannot but be so, contradicting as it does the very conditions of its attachment to reality. Now when the cogniser is in error, he cognises, according to the Buddhist nihilist, an absolute nought in one or other of the above two senses, for what he cognises is a combination of incompatibles which is without its parallel in experience. For example, when the cogniser perceives the rope as a snake, what he perceives is not a snake only, but a rope that has appropriated to itself the properties of a snake. In other words, he perceives not a snake as such, but the rope-snake, a snake which is a rope as well—an evident absurdity. He thus perceives what nowhere exists: the snake may exist, but a rope-snake is nowhere found except in cognitions of the false.

There is another Buddhist view, the *Ātmakhyāti* view of the *Vijñānavādins*, which rejects the nihilistic view of error as a contentless cognition that cognises nothing. The *Vijñānavādins* as subjective idealists repudiate the conception of cognition as the cognition of nothing. Such cognition, being cognition of nothing, must also be itself nothing. An error, they contend, which is itself

indistinguishable from nothingness, must itself be nothing, *i.e.*, must be not even error. Hence they accuse the *nihilists* of denying the self-evident cognitive fact. Error is not the cognition of an absolute nought: it does not apprehend a non-existent blank. It cognises the cognitive fact itself, *i.e.*, it cognises the psychic fact as a transcognitive object. Error thus arises from cognising the mental as an extramental fact. Blue is the cognition of the blue, but the erring mind cognises it as the extramental blue. The psychic fact is thus mistaken for a transcendent meaning. What is cognised is only the subjective image, but this is wrongly taken to be the cognition of an external object. The *Ātmakhyāti*, the self-cognition of the psychic fact, is imagined to be the cognition of the objective, trans-psychic reality. Hence error is not *asatkhyāti*, the cognition of a sheer nought, but is the cognition of the subjective state as an objective fact.

The Prābhākara Mimāṃsakas who advocate the view known as *Akhyāti* repudiate both the *Asatkhyāti* and the *Ātmakhyāti* views of the Buddhists. They contend that error always involves a given element, the error arising, according to them, from a confusion of what is so given with the memory-image it calls forth. Hence error involves both representation and presentation—something given or presented and some representation or image which the presentation calls forth. The error consists in the failure to distinguish between the perceived fact and the memory-image, in the non-distinguishing (*akhyāti*) between the presentation and the representation. In the stock example of the rope-snake illusion, there is a given element, *viz.*, the presentation of the 'rope' as a generic 'this.' The generically given rope calls forth the image of the snake. The illusion consists in the non-distinction of the presented 'this' and the represented 'snake.' The non-distinction entails confusion and leads to the false judgment, 'this is a snake.' The two facts, the percept and the image, are thus confused as one and certain false expectations are aroused as a consequence which practical experience negatives. The error is thus a negative non-distinguishing of the two experiences, the failure to realise their distinction and numerical plurality. Hence error is no positive experience: it is only negative non-distinction. Correction is the negation of this non-distinction: it is the assertion of the distinction through the cancellation of the confused non-distinction. As a matter of fact, there is no positive falsity in error anywhere. The cognition of the rope in its general outline as a 'this' is a fact, and is not



sublated. The recollection of the 'snake' is also a fact, and correction does not deny its facthood. The contents of these experiences are also facts, and are not cancelled. The rope is not cancelled as a fact, nor is the reality of the elsewhere and elsewhen snake which is recalled negated. What is rejected is the non-distinction, the negative non-distinguishing between the perceiving and the remembering, or between the perceived and the remembered facts.

The Prābhākaras thus insist on a *given* or objective starting-point of all false cognitions and in this respect go beyond the subjectivism of the *Ātmakhyāticādins* who reduce the false cognition to a mere subjective fact illegitimately objectified. They however refuse to recognise any positive element in error, error being, according to them, only negative non-distinguishing between the presented object and the represented image. The Naiyāyikas who profess the *Anyathākhyāti* view here join issue with the *Prābhākaras*. The *Naiyāyikas* urge, as against the *Prābhākaras*, the intrinsic positivity of error as distinct from negative non-distinguishing or *akhyāti*. Every error, the *Naiyāyikas* point out, is a *single* complex experience, not two psychoses falsely confused and merely non-distinguished as *Prābhākaras* say. In the 'snake-rope' illusion we are not aware of two experiences but of a single complex experience of a perceived 'this' appearing to be a 'snake.' Nor does correction cancel a negative non-distinction of two confused experiences: it rejects the single, composite experience in its entirety, the 'this snake' that was falsely perceived through the influence of the defects (of sense, media, etc.). The illusion is thus a unitary composite presentation of a 'this snake,' the 'this' being presented through the natural (*laukika*) contact of the visual sense and the object lying before it, and the 'snake' being also *presented* through the non-natural (*alaukika*) contact of the mind or internal sense with the elsewhere-elsewhen perceived 'snake.' The resulting experience is thus a misrepresentation of the snake-form in the locus of the presented 'this': a misrepresentation of the 'this' externally presented, in the form or character of the 'snake' internally or mentally presented. It is an error as being a unitary presentative experience of a presented 'this' in the form of a mentally perceived 'snake' with which it is objectively unconnected. The snake which is perceived *mentally* is a real, elsewhere snake, and the snake-character or feature inheres in this elsewhere snake, *i.e.*, not in the locus of the 'this' which is presented to the eye but in the

'snake' that exists elsewhere (e.g., in the jungle). The mistake or error thus consists in the perception of the mentally seen snake-character of the jungle-snake as inhering in the 'this' that is seen by the external sense, the eye.

The *Nyāya* or *Anyathākhyāti* view thus differs from the *Akhyāti* view in the following respects:

(1) According to the *Akhyāti* view, an error is equivalent to two cognitions while according to *Nyāya*, an error is a single composite experience.

(2) According to the *Akhyāti* view, the two cognitions involved in error are different in nature. One is a presentation, while the other is a representation with its memory-character lapsed or suppressed. According to *Nyāya*, however, these two are only predisposing conditions of the resulting cognition which is a single, composite, presentative cognition. Further these predisposing factors are themselves both presentative, one of these being the *laukika* or natural presentation of the 'this' through the ordinary, natural contact of the eye and the 'rope' that lies before it, and the other being the *alaukika*, non-natural, mental presentation or internal vision of the snake through a transcendental contact of the eye with the elsewhere and elsewhen perceived 'snake.'

(3) Lastly, according to *Akhyāti*, error is no positive experience but is only negative non-distinguishing between two cognitions which are not in themselves false. According to *Nyāya*, however, error is a positive experience being a positive false unification of two experiences, one of which is an internal perception of a past and distant object and the other an external perception of a present and proximate object.

Hence error according to the *Naiyāyikas* involves a positive, false element, the false element in error consisting in a false relation between otherwise real presentative contents which are objectively unconnected. Thus it is the relation between the contents which is false and not the contents themselves which are wrongly related.

We shall now consider the *Śāṅkara-Vedānta* view of *Anirvacanīya-khyāti* which repudiates the *Nyāya Anyatha-khyāti* view though admitting the positivity of error. Error, according to *Śāṅkarites*, involves more than the experience of a false relation: it is the experience of a unitary false content, not the experience of a false relation between real contents. The *Naiyāyika's* mistake consists, according to the *Śāṅkarite*, in making error consist in the apprehension

of a false relation only. But the relation is one with the relata it relates: the 'this snake' is an indivisible unity of 'this' and 'snake,' a unitary whole which the Naiyāyika falsely splits into a 'this,' a 'snake-character' and 'a relation between the two.' We are not actually aware of any such plurality in the illusory cognition itself. Nor does the deliverance of the correcting experience point to any rejection of a false relation only. When we correct the illusion we reject the entire content, the 'this snake' in its indivisible unity, as a falsely perceived content. In other words, just as the illusion is the experience of a 'here and now' snake and not of 'an elsewhere, jungle' snake, so is the correction which follows on the discovery of the truth a rejection of the 'here and now' snake falsely perceived and not of a false connection only between a 'jungle' snake and the 'here and now' of the rope perceived as a 'this.' And the Sankarites thus conclude that every error involves an unreal positivity or positive unreality. It is neither the cognition of sheer nought as *Asatkhyātivādins* say, nor a cognition of an elsewhere reality as Naiyāyikas say. It is a positive experience and therefore is the experience of a positive content. A 'sheer nought,' the absolute *asat*, cannot be the content of a positive experience, while every error is a positive experience. But it is also not the experience of an elsewhere reality, for an elsewhere reality has attachment to reality, while the erroneous content is excluded from reality altogether as the deliverance of correction shows. When I correct the error I reject the snake absolutely and unconditionally. I say that the rope that I perceived to be a snake, *never was, never is and never will be* the 'this snake' I took it to be, that, in other words, it was not even a 'this snake' when I perceived it as such. Correction is thus a *trai-kālika niṣedha*, a rejection for all the three periods of time. It amounts, in other words, to an absolute denial or negation, *i.e.*, the absolute exclusion of the perceived content from reality. Correction thus brings out the real character of the illusory experience: it shows forth the illusion as the cognition of an unreal object, of an objective unreality. The cognition would be no cognition without an object cognised (for surely the cognition does not cognise itself). And yet the cognition is further revealed (in the correction) as the cognition of an object without a location in reality anywhere. The illusory cognition is thus the experience of a logical indefinable, *i.e.*, of an objective or positive content which yet has no attachment to reality. Verily we

may say that its *esse* is, and also is not, its *percipi*: as object of cognition it is other than the cognition which cognises it as object, and yet as cancelled and rejected it is revealed as lacking in any substance other than the cognition which reveals it. Here then we have something which is indescribable, which is positive and yet unreal, and which is neither the subjective experience itself nor definable as anything different from it.

We shall now conclude with an analysis of the Rāmānujist *satkhyāti* view which rejects the *anirvacanīyakhyāti* view of the Śankarites and regards error as consisting in the apprehension of a partial truth as the whole truth. According to the *satkhyātivādins*, error is neither the apprehension of sheer nothingness nor of any indescribable object: it is simply the cognition of a partial feature as the only and the exclusive feature of an object. Thus when the rope is cognised as a snake, or a mother-of-pearl is taken to be a piece of silver, the cogniser perceives a real snake-feature in the rope lying before him or a real silver-character in the mother-of-pearl that shines before his eyes. He thus does not perceive nothing, nor does he perceive any elsewhere snake-character or silver-character, nor again any indescribable snake or indescribable silver. On the contrary, he perceives a real 'here and now' snake-character, or a real 'here and now' silver-feature, in the object lying before him 'here and now.' His mistake consists not in perceiving anything false or unreal, but in considering the snake or silver-character to be the only characteristic of the object lying before him and ignoring its other and more important aspects. This is why the cognition does not work in life and why the cogniser acting on the suggestion of such imperfect knowledge comes to grief in the practical affairs of life.

Comparing the above six views we note that while the *Asatkhyātivādin* makes error consist in the cognition of an absolute non-existent and the Naiyāyika makes it consist in that of the relatively non-existent, the Śankara-Vedantin makes it consist in the experience of a logical indefinable which is neither existent nor non-existent. Further we find that according to *Akhyāti* and *Satkhyāti* views, error is no real experience in the strict sense. According to *Akhyātivādins*, error is only negative non-distinguishing of two positive and real experiences, while, according to *Satkhyātivādins*, the so-called error cognises a real fact in the object and thus cognises no falsity in the strict sense. According to the other four views, however, error always involves a false

content which is rejected. It may also be noted that both *Satkhyātivādins* and *Anirvachanīyavādins* make error consist in the cognition of a transcendent object. In other words, according to both, the 'snake' is other than the cognition of the 'snake.' But, according to *Anirvacanīyavādins*, the transcendent object has *apparent* reality: it lasts as long as the subjective cognition lasts and is generated along with the latter as its object of reference. According to *Satkhyātivādins*, however, the transcendent object has *empirical* reality: the snake-feature is generated in the rope along with the production of the rope and it continues even when the primary presentation merges into a fuller perception of the truth. In other words, the snake does not disappear when the perceiver takes in the rope in its character as a rope.

# HUMOUR : THE COMIC THIRD

*(Continued from December number.)*

R. R. SRESHTA.

ANOTHER element—that of repetition—is more frequent perhaps in comic action than in comic situation. In a situation it may run close to irony, and is indeed sometimes difficult to be distinguished from it. To meet a stranger for the fifth time at the same spot in a street in the course of an hour would be a mildly amusing situation ; while repeated failure in a venture doggedly pursued would provoke laughter rather than sympathy. But of comic action repetition appears to be the winding key. Endless is the range of comic effects derivable from reiterated sound, movement, gesture, attitude, feature and what not, as in mimicry, ventriloquy and all kinds of clownery. It is more properly to such effects than to any other that one can apply the surplus-energy theory of the physiologists. The ‘bad’ boy of the class who can adroitly ‘take off,’ or in any other way tease the masters and get away with it, is usually a youngster with plenty of pep in him and regarded as a ‘jolly good chap’ by the others. To the same cause must be ascribed much of the humour of a jazz-band. But up to a point. For, shut your ears to the music, and the band will appear as a lot of contortionists, a lot of wild, wild men. Yet among the people with whom it originates rag-time may quite decently be used for a funeral march. So with a group of dancers—try the trick and they become so many puppets, gliding or gyrating in the still air. Beyond the point indicated the dance and the band are reduced, the one to corybantic, the other to dynamic nonsense. In the same way the reaction to Charlie Chaplin’s familiar antics and comedy trappings—the bowler hat, the clipped moustache, the ill-fitting suit of clothes, the shuffling gait, the whirled stick—rapidly undergoes a transition from the humorous to the hysterical. And hysterical laughter can arise only from nonsense. Comic action indeed would seem to trespass into the territory of nonsense with a singular ease. We must perhaps seek for the nearest humorous effects in this kind in actions which are generally held to be serious or solemn : such as etiquette, punctilio, ritual and pageantry. These, it has been remarked, are to society what clothes are to the body (Bergson) : a mask, a cloak, a disguise.

Witness an Oriental durbar or a University Convocation: the actors in it, if one forgets for a moment their gravity, can be observed to behave like a set of marionettes. Gravity is rightly seen to be a galanty show. An invisible humourist—the Genius of the Race, whose invention it is, is pulling the strings and they all perform at his will and pleasure. It is indeed the play-instinct surviving into adulthood.

Further, it must be observed that to repeat a thing is to draw pointed attention to it—an effect counted upon by the wag at Bath who collected all the men with long chins that he knew at a house-party, and by the Oxford undergraduate whose guests were distinguished by such names as Bottomwether, Bottomwhallop, Sidebottom, Higginbottom, Bottomley (imagine them one by one announced in the butler's grave voice) and who, to cap the joke, were treated to a dinner consisting solely of—rumpsteak! This, incidentally, is a striking example of the complete comic, of wit, humour and nonsense combined in one, according to the angle we look at it from. Here we find a witty idea of the originator, at the same time it is a humorous situation to the spectator, and to the victims themselves (if they have the least little grain of humour in their composition) it is all laughable nonsense. The wit lies in the inspiration, the humour in the juxtaposition of similar names or of chins of unusual length, the nonsense in the victim's embarrassment.

Every practical joke will probably be found to contain more than one comic element. Condemned though practical jokes are by their victims they have excellent precedent—no less than divine. For it was God who played the first practical joke when he stole an insignificant rib out of Adam, and gave him instead that significant creature, Eve.

It is the possibility of a comic fusion of this kind that accounts for the difficulty of distinguishing its different elements with sufficient precision and clearness, and of giving a completely satisfactory account of the comic covering all its aspects. Analyse, for example, this passage from Dickens:

“ ‘What are we?’ said Mr. Pecksniff, ‘but coaches? Some of us are slow coaches—.’

‘Goodness, Pa!’ cried Charity.

‘Some of us, I say,’ resumed her parent with increased emphasis, ‘are slow coaches, some of us are fast coaches! Our passions are the horses, and rampant animals too!’

‘ Really, Pa ! ’ cried both the daughters at once. ‘ How very unpleasant ! ’

‘ And rampant animals too ! ’ repeated Mr. Pecksniff with so much determination that he may be said to have exhibited at the moment a sort of moral rampancy himself ; ‘ and Virtue is the drag. We start from the Mother’s Arms and we must to the Dust Shovel.’

When he had said this, Mr. Pecksniff being exhausted, took some further refreshment. When he had done that he corked the bottle tight, with the air of a man who had effectively corked the subject also ; and went to sleep for the next stage.”

The situation here is humorous, but in his remarks—in his comparison of men to fast and slow coaches, passions to rampant animals, Virtue to a drag. Birth to Mother’s Arms and Death to a Dust Shovel, Pecksniff, rather surprisingly, proves himself quite a witty fellow. It should be remembered that humour is *found*, wit is *made* ; humour is *expressed* in language, wit is *created* by language. In this passage, it should be evident that Dickens employs both wit and humour.

There can be no doubt that of all the comic kinds it is the comic character that strikes the deepest roots into life. And if it be perceived that every human situation, even the so-called Irony of Fate—which is a situation ascribed to Fate because it contains some inexplicable element—is but arrested action, and that every action issues from character, the comic of character will be seen to comprise, ultimately, the entire domain of humour. Regarded in this way, humour becomes the ‘ proper study of mankind.’ In action we have character in animation (compare with the dramatic art), in a situation we have character in suspended animation (compare with group-painting), in the sum of a person’s physical, mental and moral make-up we have character in repose (compare with sculpture). Humour impinges on all these aspects of character.

Let us consider some of the ways by which character, including physical appearance—which is the outward sign of the inward grace or disgrace—can be discerned as comic. To draw pointed attention to a physical feature by magnifying, diminishing or slightly altering it, has been a favourite device of the caricaturist. Nature herself does this when she gives a man an aquiline nose or a pair of asinine appendages for ears, or puts a hump on his back or draws him a pair of bow-legs. Or a man may acquire a certain comic feature, may, so



to speak, caricature himself: the nose like a ripe tomato stuck in the middle of his face will betray the drunkard, the ample paunch the glutton. Here we have, as in the story of the corpulent Gibbon unable to rise from his knees after a tender declaration, 'a person embarrassed by his body,' 'a man become a thing,' in the Bergsonian phrase. Is it strange that Gilpin's horse wondered what 'thing upon his back had got' and just ran away with him?—so clumsy in the saddle was the train-band captain and citizen of credit and renown!

Even things get attached to persons and appear as part of their personality. The clever cartoonist not only seizes and improves upon Nature's slightest suggestion, but upon such things also as reveal the inner character, the essence of the man. Thus he brings out the bravado of Mr. Churchill with his hats and his bricks, the homely Englishness of Mr. Baldwin with his pipe and his pigs. Racial character, too, lends itself to caricature, as in John Bull and Uncle Sam. And if we recall to mind some caricatures of prominent men of the day: Signor Mussolini's sphinx-like countenance, Mr. Macdonald's Pilgrim Father face, Mr. Lloyd George's leonine halo, it will become clear that the caricaturist is a maker also of masks and disguises. And in passing, one might recollect that Mr. Chesterton has described the creations of Dickens as 'a birth of great giants, walking caricatures,' aptly but not adequately: for the mask, the disguise reduces personality to a thingship, and a thing has no life. But how to account for the fact that Dickens' characters are very much alive? They are alive because they are—the major characters—remarkable phrase-makers, each in his own way. Their persons and habits are portrayed in bold and broad outlines, but they are themselves humorists, and even wits, from the magnificent Pickwick, who can discourse in language worthy of Boswell's hero, "I am ruminating on the mutability of human affairs," to the disagreeable Pecksniff, a specimen of whose wit we have already noticed.

If the comic has a tendency to approximate to type as in caricature, it will be observed that the type equally approximates to the comic as in real life. Each class, group or society projects its own types—the narrower the circle the more defined being the type so produced. In the doctor's bedside manner, the lawyer's forensic manner, the school-master's pedantic manner, the clergyman's pulpit manner, lies ample material for the humorist, such as Molière made

use of for his comedies. Both the comic-type (where the type is discovered in the comic, as in caricature), and the type-comic (where the comic is discovered in the type, as in satire) are fictions springing from a close observation of life yet endowed with form and colour by the imagination. It is only when they are exaggerated out of all proportion and beyond the limits of consistency or credibility that they cease, properly speaking, to belong to the realm of humour and pass into the realm of nonsense. With Gargantua or Don Quixote or Baron Munchausen we are frequently in a world that is not merely incredible, but incomprehensible, except in terms of dream or phantasy, where it does not matter how recklessly disproportionate things are. When Gargantua was born, we are told, "he cried not as other babes do Miez, Miez, Miez, Miez,—but with a high sturdy and big voice shouted about 'some drink, some drink, some drink,' as inviting all the world to drink with him. The noise thereof was so extremely great that it was heard in both the countries at once of Beauce and Bibarois," that "17,913 cows of the towns of Pantille Brehemond, were appointed to furnish him with milk in ordinary, for it was impossible to find a nurse sufficient for him in all the country, considering the great quantity of milk necessary for his nourishment" we are told also how (when he grew up), on his return from a military expedition he combed the great cannon balls out of his hair with a comb which was 900 feet long, and "whereof the teeth were great tusks of elephants whole and entire;" how in his youth he ate up six pilgrims in a salad and dislodged them from his jaws with a young walnut tree. All this—and much more in Rabelais—is great and glorious fun as it is great and glorious nonsense. In the world of Gulliver's Travels, on the other hand, everything is perfectly intelligible because everything is constantly referred to reason and common-sense. Lilliput and Brobdingnag and Laputa are worlds diminished, enlarged or altered to scale, and measurable by human standards. One need but compare the minute mathematical exactness with which the 200 Lilliputian sempstresses make clothes for Gulliver, with the recklessly extravagant fashion in which the young Gargantua is apparelled.

On the whole, exaggeration seems to be a device more in favour with American than with English humorists. But it is exaggeration disclosed in gross absurdity and astounding mendacity with a pretence of naïveté. As Mark Twain describes it "to bring incongruities and

absurdities together in a wandering and purposeless way and seem innocently unaware they are absurdities is the basis of the American art," as in the story of the lake that went down two inches when the big fish was landed. Quite characteristically the people who are capable of this kind of humour can refer to the Atlantic as the Herring Pond, and to their own part in the last war thus: "We Americans, we won this *little* war for you." Very frequently their humour verges on, if it does not merge into, nonsense.

A subtler kind of humour will be found in the depiction of character without exaggeration—character that is entirely convincing because it is not caricature. Here is a portrait of a Harley Street specialist (in Mrs. Dalloway)—drawn with a few deft strokes of quiet but effective irony—an art in which Virginia Woolf, among modern writers, excels:

"Indeed it was—Sir William Bradshaw's car; low, powerful, grey with plain initials interlocked on the panel, as if the pomps of heraldry were incongruous, this man being the ghostly helper, the priest of science; and as the motor car was grey, so to match its sober suavity; grey furs, silver grey rugs were heaped in it to keep her ladyship warm while she waited.....Sir William himself was no longer young. He had worked very hard; he had won his position by sheer ability (being the son of a shopkeeper); loved his profession; made a fine figurehead at ceremonies, and spoke well—all of which by the time he was knighted gave him a heavy look, a weary look (the stream of patients being so incessant, the responsibilities and privileges of his profession being so onerous), which weariness together with his grey hairs, increased the extraordinary distinction of his presence and gave him the reputation (of the utmost importance in dealing with nerve cases) not merely of lightning skill and almost infallible accuracy in diagnosis, but of sympathy; tact; understanding of the human soul....."

This realistic and delicately humorous presentation of character is far removed from the roaring world of Dickens and Rabelais with its loud explosions of laughter, and is nearer to that of Sterne and Lamb and Thackeray. It is humour of this kind that can be aptly described as 'the quieter enjoyment of things laughable' (Sully), a humour, which in writers like Lamb becomes a 'happy compound of pathos and playfulness' (Reed).

But if one were to sample all the flavours of humour that the great humorists have provided, one will find that it is not all of the sweet, sentimental and pleasant variety, but a great deal of it is acrid or pungent or sour or bitter or vitriolic. Or, to change the metaphor, we can see why humour playing as it does upon human nature, is so varied an instrument, of so many strings and stops, varying from the most cheerfully unconscious to the most painfully self-conscious, and evoking laughter from the freest to the most forced, from the heartiest to the most heartless. It is indeed a long way—with many stages in between—from Billingsgate to Brobdingnag, or from nursery laughter to the sardonic laughter of a Timon in rage.

Whatever its quality, humour unlike wit, keeps long, and Aristophanic humour comes to us with almost the same sparkle and freshness as the humour of a W. W. Jacobs. We can understand the Greek of those days almost as well as the Cockney of to-day, for perhaps human nature has essentially altered but little however changed the conditions in which man has lived from age to age, and country to country. It is true that man has laughed at different things, at different times, and in different parts of this planet, but imaginatively we can project ourselves—such is the pliancy of the human mind—into any period, place or people. Demagogues will be demagogues, spies will be spies, women will be women, fools will be fools—the same all the world over. The two slaves, in *The Knights*, select the black-pudding seller to be their future leader for as they say “Our leaders of the people are no longer your men of character and good fame. We choose the rude and the blackguards always.” In *The Acharnians* a spy ‘every inch of whom is thoroughly bad’ is packed up like a large jar in straw and ropes, and despatched with a few vigorous kicks to Thebes as a choice specimen of Athenian goods. One by one, the women who under Lysistrata have divorced their husbands, and seized the citadel, expelling the elders with buckets of water, secretly rejoin their disconsolate husbands, who all agree that ‘there’s no living with them or without them.’ No less a person than Socrates is (in *The Clouds*) discovered in a state of deep meditation, suspended in a basket, and surrounded by his pupils in odd postures, with their hinder parts in the air. ‘What are they doing?’ enquires the visitor ‘stooping so oddly?’ ‘They probe the secrets that lie deep as Tartarus’ is the reply. ‘But why—excuse me—their hinder quarters—why are they

stuck so oddly up in the air?' 'The other end,' replies a senior student 'is studying astronomy quite independently.' There is nothing too sacred or solemn for Aristophanes—even the gods are butts for his humour. In the opinion of one of his critics "The whip of the tragic poet (Euripides) was as balm compared with the scorpions of the comic dramatist."

Much could be said of the humour of various races, of Chinese humour, for instance, at one pole, 'spillikins' humour as it has been called, which appears to be more like a web of tenuous, subtle, highly sophisticated fun, or of Negro humour which, at the other pole, is frequently childish and naïve in the extreme. Questions too might be asked, an attempt to answer which might lend one a far deeper insight into the nature of humour. Such a question as "Do women have a sense of humour?" is not so flippant as it might appear. Frenchmen owe a great deal of their wit and gaiety to the salons and their presiding feminine spirits. But since Sappho, called *the* Poetess, as Homer was *the* Poet, a charming and witty woman by all contemporary accounts, since 'the violet-weaving, smiling, virginal' Sappho killed herself for love of a mere man it is to be doubted if women, as a rule, do possess a sense of humour. It is a fact too, that there is not a single woman to compare with men as a "creative" humorist. Once in a century or so a woman is born with a genuine sense of humour—as Jane Austen in her time and Virginia Woolf in ours—but none on the grand, robust scale. A sense of humour implies a sense of proportion, which implies a sense of justice, which implies seeing the other side to a question, which implies a capacity to forgive one's enemies, and to laugh at oneself. And what woman has easily forgiven her enemies or laughed at herself? Women, it would seem, are the unforgiving, men the unforgivable sex.

For the same reason Punch must be excluded from the rank of true humorists. For Mr. Punch ranges himself on the side of the angels (and he is cocksure the angels are on his, which, to say the least, is doubtful); he carries on that hunch-back of his a load of British middle-class prejudices, and if his face is twisted into something like a nut-cracker, it must be because of his frequent ill-natured or just stupid jokes against folks who live in a different street. He is jester to gignamity, official mirth-maker to all the 'nice' people. But whoever keeps him company will surely have his own sense of humour dulled—and, alas! not find it out. That will be the just retribution.

Turning to ourselves, it cannot be denied that laughter holding both his sides is seldom to be seen in our midst. The forms and ceremonies with which we surround ourselves and on which we lay an exaggerated emphasis must be chilling and killing the comic spirit. With one eye fixed on metaphysical truth and the other on ' somehow, anyhow, getting on in the world,' we make the worst of both worlds. This high-souled seriousness of ours, our vaunted spirituality on the one hand, and on the other, this scramble for the left-over crumbs and bones, is bad for our souls as well as our bodies. Humour cannot thrive where the air is pierced with conch-shell and muezzin call, and the whine of pauper, knave and flunkey. A certain degree of freedom, wealth and leisure, and a sufficiently high level of civilisation, are the essential conditions for its growth and blossoming.

Men have found in a sense of humour a valuable asset in all sorts of trying situations. A veteran business man reports that, when all other methods failed, humour proved a talismanic weapon with his debtors. To a customer who delayed payments he wired simply: " Cough up;" and the amount was forthwith received. And to another, a hard-boiled Yorkshireman, he wrote in his own dialect: ' Oop tha pen, dip it in th'ink, open the cheque-book and write Pay Messrs..... the sum or £16. Just tha try it, lad. Tha will find it reet good champion sport,' and the cheque came. No less a man than Chaucer in sore need of money wrote a humorous ' Complaynt to his purse ' and sent it to the king who promptly awarded him a pension. A man with a sense of humour is a true moral economist: he saves himself a great deal of useless pity, pain, anger, sorrow, envy and all kinds of sensibility, which cause the wear and tear of life, for he simply laughs them off. The man who has to count up to a hundred to recover his temper, should cultivate a sense of humour; so should the sentimentalist, the pessimist, the neurotic, and all those who find life difficult or dull. It is certainly a great perserver of sanity and poise. That is why humour has been described as the " loftiest variant of the defence activity, of the task of guarding oneself against the origin of pain from inner sources " (Freud). Instead of repressing the causes of pain and misery, and driving them inwards to fester there, it enables a man to face them with a shrug of the shoulders and a laugh. History has recorded the moral triumphs of the most helpless victims of misfortune, pain or oppression, owing solely to their sense of humour: as that of the Saint who said to his tormentors who were roasting him on

a spit, " Turn me on my other side also and see that I am well done !"

Again humour, it has been pointed out, ' is the most self-sufficient of the forms of the comic ' (Freud), because one can find its springs in oneself and one need not impart it to another as one must impart a witticism, the full flavour of which can only be extracted in the sharing of it. In his own character, in his relations with others, in any tight corner he may happen to be placed in, a man may discover sufficient occasions for the exercise of his humour. So it was with the Chiswick Draper who wrote in his will: " As I have always had the reputation of being late for my appointments, my joy will still be to be late at my own funeral—may it long be postponed—and hope my friends will enjoy the joke. Make me ten minutes late." So did the dying Rabelais remark to his friends, " Draw the curtain: the farce is over." Who that has realised the power of humour to rob death itself of its sting would go seeking Hera's gift of sovereignty, Athene's of wisdom, or Aphrodite's of beauty—and seek not rather, as the best gift of all, Momus's gift of mockery—the faculty of mocking at the sins and follies of this world, a world which includes ourselves also ?

*(Concluded.)*

# THE CONTACT OF CULTURES (I)

MR. NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, M.SC.

THE subject of the present essay has an intimate bearing upon the question of cultural distribution as well as upon questions of a more fundamental nature. We have to determine, first of all, in what manner precisely a cultural object is transmitted from one tribe to another and what are the factors which facilitate or retard its introduction into a new cultural region. The contact of two cultures, moreover, induces a number of changes in their internal character, and our second task is to find out if those changes are subject to generalization or not.

But the most important problem connected with cultural conflicts is formed by its relation to human nature. In what way are historical changes determined by the primarily biological needs of mankind ? Or, are historical changes actually independent of human nature ? It is well known that the content of culture is dependent upon the needs of mankind and its form results from certain specific characters belonging to the human species. Our task now is to discover proofs of the operation of those biological forces in readjustments which follow the conflict of cultures. In other words, the problem is, Can we find a support for the biological theory of culture in its operation just as we do in connection with its structure ? These are some of the vital problems connected with cultural contact, and this is also the reason why its study occupies so much importance in modern Anthropology.

It is sometimes suggested in Anthropological circles that the contact of peoples is the most vital event in cultural history. It stimulates invention, and in the history of a trait, the question of origin is of the foremost significance. But we know that the value of culture lies in its relation to man ; consequently in cultural history the question of origin ought to have the same secondary importance as is occupied by the date and place of birth of a great man in relation to the forces which mould his character and give him worth among his fellowmen. We do not agree with anthropologists of a particular school on the question of origin, but we must concur with them in regarding cultural contact as an event of prime importance in cultural history.



## THE CHARACTER OF A STABLE CULTURE.

A culture which has been in peaceful existence for a fairly long time develops a certain unity with the ideas and aspirations of the people whom it serves. It is also sustained by a more or less stable economic framework. The economic relations of men in a happy and prosperous community gradually settle down into a fixed form which continues unchanged so long as the manner of life is not substantially altered. If the food-supply remains constant and the relation of different social groups carries satisfaction, the culture continues to be as it was before. If the former, however, begins to fail, then the first impulse of the people is directed towards finding a repetition of the same environment by migration to new areas, or the adoption of some arrangement like infanticide or birth-control in order to keep the population within limits and so maintain the food-supply or standard of living at its former level. In this way any adjustment in the established habits of the people is avoided, for that is a thing which they are least willing to do. If however the new historical situation forces famine upon the people or introduces such ideas among them as run counter to established social relations, then the culture is subjected to the forces of disruption. This has already been discussed in connection with the history of caste.<sup>1</sup> But our present task is to discover the forces which actually guide the selection of traits or of ideas, as well as to see what mental states accompany cultural changes and what light all these throw upon the biological character of man, which is the central problem of Anthropology. We shall therefore begin our study with a few examples of cultural conflict from Indian history.

## THE CASE OF ORISSA.

Orissa was a free and prosperous kingdom between the 10th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. The kings who ruled at that time were great conquerors and their realm extended all over the eastern coast from Bengal to the Godaverī delta. It was a common ambition with these kings to build temples in honour of their tutelary deities. This provided plenty of occupation to a large number of architects, sculptors and painters. The kings also looked upon Brahmin scholars

<sup>1</sup> "Caste through the Ages" in *Calcutta Review*, September, 1934.

with great respect and sought their advice in matters relating to society. They favoured these scholars with free grants of land and Orissa is even now studded with Brahmin settlements which date from that time.

The fate of Orissa however turned in the 13th century. From that time onwards, up till the 17th century, the land was, again and again, overrun by armies from North India. They were followed in the 18th century by the powerful Maratha armies. The result of five centuries of depredation was that Orissa was completely depleted of all the wealth she had hoarded by conquest and trade. The kings became poor and there was no one left to support the numberless artists and scholars who had thrived under former conditions. Consequently, Orissan scholarship and artistic abilities, for which it had been so famous, were practically wiped out of the culture of the land.

The effects of economic destitution in Orissa have not been merely confined to the disappearance of a few traits, but they can also be traced in the changed character of the residual trait-complexes. In former times, Brahmins were at the head of society, and they were entrusted with priestly and educational functions connected with the community. The Khandaits were soldiers, while the Karanas were in charge of clerical or administrative work. But after Muhammadan rule, the service of Brahmins and Karanas were generally dispensed with in state-offices, while new men were recruited from Bengal to take their place. Consequently members of the upper castes were thrown out of employment or took up occupations other than their hereditary ones. This state of affairs has continued to modern times, and we meet with Khandaits who have taken to the plough, Karanas who work in stone and Brahmins who follow the medical profession and so on. The entire economic arrangement has been dislocated and the caste-system, as a trait-complex, has changed in character because occupations are no longer as strictly hereditary as they were before.

#### EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGE.

As a result of economic change, therefore, some traits tend to disappear from a culture, while others may continue in a modified form. There are still others which survive an economic shock without any appreciable change whatsoever. We read in Abul Fazl's account of

Orissa in the Ayeen-i-Akbari (16th cent.) that the people of the country boiled rice, steeped it in water and ate it on the second day. This custom prevails even now. The reason is that elements like these are practically devoid of economic value ; it is all the same whether a man boils rice for eating it fresh to-day or keeps it overnight for to-morrow's consumption. Such elements naturally remain unaffected by economic disturbances in a country.

We may therefore generalize our observations and say that several kinds of modification come about in a culture owing to a disturbance in its economic equilibrium. Some traits disappear, others are subjected to modification, while still others survive the shock without any change at all.

#### CONVERSION OF THE JUANGS AND THE MUNDAS.

In the case of the Juangs and the Mundas, economic necessity has brought about more fundamental changes in culture than in the case of Orissa. Formerly both of these tribes lived by hunting, jhoom-cultivation and the collection of jungle produce, just as the Pauri Bhuiyas of Keonjhar and Pal Lahara still do in some of the more sequestered valleys. In the jhoom form of cultivation, a piece of land is prepared by burning down trees and planting seeds in the ground with the help of a digging-stick. It is a wasteful method of agriculture and can support only a few men per square mile of land. The Juangs however practised it successfully in the extensive hills and valleys of Orissa into which they had been driven before the advance of Hindu colonists.

But soon after British rule was consolidated in Orissa, the forests were reserved and hunting and jhoom cultivation forbidden there. The little land into which the unhappy tribe was then pressed was insufficient to yield sustenance according to the old methods of production. The Juangs were thus faced by famine and forced to adopt the more efficient system of agriculture with the plough from their Hindu neighbours. But they have not always proved as skilful with it as the Savara or Oriya farmers, and have consequently been forced to take up supplementary occupations which are different in different parts of Orissa. In Pal Lahara, they weave baskets and sell them to their Hindu neighbours, while in Dhenkanal their women supply fuel to the surrounding population. Out of the money so earned, the Juangs

either pay rent or buy salt, clothes and distilled wine for personal use. They have thus been forcibly hitched on to the Hindu economic system, and are practically on the way to the formation of another Hindu caste. They have already begun to worship deities like Lakshmi, Dharma and the like, but they do so with their own tribal ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> Their language in Dhenkanal has been subjected to more disintegration than in Pal Lahara, and in this way, it will not be long before they will gradually give up their language like the Gonds of Orissa and eventually employ Brahmin priests to become a full-fledged Hindu caste.

The history of the Mundas of Chota-Nagpur must have followed a similar course before we come upon them in the beginning of the 19th century, when Christian missionaries first settled among them in the Ranchi district. Already the trouble between Hindu settlers and the Mundas had become so acute in the last decade of the 18th century that troops had to be called in to suppress uprisings among them.<sup>2</sup> Things had continued in much the same way as before, until missionaries came forward to help the poor people to fight against Hindu zemindars in the law-courts. The help was greatly appreciated and led to a large-scale conversion of the Mundas to Christianity. The old culture is fast disappearing from among the converts; they are taking up numerous new industries like lace-making, tailoring, carpentry and corresponding changes are also taking place in their dress and personal adornments. The change which is more deep-rooted than in outward form, has been so complete among some of the converts that they actually claim to be foreigners in the land, and say that they are descended from one of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

In Orissa cultural change was not as deep as it has been in the case of the Juangs or the Mundas. Particular occupations became economically bankrupt and people took to others in place of them, but religious beliefs and social customs were not much affected on that account. In the case of the hill-tribes, there was a second factor beside economic depletion, and that was the presence of a second culture which was backed by a heavy economic premium. There was another thing also, which greatly helped in the process of decay

<sup>1</sup> *Man in India*, Vol. X, 1930, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. Ray, *The Mundas and their Country*, p. 189.

of Munda culture, and that was the complete absence of any sense of pride among these people with respect to their own culture. If that had been present, it is likely that the progress of Christian or Hindu influence, as among the Juangs, would have been partially arrested and given rise to different results in their cultural history.

We shall now turn to the history of modern Bengal which affords a good illustration of all the above forces working together, *viz.*, the economic failure of an old culture due to its invasion by the economic system of another culture, the immediate presence of a second culture, as well as the presence, among the vanquished people, of a lingering sense of self-respect and of national pride.

*Calcutta.*

# DAWN OF THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY

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There are foreign critics who speak of the twilight of the German University. New Germany speaks of a dawn, asserts that her university is growing young and hopes that very soon again "it will be esteemed abroad as one of the noblest institutions of the world." Germany has very often puzzled the world and it has always taken the world a long time to understand what Germany has to contribute to the development of humanity. That will also be the case in the realm of science and university life as well as in politics, economy and social reconstruction. Only future will decide who is right whether the foreign critics whose pens paint a picture of intolerant tyranny of a political party or German scientists and university teachers of the new generation who know that a breaking-up of the nation has taken place which also affects the domain of thinking and teaching.

The assertions that "the German university has become a militant organisation dedicated to the purposes of the Third Reich, that it has lost its independence, that it must turn out stormtroop leaders" only prove that these critics have seen detached changes without interpreting them in the right way, and without drawing the right conclusions. They will never understand the deeper meaning of the German university reform nor will those who only see the racial problem and nothing else ever do justice to the political and social revolution of New Germany.

Science will never become the servant of a political party or political dogma. Nobody wants that. Nobody intends to deny the strictness or exactness of its method; the only thing which is being asked for is that science should not ignore the problems of the present time, that its mind should be opened to new questions. It must acquire a new impulse. It must become more alive.

That the aim is to make a party-school out of the German university is an absolutely unfair misrepresentation of the facts. Those changes of the German university which are not denied are nothing more than endeavours to transform the university into a truly educational institution which Anglo-Saxon countries have possessed as long as schools of higher learning have existed there. That is not the spleen of a political group but the ardent desire of the entire nation.

Everybody who knows what a real revolution means, ought to admit that the German revolution could not stop at the doors of the university. If every true revolution means a total change then the reform of the German university is not the encroachment of a political party upon the domain of the so-called free spirit but only the natural consequence of an incessant process.

In fact National-socialism reproaches the hitherto existing university that it is too far from real life, that it was built up on ideas and principles which do not correspond to those of our time. The ideal of the university which shaped the face of our present one was based—consciously or unconsciously—on a philosophy of life, called liberalism. In spite of the breakdown of this philosophy, the university remained imprisoned in this old spiritual world. Each science searched for a so-called timeless truth which hovered over the reality of life. Knowledge and schooling are ends in themselves: this was the slogan of a dying university. The endless specializing of all subjects turned the university into a spiritual “department store.” The unity of sciences broke to pieces and so did the unity of the university too. The university teacher became a scholar who very well knew his special subject but ceased to be the spiritual leader of the academic youth. The student stood in front of an endless multitude of sciences, helpless in his freedom, without seeing the inner coherence of his scientific work with the totality of life. The university became a research institution and ceased to be an educational organisation.

Here particularly the university reform interfered. The university should again become a place for education, a high school for the future spiritual leaders of the nation. The university obtained an educational foundation which applies to character education. Every student is required to go into a labour camp now for six months; he works together with the young unemployed at drying of swamps and building of roads. Every student must live in a so-called “house of comradeship” for two years, to foster and to strengthen comradelike spirit, discipline and obedience. These houses are somewhat like student hostels but with an outspoken educational purpose. Every student must join the stormtroop detachments to serve there as a political soldier for the rebirth and inner reconstruction of the nation. He does not wear his brown or black uniform because of a desire to march into a new war but because it represents the ideal of a severe, simple and Spartan life of a new generation and because it places him in the union of workmen and peasants as a private soldier in a political army. The new ideal of higher education is a political student in the Platonic sense of the word. Being politically minded means being anxious for the inner life of the nation. That is not possible without character-education—the task and the purpose of the abovementioned organisations and the connecting link between life and science.

The scientific superstructure of the university must also be changed. This includes a reform of science. For decades we were told that science has no supposition whatsoever. That is incorrect. To-day we know that science has always been connected with a historical situation, with a historical task. Science also takes its roots from a philosophy of life such as art or politics. Only its method is different. The way of science of discussing the problems of life is the rational one.

Science must see that even it has its place in national life, that it is to place itself into a historical process. Nobody will prescribe its tasks, its methods, but the nation demands science not to ignore the problems of present time but to solve them. It must get a new impulse out of the present historical situation ; it must see new questions ; it must try to join its results in greater coherence of national life.

It is obvious that this problem of reforming science has not yet been solved. As things are, everybody thinks it necessary to reflect on the essence and the meaning of science. Nobody interferes with this reflection. Nobody orders the result. Science itself must reflect on it. For that purpose there are training camps fitted for young scientists and future university teachers to discuss the problems of reforming science and university. Here a new generation fights for a new science, for a new unity of all sciences and for a new connection between science and the totality of life. Certain foreign critics will condemn this as a treason to " free " science. We regret that they do not see the great crisis in which sciences of to-day are, that they do not understand that, as Rabindranath Tagore once said, " the object of knowledge is not intellectual pedantry, but wisdom."



# Miscellany

1. *Employments in London.* 2. *Foreigners in France.* 3. *The Scrips in German Finance.* 4. *Health Insurance for Agricultural Labourers in Czechoslovakia.*

## 1. EMPLOYMENTS IN LONDON

In the population census of 1931 just one-half of Greater London's people were classified as "occupied persons" between the ages of 16 and 65, and rather more than one-half of this "occupied" total was covered by the national system of unemployment insurance. The remainder consisted of persons working on their own account, persons earning salaries above the datum line for insurance purposes, and those engaged in activities excluded from the general scheme, whether or not they were covered by separate schemes of insurance. Yet it is to the distribution of insured workers in Greater London that we can look for some indication of the relative importance of different activities, says the *Midlard Bank Monthly Review*. The following table constructed from figures for July 1933, provides guidance in addition as to the relative importance of London's trades in the economic structure of the country as a whole.

A striking feature of the table, even though trades have been combined into broad groups, is the wide variety of industries covered. They are so diverse as to cover ship-repairing and book-publishing, dress-making and glass-blowing. There is no one which can be designated as the dominant industry of the region—a fact which provides a partial explanation of the more fortunate experience of London in respect of unemployment when compared with those of, for example, the north-east coast, Lancashire and South Wales. As might be expected from common knowledge, the "service" trades engage a large proportion of London's workers. Moreover, if to the figures for these are added allowance for the numbers, not included in the table, employed in commerce and finance, the professions, and public service, it will be seen that the number of Londoners engaged in "non-productive" activities is well over a million, and probably accounts for one-third of the total number of persons gainfully employed. Nevertheless, the number of insured workers engaged in "productive activities" is strikingly large; in this section of economic activity Greater London accounts for over a million and a quarter workers, approaching one-sixth of the total for the whole country. The industry employing the greatest number of work-people is clothing, which includes tailoring and dress-making, millinery and the manufacture of under-clothing and boots and shoes. High on the list is the trade which more than any other may be called London's speciality, paper and printing. Other industries employing more than 100,000 insured persons are the preparation of food, drink and tobacco, the metal trades, yielding a wide variety of products, and engineering in all its branches. The "other" total, together with the "miscellaneous" item at the foot of the table, includes representatives of almost every activity undertaken in this country except those specially named.

*Number of Insured Workers (000 omitted)*

<i>Industrial activities :</i>	United Kingdom	Greater London	Greater London as percentage of U.K.
Textiles and clothing	1,859	193	10·4
Engineering, etc.	1,188	161	13·5
Paper and printing	422	149	35·3
Food, drink and tobacco	555	133	24·0
Metals	891	127	14·3
Woodworking, etc.	227	71	31·3
Other	2,024	209	10·3
<i>Construction :</i>			
Building, etc.	1,161	207	17·8
<i>Services :</i>			
Distributive trades	1,992	494	24·8
Transport and Communications	859	212	24·7
Commerce, etc.	246	47	19·1
<i>Miscellaneous :</i>	1,459	396	27·1
Total	12,883	2,399	18·6

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

**2. FOREIGNERS IN FRANCE**

The presence of a foreign population of 3 million workers in France not unnaturally raises a multitude of problems of unusual complexity and extent. These touch on every aspect of human life, individual and social, intellectual and moral, since the immigrant is not only a "commodity," an economic force, but an individual with all consequent human potentialities.

That immigration brings France very substantial economic advantages is shown by the part played by foreign workers in production, says Georges Mauco in *Les Etrangers en France*. Since the war they have formed about 7 per cent. of the occupied population of France, with proportions of 34 per cent. in the extractive industries and building. Moreover, thanks to its capacity for adjustment to the economic situation, organised immigration lends great flexibility to the labour market, both by relieving it during periods of depression and by providing it, through intensified recruiting, with the extra labour required during periods of prosperity. Immigration provides France with ready-made workers trained for production. Reckoning that the upbringing and education of a man of working age cost the community 20,000 francs (5·5 frs. = Re. 1 approximately). Immigration has endowed France with the enormous capital—and an eminently productive capital—of 40 milliard francs in the persons of the 2 million foreign workers now in the country. This is all clear profit, especially as immigration usually attracts the younger and more enterprising individuals, those whose energy and efficiency are in their prime.

Immigration brings to a France aged by lessened numbers of her younger generations not only physical strength and the energy of youth, but also fresh knowledge and sometimes a modest capital. The agricultural settlers in the region of Aquitaine, for instance, have invested a capital of 150 to 200 million francs in their holdings. Foreign labour increases the efficiency of underpopulated France. When a country or an undertaking increases its population or its staff, its *per capita* general expenses and costs of production are reduced. Immigration extends the home market for the immigrant is not only a producer but a consumer. This does not mean, as is only too commonly believed, that the entry of foreign workers reduces the share of wealth of every member of the community. Wealth is not given, it has to be made ; it is not static but dynamic. This is particularly true under the industrial regime in which, thanks to scientific progress, man is more a producer than a consumer, and still more so in the case of the foreign worker, who, coming from the poorer classes, is accustomed to a simple life and consumes much less than he produces. By increasing the density of the population immigration also increases the profits on trade and transport and leads to some reduction in the individual burden of taxation and even of national defence. Immigration may also assist the development of colonial possessions, either directly by providing workers for the colonies, or by enabling French workers to go there. And it should not be forgotten that immigration has also helped to rescue French agriculture from a shortage of labour, less perhaps by the number of workers it has provided for agriculture itself than by those supplied to industry, which has thus been spared the necessity of drawing on the agricultural populations.

At the same time, immigration is also attended by serious economic drawbacks. In the first place, the immigrants send their savings out of the country. It is estimated that 2½ milliard francs leave France every year to enrich the countries of emigration. Secondly, immigration places the whole economy of the country in a position of dependency. The volume of foreign labour is such that to a certain extent it governs the economic activity of France ; in some branches, notably agriculture, mining and building, whole regions, such as the Eastern (Lorraine), the Northern and the Mediterranean areas, would be paralysed if the supply of foreign labour were cut off. What would become of the activity of Marseilles and its port without its 125,000 Italian workers, of the Lorraine mines without 80 per cent. of their labour and the coal mines without 58 per cent. of their miners? The countries of emigration have here a powerful means of bringing pressure to bear on France. Some of them have on occasion demanded very high wages for their nationals, in the hope of thus placing such heavy charges on industry as to reduce its powers of competition. Immigration, and in particular organised immigration, also places a heavy financial burden on France. The average cost of bringing a worker from Central Europe is 600 francs, and as breaches of contract are fairly frequent, certain large undertakings incur an annual expenditure of 100 000 to 120,000 francs for the recruiting and settlement of their foreign staff. Moreover, the foreign workers are often inexperienced and without stability. Their inexperience entails a period of training which is rendered more difficult by the difference in customs and language, and usually results in an appreciable increase in industrial accidents. Finally, immigration may aggravate unemployment, if only owing to the almost inevitable lag between the appearance of the first signs of economic depression and the curtailment of immigration ; while the entry of a great many foreign workers during a period

of prosperity may help to encourage too rapid expansion and thus to increase the severity of the subsequent depression. It is also possible that by artificially encouraging industrial expansion through its supply of foreign labour an uninterrupted flow of immigration may tend to push it beyond the capacities of the French people themselves.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

### 3. THE SCRIPS IN GERMAN FINANCE

In the *American Illustrated News*, President Schacht of the Reichsbank discusses the credit situation of Germany in relation to her foreign trade. We understand that since 1924 all reparation payments have been made with the help of credits from abroad. The Reichsbank has constantly issued warnings against this procedure. It has pointed out that there is a natural limit to the amount of foreign capital which a country can absorb and stressed above all the impossibility of paying the interest demanded. These warnings were also heard abroad. Nevertheless Germany was swamped with offers of capital, credits were literally pressed upon the Germans. The countries which offered Germany were perfectly aware of the risk, as is plainly shown by the high rate of interest which they demanded.

This especially high rate of interest was demanded because a crisis sooner or later was foreseen and the consequent losses were added on to the bill. As a matter of fact there were hardly any such losses. In two years Germany has paid off about 10 milliard RM. from her enormous foreign debt, a financial performance unparalleled in the history of the world. The fact that on July 1 of this year she had to demand a partial transfer postponement is entirely due to the progressive exclusion of German imports from foreign countries. It is not Germany who could not pay but the other countries who could not receive. One could deduce with almost mathematical certainty from the increasing trade restrictions the moment when this would occur. A transfer moratorium was proclaimed at the moment when the covering of the Reichsbank had reached an irreducible minimum. The way in which the transfer moratorium was then effected was completely fair. The German debtor got off nothing, he has met his obligations in Reichsmarks to the uttermost farthing. Half the interest was transferred to the creditors in foreign currency while the payment of the other half was postponed and payment provided for by promissory notes—"scrips"—which the creditors could use as payment media in proportion to the foreign currency obtained by Germany from additional exports.

The idea at the back of the scrips is that Germany can only pay in proportion to the amount of goods purchased from her by foreign countries. This fact was unanimously recognized by the World Economic Conference not long ago. To the same extent as Germany is able to secure foreign currency by additional exports, that foreign currency will naturally be used for an increased loan service. The use of scrips and blocked credits for additional exports is dependent on a special permit issued by public supervisory boards so that this system shall not be exploited for purposes of dumping.

Nobody can reproach Germany with having made an attempt at dumping, for she has not made such an attempt, even after England, America,

Japan, and other countries have abused their currency by indulging in valuta dumping. When, on the other hand, foreign governments such as those of Switzerland and Holland offer of their own accord to make possible a complete transfer of the scrips due to their nationals by means of a special agreement on a fixed additional supply of German goods at normal prices, it is only natural that Germany not only does not refuse such offers but feels herself bound to accept them.

Germany can only pay to the same extent as she can find a market for her wares; she is not only willing but intends to pay to that extent. The entire work of reconstruction which is being done by the Reichsbank, the releasing of credits within the country, bank reform, attacking the question of foreign debts, support of the governmental measures for combating unemployment, recovery measures—all these schemes are aimed at increasing Germany's output and thus indirectly serving the interests of foreign countries.

Debtor *morale* alone cannot solve the problem of international debts, its necessary complement is creditor *morale*; the will to pay must be met by a will to receive on the part of the countries concerned. It is sheer insanity to demand payment from a debtor country and at the same time to limit more and more the only method by which that country can become able to pay, namely, the export of goods. A further constituent of creditor *morale* is the reasonable reduction of the risk premia included in the excessive rate of interest, since these premia are utterly unnecessary when applied to the new Germany whose success in the fight against the economic crisis can be paralleled by no other country in the world.

Above all, it is no part of creditor *morale* to indulge in export dumping by means of voluntary devaluation of one's currency, thus not only injuring the export trade of the debtor states but ruining the entire world trade. Currency is there as a guarantee for traffic in goods and capital but not for the arbitrary manipulation of prices, wages, debts, etc. Such a manipulation can only and always have the worst results and it is sad to see that the world has learnt so little from the lesson which the German currency catastrophe, now, fortunately, a thing of the past, ten years ago gave to it.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

#### 4. HEALTH INSURANCE FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The law in Czechoslovakia provides that all who perform any work or service on a contractual basis or as apprentices, and who do not carry on the work as an additional source of income or occasionally, come under sickness insurance. This includes of course agricultural labourers (including seasonal labour).

The sickness insurance fee is paid according to the class into which the labourer falls according to his average income. There are ten such classes. In case a part of the income is derived in kind the employee cannot be classed higher than three classes above that which his income in cash would indicate. Agricultural labourers who receive free lodging from the proprietor and also a part of their income in kind cannot be classed higher than two classes above their income class.

The administration of sickness insurance is entrusted to sickness insurance institutions. For the agricultural labourers there are two kinds of

institutions. The general or district sickness insurance includes agricultural labourers where there is no special insurance institution for them. Independent sickness insurance institutions for agricultural labourers exist only in part of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. In Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia all agricultural labour is included in the general sickness insurance institutions.

Statistics as of October 1929, show that there were about 450,000 agricultural labourers directly insured in Czechoslovakia. Of that number about 240,000 were insured in independent insurance institutions, the remainder in the general or district insurance institutions. In May 1931, there were 46 agricultural sickness insurance institutions in Bohemia and 16 in Moravia and Silesia. The average membership of an agricultural insurance institution is about 4,000.

Agricultural sickness institutions are grouped in a federation (located in Prague). Up to the present the federation has occupied itself mainly in perfecting the organization of the insurance institutions which belong to it and with the extension of its services to districts where there is no such institution. Standard office forms and methods of accounting have been worked out and courses are given for insurance officials. A bulletin is published for the information of the insured and officials. The accounts for drugs are revised by the federation. Recently the federation has acquired a watering place in Bohemia which serves chiefly for the treatment of rheumatic diseases.

The obligatory benefits which the insured receive in Czechoslovakia are the same for all categories: medical assistance and all medicines and sanitary appliances throughout the duration of the sickness but not longer than a year from the beginning of incapacity to work. This also applies to members of the family. The insured has the right, beginning with the date of his incapacity, to a cash benefit amounting to about two-thirds of his wage, for not longer than a year. The cash benefit is also paid to agricultural labourers even when they remain in the household of the employer or continue to receive their wages either in kind or cash. Contracts with large landed proprietors (including state estates) have a provision requiring the agricultural labourer to return to his employer the cash benefit in case he receives a regular income during his illness.

In addition to the sickness benefit the female insured is entitled to assistance in pregnancy. The insurance pays for the service of a midwife or a physician in case of necessity and a cash benefit equal to the sickness cash benefit six weeks before and six weeks after the confinement. In addition the mother receives a benefit equal to one half of the sickness cash benefit in case she nurses her child, for a period of twelve weeks after the confinement. The assistance of a midwife or a physician is given also to the wife of the insured, but she does not receive any cash benefit. Finally burial expenses are included in case of the death of the insured.

All those who live in the same household with the insured and rely for their maintenance mainly on the income of the insured are considered as members of the family. Children to the age of 17 years are counted as members of the family. In case an insured labourer loses his employment, he is entitled to sickness insurance benefit for a period as long as his previous employment, but not to exceed six weeks.

As to medical assistance, free choice of physicians prevailed until recently. A contract was made by the federation of agricultural insurance institutions with a list of physicians eligible for treatment of the insured.

The recent financial difficulties which accompanied the agricultural crisis will probably soon result in a restriction of free choice of physicians.

Additional benefits are granted by several agricultural insurance institutions which are in a better financial condition such as bonuses for treatment at a watering place, outfits for mothers in child-birth, etc. The insurance fee which is paid half by the employee and half by the employer varies in different agricultural insurance institutions from 4·6% to 6% of the wage.

Official data on sickness insurance for 1926 show that the agricultural insurance institutions have a slight majority of female members (50·2%). In 1926 there was an average sickness rate of 39·88% among all insured persons (the average for district sickness insurances was 48·56%). In the agricultural sickness insurance institutions there were 44·08 cases of sickness per 100 insured; in the district insurance institutions 60·93%. There were 6·73 child-births in agricultural sickness insurance per 100 insured women as compared with 4·86 in the district sickness insurance. The number of days compensated on account of incapacity through sickness was 7·62 among the male members of the agricultural sickness insurance as compared with 13·45 in district insurance. The respective figures for insured females (omitting child-birth) are 6·56 as compared with 13·48. If child-birth is taken into consideration the respective figures for the two sexes are 8·80 as compared with 14·49. These data show clearly that the morbidity among the agricultural labourers is lower than in the general sickness insurance institutions which insure mainly industrial labourers.

Workmen's compensation is also obligatory in agriculture in Czechoslovakia wherever machine power is used. In 1923, 532,864 such enterprises were insured with 1,170,305 members. In that year there were 411·5 cases of accident notified per 10,000 insured, 174·3 cases per 10,000 where compensation was granted, 167·0 cases where incapacity lasted longer than 4 weeks and in 7·3 cases per 10,000 a death resulted.—Pelc in *Rural Hygiene in Czechoslovakia* (Prague).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts belonging to the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal** (Volume VII—Kāvya Manuscripts), by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., D.Litt., F.A.S.B. With a Foreword by John Van Manen, C.I.E., General Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, and an introduction and two indices by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Lecturer, Bethune College, Calcutta.

This is the seventh volume of the projected fourteen volumes of the comprehensive catalogue of the rich collection of MSS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The volume was only partly printed when Mm. Sastri died and the authorities of the Society made the right decision in entrusting the completion of the work to Mr. Chakravarti, a young and promising scholar, who has made valuable contributions to the history of Sanskrit literature in its different branches. The wealth of his bibliographical knowledge and his experience in the field of study of Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired through his handling of the manuscript collections of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat have stood him in good stead in carrying out the task quite honestly and creditably.

With regard to the portions seen through the press by Mr. Chakravarti the principle was laid down that the substance of the Sastri's work should not be interfered with nor the system hitherto followed be modified. 'A verification of the copy by consultation of the works described was however to be undertaken and correction of facts, wherever necessary, to be made, as it was the Sastri's habit to defer verification with the MSS. to the last and then to embody in the final proof whatever changes or additions he deemed necessary.' And it is noticed that in pursuance of this principle Mr. Chakravarti has not spared pains to make the descriptions as comprehensive as possible at this stage. In a short introduction he has drawn pointed attention to the important and interesting features of the MSS. described in the volume. In the introduction as also in the foot-notes of the two indices (one of authors and the other of titles) he has given some additional and up-to-date information not found in the body of the book. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chakravarti has taken every care to make the volume really useful in all ways. We wish full success to the other volumes of the catalogue at the hands of Mr. Chakravarti.

P. C. C.

**The Bhamati of Vacaspati on Sankara's Sariraka Bhasya—Catussutri**, edited with an English translation, notes and introduction by Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, and Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, pp. lxxiv + 245 (Texts) + 318 (Translation and Notes).

The Bhāmāṭi of Vācaspati is one of the most outstanding works on Vedānta and has been responsible for the foundation of an important sub-school of Vedāntic thought within the school of monistic Vedānta as propounded by Śaṅkarācārya. Although the influence of the Vivaraṇa school



on the later Vedāntic developments is more profound and pronounced, no student of Vedānta can afford to neglect a study of Vācaspati's *magnum opus*, as it is practically the only masterly commentary on the whole of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya. The work under review is the first attempt at an English translation of the Bhāmātī on the first four sūtras of the Brahmasūtra. We had previous translations of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya, but none of the Bhāmātī. And as the first four sūtras practically embody the entire philosophy of Vedānta in a nutshell and as the rest may be regarded as only an elaboration of the main thesis shadowed forth in the former, an English translation of the Bhāmātī Catuṣsūtri, which is admittedly one of the most difficult works in the whole range of Sanskrit philosophical literature, has every reason to commend itself to students of Indian philosophy. Although as a pioneer work it is entitled to a sympathetic consideration at the hands of experts, yet in view of the tremendous expansion of Vedāntic culture and knowledge of Indian philosophy in general that has taken place within the last few decades, it can be legitimately expected that the authors should give an absolutely reliable version. But we must confess at the outset that we could not resist the impression that the authors have not bestowed the requisite amount of labour and attention upon their work, which the importance and difficulty of the undertaking demand. We shall give a few concrete instances of the failure of the translation to represent the spirit of the original and this must not be understood as an attempt to detract from the value of the present venture. The present book will continue to be regarded as a standard work until it is superseded by a better and more successful one.

In fairness to students of Vedānta who will neither have the time nor the equipment to make a specialised study of the subject and who will, at any rate in the inceptive stage of their study, feel attracted to use the present translation, it being the solitary work in the field, it is absolutely necessary that the book should be free from misleading errors and hazardous guesses and should give proper guidance and light.

The introduction contains much valuable information and does not lack in brilliant hits. In the discussion of some important problems, however, the authors have failed to represent the exact position and there are bad omissions. In the discourse on the nature of Nescience (*avidyā*), the fundamental ground of Advaita philosophy, we find many an illuminating observation, but it is a pity that Vācaspati's conception of twofold *avidyā*, which differs in material respects from that of the Vivaraṇa school and of other renowned exponents of Vedānta, has not been explained either in the introduction or in the notes, barring only a nominal reference. This is certainly a bad omission in a work which has Vācaspati for its main theme. There is a good deal of misconception about Vācaspati's view of twofold *avidyā* and the only author who is known to us to have correctly dealt with it is Dr. S. N. Dasgupta (*History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II). We naturally expected that the authors would throw some light on this knotty issue and the logical necessity underlying it. But we are disappointed.

The authors have again failed to give a correct appraisal of the place and function of *avidyā* and consequently of the status of Īśvara in Vācaspati's view. We have simply rubbed our eyes and racked our brains to understand what the authors mean by saying "Īśvara, the content of my ignorance, uses the ignorance that is in me and out of that as material cause, evolves the world; the ignorance in me, the *māyā*, the *prakṛti* is the primal material cause; he who wields it for fashioning the world, the *māyin*, the arch-juggler, is Īśvara" (p. xxxvii). The whole statement

appears to be an unintelligible rigmarole. The fact of the matter is that the concept of *Īśvara* (Personal God) in *Vācaspati's* view is purely a creation of the individual's ignorance and has no existence outside the individual's mind. It is as much a fictitious superimposition upon Pure *Brahman* as the whole phenomenal world. It is a phenomenon and not an ontological fact. The protests of the *Kalpataru* have misled the authors ; but a careful student will not fail to see through the transparent sophistry. It is only an eyewash, a clever subterfuge and an exegetic feat which may impress the casual reader, but will fail to carry conviction to one who will read between the lines. (*Vide* K. T. and Par. under 1. III. 30 and the S.L.S.T., p. 65, *Kumbhakonam* edn.). The nature of *mukti* as identity with *Īśvarahood* is a pet theory of *Appayadīkṣita* and it is a downright mistake to represent it to be in consonance with *Vācaspati's* philosophy. This theory has been ably criticised by my pupil Mr. *Ashokanāth Bhattācharya* in an article published in the *Indian Culture* (2nd issue).

Regarding the remarks on the connexion of *sphoṭavāda* and *akhaṇḍārthavāda* we must confess that we do not notice any relevancy between the two. Although *Vācaspati* does not subscribe to the *sphoṭavāda* as expounded by *Bhartṛhari* and *Maṇḍana* and he advocates the theory of *varṇasphoṭa* following *Kumārila* and *Śaṅkara*, it is not quite apparent why he could not believe in *akhaṇḍārthavāda*. We do not know if any *Vedāntist* holds to the doctrine of *sphoṭa* of the pattern of *Bhartṛhari*. What *Vācaspati* denies is that word can be an instrument of direct intuitive knowledge, which, however, is a different problem (*Bhā. K. T.*, pp. 55-56). However may that be, to describe the doctrine of *sphoṭa* as "the doctrine that meaning is one and integral and that it is but revealed gradually in the spoken letters and words" (*italic is ours*), is the height of misrepresentation. *Sphoṭa* is never understood as meaning ; it is, on the contrary, the entity which expresses the meaning, it is word *par excellence*.

The English translation of the *Bhāṣya* does not seem to be an improvement upon the previous attempts and the number of inaccuracies and mistakes in the translation of the *Bhāmati* is not small. It may be expected that the day has come when the translations of Sanskrit philosophical classics should be intelligible to students of philosophy, though unacquainted with Sanskrit, just like translations of Greek and Latin classical texts. We cannot believe that the present attempt fulfils this purpose. This may, however, be thought to be a consummation still to be hoped for. But we sincerely wish that the present book should be freed from all mistakes and inaccuracies and we propose to give a brief list in the hope that they will be corrected in an early reprint.

On the very first page and in the translation of the *adhyāsa bhāṣya*, which is the corner stone of *Śaṅkara's* *Vedānta*, we are surprised to notice that the authors have altogether misrepresented the spirit of the *adhyāsa* theory and have failed to distinguish the opponent's objection from the *siddhāntin's* conclusion. To render '*mithyā bhavitum yuktam*' by 'can properly be an illusion' is a grievous mistake. It gives a positively wrong impression as if *Śaṅkara* aims at proving that superimposition is a case of authentic knowledge. The whole host of commentators have taken care to point out that the word '*mithyā*' here conveys the idea of negation and is not to be understood in its technical sense of 'indeterminate illusion' (*anirvacanīya*). The *Vivaraṇa* has given an elaborate account of the opponent's position that there is absolutely no conceivable ground for an illusion with regard to the identity of subject and object, of consciousness and matter. *Śaṅkara's* philosophy rests on the possibility

of this confusion between the two. This failure to understand the spirit of the opponent's standpoint is responsible for the translation of '*tadviparyayaṇa*' as "through an error in respect of that." The word '*viparyaya*' here has got its ordinary meaning of 'reversal,' 'inversion' and the like and not the technical sense of error. It simply means through the inversion of the order. Cf. "*pūrvoktādhārādheyabhāvavaiparityena*," the comment of the Vārtika. The same error is responsible for another error in the translation of the Bhūmati text—"mīthyāśabdo'pahnavaivacanah"—into "the word illusion signifies concealment." Neither '*mīthyā*' means 'illusion,' nor '*apahnavao*' 'concealment' or 'condemnation' is a happy correction. The meaning however is simple, to wit, 'superimposition should be impossible.' Cf. '*abhāva evā*' *syā dhyāsasyā yuktaity arthaḥ*' (Pañcapādikā).

P. 9. *ahaṅkāraśpadam*—"substrate of I-ness" is a wrong translation. It means "the object of ego-consciousness." Even the siddhāntin admits that the 'self' is the substrate of I-ness, nay, of the whole phenomenal world, as the self and the Absolute are in reality one.

P. 10. A note on the *Gauṇī Lakṣaṇā* is called for. Besides, the translation of the last three lines is incorrect. "Where difference is established, in respect of viscosity,' etc.," gives the very reverse of what is meant. On the contrary it is not difference but community of attributes, which is the pre-condition of *Gauṇī Lakṣaṇā*.

P. 12. '*ālambana*' is translated as substrate. This is wrong. It means 'object' and is the equivalent of '*viṣaya*.' Cf. Such expressions as '*Ālambanaparīkṣā*,' '*Nirālambanavāda*,' '*Ālambanakāraṇa*,' etc.

PP. 14, 17. '*paramārthataḥ*' should not be translated as 'absolutely' or 'from the absolute standpoint.' It means simply 'in reality' and that from the empirical point of view.

P. 18. *smṛitvivbhraṇa*—"delusive recollection" is unexpressive. It means 'error in memory' as opposed to 'error in perception.' Vide Kalpataru.

The lines from 'There to.....present and seen' fail to bring out the central idea of superimposition.

P. 20. The lines within brackets beginning with 'what' and ending in 'explained' do not carry any relevant sense. The meaning of the text is however perfectly clear and a reference to the Kalpataru or any other commentary would have helped the translators to give an intelligible version.

P. 21. The translation of '*tattvaḥgocarah*' as 'in the sphere of the true' is uncouth English and will not carry any sense to one unacquainted with the Sanskrit idiom. So are the subsequent lines on the next page.

P. 22. '*parasparavirodhāt*'—"self-contradictory" is not the language for it. 'Because of mutual contradiction' should be the translation.

P. 23. The clause 'in the same way as what was presented in prior erroneous cognitions' grievously fails to express the intention of Vācaspati's language.

P. 24. The lines 'yet there is an external falsehood,' etc., are absolutely unintelligible.

P. 25. The lines 8-10 are unmeaning. '*Ahaṅkāraśpadam*' is not the substrate of I-ness. See ante.

Again, '*ālambana*' is translated as 'basis,' which is not only wrong, but gives rather the opposite idea of what is meant. 'The presentation of silver' has nare for its basis, though not for its object. The same confusion runs throughout and is responsible for funny situations. Cf. "Here the

meaning of the word 'basis' is but manifestation." The result is that it does not yield any sense.

P. 29. In 'this is like valid cognition' the dual number is not noticed. Again, the word '*ajñāna*' here means 'absence of cognition' and not 'ignorance' in which Prabhākara does not believe.

P. 30. "Perception (of subject and *probans*) in the same place is, verily, the cause of inference, not perception in different places" *et seq.* These lines present a hopeless case of confusion. The word '*ekadeśa*' in Sabara's Bhāṣya, which is quoted in the Bhāmati, does not mean 'in the same place.' It means 'a part.' The translation not only fails to represent the meaning of the text, but puts an absurd construction upon it. In fact the subject and the *probans* are never perceived in the same place. The *probans* is perceived as a part of the subject, as a qualifying adjunct of it and so in it. The locus of the *probans* and the subject is thus never identical. When we infer fire from smoke, smoke and fire are both adjectival adjuncts of the subject, say, the hill. The hill is on the ground and the smoke is in the hill. To put the smoke and the hill, the *probans* and the subject, in the same locus is therefore absurd and the present translators should have thrice hesitated before offering this preposterous interpretation. A reference to Sabara's Bhāṣya and the Kalpataru would have dispelled all doubts.

P. 161. The meaning of the simple verse quoted from Kumārila's Slokavārtika, '*pravṛttir vā*,' etc., has been misunderstood. '*Nityena kṛtā-kena vā*' does not mean 'in respect of the obligatory or the occasioned.' The simple meaning of the verse is that Sāstra is a body of statements either eternal or created by a human author, which aims at teaching humanity how to engage in duties and to desist from wrong-doing.

The list is not exhaustive and aims at calling the attention of the authors to the necessity of greater caution in such undertakings.

We have been so long engaged in the unpleasant and thankless task of pointing out the shortcomings of the work. But this does not make us blind to its merits. The translators have bestowed greater attention on the problems of Mīmāṃsā occurring in the text and they have given a better account of themselves. We only wish that they were equally careful about the philosophically important portions. The importance of Catuṣṣūtrī Bhāmati and the paucity of helpful works in English impose upon the authors an enormous responsibility. If the mistakes are corrected and the translation-work thoroughly revised under the detailed supervision of an expert equally versed in Sanskrit and English, the work will come to be regarded as a real contribution to Sanskrit scholarship and will be a boon to the future generation of students of Vedānta. The help of orthodox scholars is still indispensable and unless the English-knowing Sanskrit scholars completely appropriate the orthodox learning of the Pandits, any attempt at translation or exposition of these specialized texts is doomed to be a failure.

S. MOOKEJEE.

**Problems of Transport Co-ordination in India**, by Mr. S. K. Guha, Brunel Medallist in Transport, London School of Economics, Professor of Modern Economic Development, Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. Oxford University Press.

The subject of transport co-ordination has been engaging the attention of the country for some time and Mr. Guha's book is most timely. The

problem has been differently interpreted by various groups interested in different transport services and Mr. Guha rightly emphasises at the outset the scientific implications of the term co-ordination as "the economic allocation of functions as between different means of transportation, the formation or establishment of well-organised joint services, and the elimination of competitive waste"—all these having ultimately one objective in view, namely, serving the best interest of the public. He then proceeds to examine the methods of attaining such co-ordination by (a) unrestricted competition, (b) voluntary inter-carrier agreement, (c) public or state regulation, (d) unification of management and (e) a combination of all these.

In the short compass within which Mr. Guha confines himself it has not been possible for him to examine in detail the applicability of each of these methods in the field of Indian transports nor perhaps was this necessary for his thesis. But he has hit at the right point and emphasises the need for the immediate establishment of a Permanent Co-ordinating Authority with ample powers. We entirely agree with him when he says that the ultimate waste involved in an unco-ordinated system is too disastrous and damaging to be neglected.

Our students of transport as well as our public men who have to express their opinion on this important subject will profit immensely through a perusal of this thoughtful little book.

N. SANYAL.

# Abstracts

## DRAMA IN MODERN TURKEY.

Out of very humble beginnings there has been evolved a nation-wide National Theatre Movement which has influenced the social life of almost every village in modern Turkey. Indeed, the rise of serious drama in that country has been phenomenal. Mr. A. G. Chagla contributes a short but interesting article on this subject in the current issue of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta, Monthly). In tracing the history of the growth he writes :

“ The beginning of modern drama in Turkey can be traced back to the influence of the ‘ Young Turks ’ early in the present century. During the later days of Sultan Abdul Hamid a small band of intellectuals, both men and women, had formed themselves into a group for the study of foreign literature and drama. They all belonged to the ‘ Young Turk ’ party of intellectuals who aimed as much at social revolution as at overthrowing the domination of the Sultans. This group definitely attempted to evolve a school of indigenous Turkish drama, on the lines of the serious drama of Northern and North-Western Europe. But their work had to be done more or less secretly, for according to the laws then reigning, woman could not go out into the street unveiled, much less could she take part in a dramatic performance. As apart from the official interference, they had to contend with the social prejudice of the masses and the classes against drama as such, and against art in general. This was but natural because all stage performances were identified in the popular concept with the low type of musical comedy that was seen being staged by the vilest people in none too reputable surroundings. Fortunately there were at the time not only men of high ideals and culture directing the efforts of this group of stalwarts, but men of ripe experience who had served their apprenticeship in the leading theatres of Vienna, Paris and Berlin. (Turkey at this period was still under the cultural influence of France, though the political tendencies favoured German influence.) More fortunate still, these men had a wonderfully balanced mind and a sense of proportion. Instead of attempting spectacular ‘ shows,’ then in vogue in Europe, or wasting their time on a type of drama foreign to their own life experience or not in conformity with the social development of the people, they made a very modest beginning, taking each step with precision and care. As Strindberg and a few other intellectuals had done earlier in North-Western Europe, they secretly established what was virtually an experimental ‘ chamber ’ theatre. Here they experimented with the lesser works of specially French and German dramatists of the ‘ naturalist ’ school, that preceded the advent of Ibsen. Attempts were also made to write some original plays on Turkish themes to suit the hitherto undeveloped talent of the wholly non-professional staff and actors. It is interesting to note that some of these budding

dramatists were ladies of culture, who have made a mark in the post-revolution era, both as original dramatists and as translators of foreign works. This continued, under very difficult circumstances, for a few years and thus a sound foundation for future work was laid.

Then came the Turkish reverses in the Balkans, the Great European War ; and then the Revolution of 1919-20 and the consequent freedom from the age-long yoke of the Sultans and the thralldom of the clergy. " Social conditions which had already begun to change were completely altered by the beneficent tyranny of legislation. Most significant of all, the freedom of women became a fact overnight."

" These were very favourable to the growth of serious drama. The Turks now found that the social and domestic problems that confronted them were almost identical with the problems that faced the Scandinavians fifty years ago. This was the period when Ibsen wrote *Pillars of Society* and *Doll's House*. Norwegians in particular, and people of the rest of North-Western Europe were then just making a bid for a freer social life. Turks to-day were similarly situated. So instead of grouping for a new form to express their newly found inner urge for social honesty, the plays of Henric Ibsen were taken hold of and adapted for the Turkish stage, as correctly interpreting the new impulse in the Turkish national and social life. Indeed it speaks very highly of the forethought of Turkish men of letters that this impulse has been recognised so soon. To-day conscientious efforts are being made to nurture and to foster it.

" Of the old ' Young Turk ' group many had perished by now, either in the war or in the revolution. A few that remained saw the wonderful opportunity that now offered itself to forge ahead. They however saw that nothing could be done without powerful support. Some of them had risen to be office-bearers in the new people's own government. With patience and tact they ultimately succeeded in gaining support of some political leaders of note, and of the great Ghazi. A ramshackle theatre was hired and under the patronage of some leaders of new thought in Turkey the first public performance of a serious play was given in which men and women of high social standing took part. The already bewildered people were more bewildered still ! But the far-sighted men of culture grimly continued in their terribly uphill task. It would not be incorrect to say that the efforts of the Turkish National Theatre at this period substantially helped the people in the struggle with the past. Small groups were trained and sent all over the country and it was soon realized by those in power what a tremendous cultural and psychological influence drama of the right sort possessed and how very vital this influence could be in the corporate life of a community.

" Soon a time came, however, when the leaders of this successful cultural movement felt that they had reached the end of their resources and nothing more could be done without active government support. The matter was taken to the Grand National Assembly. As a result the *Istambul Sheheremane-i Darulbedayi* (The Istambul Municipal Theatre) was formed. The old cultural group was formed into a semi-professional company and placed in charge of this theatre, under municipal control. It is from this centre that trained artistes are sent to every nook and corner of the country, not only to entertain, but to educate and to stimulate thought."

### CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANGLO-INDIANS TO HINDUSTANI POETRY.

" Apart from the fact that Indians have well and worthily contributed to the riches of Hindustani Poetry," writes (the late) Dr. H. W. B. Moreno in a recent issue of the *Hindusthan Review* (Patna, Monthly), " it is interesting to note that Anglo-Indians, born and brought up in India, have in their turn added to this store as well." He continues :

" With the establishment of the Fort William College in Calcutta, and the Oriental College, at Delhi, there opened a new era in the history of the vernacular literature of India ; and Hindustani specially was enriched. Its poets, prose-writers and scholars were invited from different parts of India and were called upon to add valuable material to its literature, under the immediate supervision and guidance of such European scholars as had acquired a considerable mastery over this language, and its available literature. These European servants of the East India Company took a keen and genuine interest in the advancement and culture of Hindustani literature, and the efforts of such pioneers as Shakespeare, Gilchrist, Forbes, Lees and Fallon can hardly be forgotten by lovers and readers of that language. They have done great service to it by publishing very valuable works, but it must be admitted, that except writing certain books on its grammar and composition, or editing and revising some texts, they made little contribution of an original character to its literature. Certainly, they acquired the language, but they have left practically very little in it which they may rightly call their own. Their efforts were mostly confined to the activities mentioned before, while the task of composing poetry was accomplished by an altogether separate class of people, more properly styled the domiciled community, consisting of domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The latter did not think like " foreigners," for they had imbibed the true Indian spirit and, as such, wrote and thought like Indians. They possessed a wonderful mastery of the language, as if it had been their mother language for centuries past, and their mode of expression perfectly conformed to the standards laid down by the well-known masters of Hindustani poetry. They penetrated deep into the spirit of its poetry, and faithfully employed the many conventionalities prevailing in it. In spite of the many minor defects found in their verses, one must admit that, within the limitations placed on them, they acquitted themselves very creditably. It is a misfortune that their poetry has hitherto remained neglected, and very little effort has yet been made to collect together and publish their literary output which has a unique value. While admitting that this account of the Anglo-Indian poets, in Hindustani, is far from complete, it is, perhaps, one of the first systematic efforts to present, in brief, an account of these " foreign " or exotic poets and singers, transplanted in Indian soil, which should in some measure enable future scholars to advance their researches in this direction.

" Most of these Anglo-Indian poets flourished at the Court of the Begum Samru, wife of General Samru or Sombre, the notorious French soldier and adventurer, whose brutal and cold-blooded massacre of the British at Patna, is one of the worst blots on his character. Begum Samru, surnamed *zib-un-Nissa* or " The Adornment of Women," which title was given her by the Emperor Shah Alam, was an accomplished lady, who besides her wonderful capacity for organisation and administration was no mean patron of literature. She could read and write Persian and Hindustani fluently. We find



that she carried on her correspondence in Persian and the last "Will" by which she gave away all her property to her adopted son, Dyce Sombre was prepared by her in Persian. She had a step-son, Aloysius Reinhardt, who had adopted the Mahomedan costume and was styled "Nawab Zafar Yab Khan Muzaffar-ud-Dowla," and adopted the *nom-de-plume* of "Sahib." This young Anglo-Indian prince was a good poet and held *mushayeras* (or poetical assemblies) at his house in Delhi. The principal poets of the capital attended his literary assemblies, and among them was the famous Sarwar.

"Another Anglo-Indian poet whose origin was from Firang but who was born in India," was Frasu, or more properly speaking Captain Francoise Queesne, son of Augustine, a Frenchman by birth and a servant of Begum Samru. He was the most accomplished of all the poets who flourished at the Court of Begum Samru, and his *Diwan* (or the complete collection of verses) copies of which are extremely rare, has very recently been discovered at Delhi. He was a voluminous writer and is said to have left a "camel-load" of works. For the present, however, one must be content with his *Diwan* only and leave to future the discovery or re-discovery of his other works, if any.

"Another Anglo-Indian poet whose memory is also associated in a way with Sirdhana, was John Thomas who resided at Delhi and enjoyed considerable popularity in the literary circles of that city. He was familiarly known as 'Khan Sahib,' and his father, George Thomas, the rejected suitor of Begum Samru, was commonly called 'Jahaji Sahib' or the 'Sailor Raja.' Thomas at first lived at Hansi where his father 'was a very successful and absolute ruler,' but after a reign of about four years he had to fly before the forces of General Perron and died on his way to Calcutta in 1802. It was worthy of note that the father of 'Thomas' had so completely identified himself with his people and isolated himself from his countrymen that when Lord Wellesley asked him for an account of his dominions, he begged that he might be allowed 'to send it in Persian, as he had forgotten English.' After 1802, Thomas the younger lived at Delhi, where he identified himself with the various literary activities of the metropolis and enjoyed the special favour of Shah Nasir, a renowned poet of Delhi.

"Having described some six Anglo-Indian poets who either lived at Sirdhana or were associated in one way or another with the Court of the famous Begum, let us now turn to ascertain other such poets who lived at certain literary centres in Northern India. The first poet to attract attention is Isfan, or more correctly speaking Stephen, or Stevens, a Christian born at Delhi. His father was a European who is said to have been well-known throughout the province. From his very infancy, Isfan was an ardent lover of Hindustani poetry and 'sat in the assembly of poets and learned men.' He wrote elegant verses and is reported to have been alive in 1802. Zuka, a well-known Hindu biographer of Hindustani poets, counts him as one of his personal friends, and also speaks of him as 'a man of many-sided activities.' It is a pity, however, that except a few fragmentary verses quoted in certain biographical works, we cannot find a single complete 'Ode' in any Urdu *Tazkira*.

"Next comes Jarij Bans Shore, or to be more correct George Burns Shore, an inhabitant of Aligarh. The author of *Tazkirat-ush-shuaara* speaks of him in the following words: 'When I held the *Mushayeras* at my house, in 1261 A. H. (1844 A. D.) I used to receive letters from him together with his *ghazals*, to be read at the *mushayera*. It is evident from a perusal of his

letters that he is a man of high attainments and considerable ability. His Persian composition also is very good. He professes the religion of Jesus Christ, may peace be on him !'

"While it is a matter of great satisfaction to note that Shore has left the vast collection of his poems in two complete *Diwans*, which has been lithographed during his own lifetime, it is to be regretted that copies are now extremely rare. Still another Anglo-Indian poet, Alexander Haderly, named Azad, who is said to have been the descendant of a Frenchman, resided at Delhi. His father came down to the imperial city towards the beginning of the nineteenth century and settled there permanently. He married an Indian lady by whom he had two sons. The younger enjoyed the society of poets and men of letters and began to write verses at the early age of eighteen. He had, however, to leave Delhi for Agra where he continued his literary activities with greater zeal and interest and got his poems corrected by Asadullah Khan "Ghalib," the greatest Hindustani poet of his time, who took a keen interest in his young pupil. It appears that Alexander was a medical practitioner as well ; and became very popular with the poor for his generous and free distribution of medicine. He died on the 7th July, 1861, at the comparatively early age of 32. His elder brother, who was then a Deputy Collector at Bharatpur, collected his scattered poems and did the last but not the least enduring service to his brother by publishing them with his valuable introduction.

"Mention must also be made of another Anglo-Indian poet of Portuguese origin, Augustine D'Silva, who lived at Agra. D'Silva wrote under the pen-name of *Muftan*, or 'the fascinated' and some of his fragmentary verses which have reached us testify to his skill in the art of versification.

Another Anglo-Indian poet, Johans, or more correctly speaking Johns or Jones, wrote under the pen-name of 'Sahib.' He was a pupil of Mr. Wazir Ali Saba, a renowned poet of Lucknow, and he took delight in composing Hindustani verses. Specimen verses quoted by the author of *Sukhan-i-Shuara*, the only biographer who has cared to record his name and certain very minor particulars, can hardly convey an adequate idea of his merits as a poet.

"Another Anglo-Indian poet of Northern India, Irene Jacob, is comparatively modern and the only account available of him appears in *Khum Khana-i-Jawid* (the well-known cyclopaedia of Hindustani poets compiled in the beginning of the present century). There Jacob is said to have lived at Gorakhpur.

"Let us now turn to two little-known Anglo-Indian versifiers, one of whom was a poet and the other a poetess. The former, Mr. Walker, is reported to have composed decent and fairly effective verses. He is described as an ardent admirer of the Hindustani language and literature. In one biographical work he is said, however, to have been a European and not an Anglo-Indian. The latter was called Anne, the poetess, almost the last of the long line of Anglo-Indian bards, who admired, read and assimilated Hindustani and used it as their medium of expression with remarkable facility. Anne was the daughter of one Blaker, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, and was alive till the year 1871. She wrote under the pen-name of Malika or 'The Queen,' and got her poems corrected by Maulvi Abdul Ghafur Nassakh, who was one of the literary luminaries of Bengal in the late nineteenth century. Nassakh informs us in his oft-quoted *Sukhan-i-Shuara* that 'sometime back she embraced Islam' (i. e. before the year 1871). Her verses are not lacking in interest.

“ One of the most graceful recent Anglo-Indian poets was the late Mr. De Costa of Calcutta. His lyrics were choice and sweet. In May 1822 was started the *Jam-i-Jahan*, a Persian newspaper. To this paper there was added a Hindustani supplement containing amusing stories and other varied contributions. For this supplement De Costa wrote some of his well-known lyrics. De Costa was a contemporary of Derozio, the Eurasian poet who wrote excellent English verses. He had a rich vein of literary ability, and was prominent in most of the Anglo-Indian activities of his day. His poems are written in faultless Hindustani and bear credit to a foreigner.”

#### UNIVERSITY REFORM IN INDIA.

With the above heading Principal P. Seshadri, M.A., has contributed an article in the December issue of *The Indian Review* (Madras, monthly) pointing out various defects in our present educational system and suggesting reforms. He goes on to say :

“ It may not be generally known that out of the total number of students who enter the portals of Indian Universities in any year after passing the High School or Matriculation Examination, less than a fourth are able to reach the goal of a University degree, the large majority dropping off at various stages unable to follow college instruction and bear the strain of periodical examination, or for other reasons. When it is realized that the education of each student at college may cost anything up to even a thousand rupees a year to the tax-payer, which is the figure at some of the university centres, it will be seen that we are perpetuating a kind of waste of money and effort which will not be tolerated in any civilized country of the world. This is in addition to the large sums spent by the parents themselves which may also go up to a similar amount and which has been showing a continued tendency to rise in recent years. There is now therefore a desire that university education should be confined only to those who are likely to benefit by it and the indiscriminate admission of all kinds of students should be stopped. It would not be much of an accomplishment if only the standards of admission examinations were stiffened without its being accompanied by other reforms, such as the improvement of university education itself, which would prevent such waste and also provision for the diversion of students into other channels when they are not fit for university work.

“ It was for this reason that the Punjab University Enquiry Committee recommended a reorganisation of the entire scholastic system, stopping the High School standard with the present Ninth Class or the Fifth Form as it is called in the Madras Presidency and beginning diversion from there either to the University or to the technical professions. Students who aspire to enter University classes will be trained for three years in special Higher Secondary Schools, while others will go through the courses which may be provided for industry, commerce, agriculture and other technical professions. The average boy who enters the university, at present, is not properly trained to benefit by college lectures or to pursue independent methods of study which are so essential for the success of all true university education. It is much better that the young student should be looked after carefully in a Higher Secondary School than that he should be thrown upon his own resources in a college which is part of a university system. It is interesting to note that this idea has already been taken up in the United Provinces

where the Government has definitely invited public opinion on the subject with a view to adopting the scheme.

"It must not of course be imagined that the moment this scheme is effected, Indian parents will all become so wise as to send only such students as are fit for higher education into the universities and will be content to seek technical courses for others. The evil is more deep-rooted and unfortunate. Considerations of caste often make a doting father imagine that his son can only enter one of the learned professions whether he is fit for it or not. He is often apt to imagine that it is more dignified to be a low-paid clerk in an office than earn double the salary as a driver or a mechanic or even as a foreman in a workshop. It is also a fact that the mere opening of technical classes will not automatically furnish the necessary employment for all those who may flock into them, but after all, an educational system can only provide for the necessary facilities and leave it to the common sense and co-operation of the community to make it a success. In any case economic considerations seem to be driving many parents in India into the right perspective in these matters.

"This also implies an expansion of the university system itself so as to provide for technological courses which may be useful avenues to those who wish to take part in the industrial advancement of the country and add to the national wealth besides finding a career for themselves. It cannot be said that the absence of adequate facilities in technological education in the past has been due entirely to the prejudice against such education on the part of University leaders, though some of them nursed on the old ideals of liberal education, perhaps entertained adverse feeling at least in some measure. Economic limitation should come in for a considerable share of the responsibility and perhaps also the feeling in some quarters that the country had not reached the industrial advancement and prosperity necessary for making technological education possible and successful.

"It is clear that the next few years will see considerable expansion in this direction. The magnificent bequest of the late Rai Bahadur Lakshmi Narayan—a Madras settler in the Central Provinces—to the University of Nagpur which now amounts to about forty-five lakhs of rupees will enable the university in the near future to run a high-class technological department. The Bombay and the Andhra Universities have opened these new subjects with the current academical year and the Osmania University is also preparing plans for a Technological Institute. The Punjab and the Benares Hindu Universities have had successful departments of Applied Chemistry for several years and almost every university in India, except the purely affiliating ones, is contemplating similar development. It is only necessary to sound the warning that in this anxiety to provide for bread-winning education, the interest of true university culture should not suffer eclipse."

Emphasising the necessity for extending the time for degree course by one year he concludes.

"Examinations are an unfortunate, though perhaps an inevitable, feature of educational systems all over the world, but there is nothing more blighting and more injurious to the cause of higher education than a system of biennial examinations. They prevent independent study on the part of the student and do not afford the necessary time for the development of what may be called the right university habit in mental work. It is now conceded by almost all the universities in India that a course of three years

should be the proper system for those working for the degree, but unfortunately no action has been taken in the matter as the universities feel that they should move jointly in a reform of this type, lest individual universities should become unpopular by a one year's extension to their courses. There are objections in some quarters to the adoption of such a step—it is argued that in a poor country like India, the addition of a year to the degree course would be a serious burden on the average parent and candidates who aspire to appear at various competitive examinations for the services will be subjected to a handicap by this delay. In any case, these are not insurmountable obstacles and there is also the possible solution that the saving of a year may be effected in the lower stage of instruction by a reorganisation of the educational system."

# News and Views.

*[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other literary, cultural and academic Institutions]*

## Aligarh University

The principle of co-education in Aligarh Muslim University was accepted when the University Court granted permission to Miss Hamida Bano Faruqi to work in the Botany laboratory. Miss Faruqi's application roused opposition from a section of orthodox members who were reluctant to create an undesirable precedent. But another and a far stronger section was favourably disposed towards it and the application was granted by a large majority.

## Lucknow University

Following the decision of the Senate of the Calcutta University that there should be no co-education at the undergraduate stage, the Inter-University Board has asked the various Universities to enquire into this matter. In response to that enquiry a committee, consisting of Dr. Paranjpye, Dean of the various Faculties in the University, Dr. Miss Shannon, Principal of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lady Wazir Hussein, Begum Habibulla, Mrs. Gupta, the Rani of Mandi, Mrs. Menon and Mrs. Mitra has been appointed by the Executive Council of the Lucknow University to enquire into the question of co-education in the University.

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At the Annual Convocation of the Lucknow University held on November 26 last, Sir Malcolm Hailey dwelt largely on the contact and inter-relation of Indian and Western cultures.

"If India were to decide in its own mind that the type of culture largely determined by external influences is anti-national, then that form of culture, will have against it not only the natural difficulty inherent in its transplantation to a different soil, but all the active hostility which flows from intensified nationalistic feeling. Whatever view one may take of the manner in which the merits of foreign rule are canvassed or of some of the methods whereby it is sought to reduce its authority, yet the desire to be more independent of that rule is natural enough. Certainly it would be illogical if Englishmen, remembering how much of their own history and how much of their feelings they have taught India, were to regard it as unjustifiable.

"In seeking to spread among them institutions and ideas which seemed to have been successful in Europe," His Excellency proceeded, "there was at least a sincere and honest attempt to give the East what had appeared as best to the West. That attempt, moreover, has secured, as the whole world admits, for India an immense advance not only in material and social circumstances, but in every condition that makes towards nationhood.

"I do not believe that any thinking Indian really believes that the achievements of Europe in literature, philosophy and art are negligible and the achievement of India supreme. I, in fairness, ought to make one observation which is perhaps also a warning. In altering circumstances feelings based on political or economic considerations may well abate and changing relations may well bring the recognition that is necessary to set up any such defence against an assumption

of Indian inferiority. But unless it is aggravated through a continuance of cases I still cannot myself believe that it is likely to take a form directly subversive of the European type of culture.

"One must expect an increasing stimulus to be given to the literature of Indian languages such as has already taken place in regard to Bengali and to some extent to Urdu and Hindi. There will naturally be far more emphasis on education in the languages of the country. I need not emphasize the truth that the national renaissance has brought with it an intense revival of interest in the languages, life-history and art of the people of the country. It would not be a true renaissance if it did not seek to give them new life in the face of foreign or exotic culture.

"Nationalist feelings in some of their later manifestations have been apt to show themselves impatient and intolerant to an extent which would have surprised the most intolerant of our ancestors. There are modern States which assert an economic self-sufficiency or achieve racial or cultural unity and yet seem capable of being hag-ridden by the desire to smash down any show of a difference of opinion and to regiment every aspect of individual life. The Press is silenced, minorities banished or suppressed, the teaching of philosophy or history regulated by State censorship, and public opinion reduced to a mechanised mass of all this as a new form of Caesarism. A historian might perhaps feel that this libels Augustus and even does some injustice to the more human vagaries of some of his successors."

#### Poet Firdausi Millenary

Under the guidance of Prince Akram Hossain and Nawabzada A. F. M. Abdul Ali, President and Secretary respectively of the Celebration Committee, Calcutta recently celebrated the millenary of Firdausi, the great epic poet of Persia at the Indian Museum. A Persian atmosphere was created at the Museum and an exhibition of valuable manuscripts of the "Shahnamah" and rare objects of Persian Art was one of the special features of the celebration.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal sent the following message:

"I wish every success to the millenary celebration of Firdausi, the great poet of Persia, famous throughout the world as the author of that magnificent epic poem, the "Shahnamah."

"Men such as he are true benefactors of civilization for their works not only enshrine the ancient history, legends and traditions of great nations which might otherwise be lost in oblivion, but enrich the cultural life of all nations.

"Firdausi commands the world's respect to-day not only for his genius as a poet but for the uprightness and unselfishness of his personal character and is rightly held in honour and esteem far beyond the boundaries of his own country."

Miss June Knight gave a display of Indian dancing, while there were selections of Persian music under the direction of Miss Connie Harris. A Persian talkie film produced in Bombay for the Teheran celebration was also shown. The celebration took the form of a garden party which was attended by the élite of the Calcutta Society. A talkie film of the celebration at Calcutta was taken for the benefit of the principal cities of India and Persia.

#### Conference of Medical Workers

Maj.-Gen. C. A. Sprawson, Director General of the Indian Medical Service, at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine opened, in early December, the 12th Conference of Medical Workers in the Indian Research Fund. Maj.-Gen. Sprawson said that Rs. 3½ lakhs of the capital had been realized to meet a deficit on research work during the year. Hopes that the Government of India would increase its donation of Rs. 1½ lakhs had been disappointed. He regarded the future with great apprehension in view of

the progressive decline in capital and income. The Government had decided that the Indian Research Fund Association was now a local body not administered by the Government and would have to be registered as a society. There would probably be greater freedom in administering the funds. The governing body has decided to form a junior cadre of medical research appointments on the understanding that the Government would take over the responsibility for these posts in lieu of senior research posts in the Medical Research Department which were now in abeyance. The Government, however, had not given this assurance and he would ask the conference to discuss the question and give its opinion as to whether the governing body would be justified in proceeding with these appointments. Maj.-Gen. Sprawson announced that during the conference Lt.-Col. J. Taylor, who had attended a German inquiry on behalf of the Government, and Lt.-Col. A. J. H. Russell, Public Health Commissioner, would speak of yellow fever.

Committees were appointed to discuss rabies, leprosy, cholera, malaria, plague and kala-azar and sat separately.

#### Montessori School, Benares

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore performed the opening ceremony of the Montessori School at Rajghat, Benares. In performing the ceremony Dr. Tagore said:

"Education, according to me, has for its object freedom—freedom of the intellect, freedom of sympathy, freedom in the material universe through our truthful dealings with the universal laws, freedom in society through our maintaining truth and love in all human relationship..... It is a most difficult ideal and that immense difficulty only proves the majesty of the human soul and the magnificence of true civilization."

#### Patna University Convocation

In delivering the address at the Annual Convocation of Patna University, held on November 24 last, D. G. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of Lahore University, said:

"The problem of University and constituent colleges is of ancient standing. In Paris the University devoured its colleges and it is only in recent years that the University of Paris has concerned itself at all as regards the housing or daily life of students in the Faculties.

"The history of London shows how complicated the problem may become, when institutions of very different kinds have become included in a University, especially when some of them have vested rights even older than the University itself. Naturally I do not propose to advocate any particular solution this afternoon. Perhaps, however, I may suggest that there are certain conditions essential for a really harmonious solution, which has to grow up in course of time and cannot be immediately decreed by statute.

"One is that Faculty Institutes can be very useful in the administration of University teaching, but they may not be the best foundation for residential social units.

"Secondly, in order that they may function happily as parts of a whole, colleges, whether they are specialized or not, must be freed of any permanent complexes of inferiority or superiority. They may not be equally rich, but they should have similar standards of scholarship, efficiency and discipline, with a similar maintenance of high ideals worthy of the University.

"In the third place, colleges training younger students and scattered all over the country, cannot function as units of a teaching University, though they may be controlled by a University, as in France, and though they may prepare students for elementary examinations, conducted by the University.

"This elementary work, as has so often been declared by experts and commissions, is not the proper work of a teaching University. At the same time it cannot be



emphasized too strongly that the training given at this stage is of enormous importance, not only to the Universities but also to the country at large.

"During a brief visit to Japan this summer I was struck by the evident success from a practical and national point of view of a system of education deliberately planned and consistently maintained for the development of the country. In that system there is no consideration for the vanity of parents or the indolence of students, and only a limited number of the most industrious and ambitious can find places in the more advanced institutions. The result is a supply (not excessive) of experts in administration, commerce and industry, of officers for the Army and Navy—and a great mass of intelligent and willing workers content with a simple standard of living and all inspired with a patriotic devotion to the common good.

"The customs of other countries cannot be adopted blindly. Nevertheless Japan has shown the practical value in the development of a country which grafts modern science on to an ancient civilization, of a definite plan in education and of loyal patriotic workers. Modern Japan is built not merely on the intelligence but also on the *morale* of her people.

"That word *morale* may bring us back to the Edicts of Asoka. The burden of that great King's message to his people was *dharma* especially kindness, respect for elders and consideration for the opinions of other people. *Dharma* is difficult to translate. Sometimes it is translated as "law," again as "piety" or "morality." It is a great deal more than "law" in the sense of a penal code fixing penalties for particular offences—it has always a religious or moral background—the law must be obeyed not to avoid a fine but because it is inherently valid.

"Now one aspect of the moral law, or morality, which the Emperor Asoka stressed, was respect for tenets of other people rather than the blind glorifications of one's own sect. 'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects, all through devotion to his own sect in order to glorify his own sect—by so doing injures his own sect more gravely.' This ancient praise of sympathetic toleration may well be pondered in modern days.

"The development of the modern state demands an extension of this aspect of the moral law. Duty and loyalty to others, that is to the whole body politic rather than to particular sections of it only. In the doctrine of public duty we have something that the most modern youth cannot deny without rejecting a great part of his own existence which is bound up with the lives of other men.

"Modern youth is apt on occasions to deny a great deal. There has been a vast increase in the content of human knowledge, with a great array of experimental facts, gained by the analysis of natural phenomena. The rigorous search for truth often produces a critical, or sceptical attitude towards the products of human thought, and often leads the young mind to deny the validity of everything his forbears held for certain, sacred and immutable truth. Yet in so doing he is apt to overlook some of the fundamental facts of human nature. Extensive and profound as modern knowledge is, it still has its limits. If we put together all the varied knowledge of all the young graduates of a University, and throw in the additional knowledge, if any, of all their teachers, we can still find a few aspects of the universe that none of them can explain, none of them can claim to understand really.

"The function of the educator, be he parent or teacher, is to inculcate the love of truth without drying up the springs of religious feelings and morality, to inspire an abiding sense of moral duty without warping the intelligence.

"In the adjustment of moral values in a changing world Universities and schools have a great opportunity of service, provided always that they have regard to the nation rather than to sections, and to humanity rather than to nations.

"To the young graduates going out into the world to-day, with all the usual congratulations, blessings and good wishes, let me say just this. The uplift and advancement of India, during the next century, which will lie so largely in your hands and those of your fellow graduates, will depend not so much on subtlety of intellect, or on brilliance in research, but rather on the strength of moral fibre and wisdom in judging what is the right conduct in human affairs.

### **A Munificent Bequest**

A donation of four lakhs of rupees has recently been made to Dacca University by the executors of the will of the late Babu Jagamohan Pal, who was a well-known banker and merchant of Dacca. This is the first munificent bequest to Dacca University. The executors of the will have placed

at the disposal of Dacca University this sum for the establishment of a medical college to be named after the donor. The executive council of Dacca University, at an extraordinary meeting held this afternoon, thankfully accepted the generous benefaction and authorized the Vice-Chancellor and treasurer to take all possible steps for utilization of the money and for carrying on negotiations with the Government of Bengal for the early fulfilment of the scheme.

#### Indian Art in London

An exhibition of Indian art was opened on December 10 last at the New Burlington Gallery by the Duchess of York. The exhibition comprises nearly 500 works including two paintings lent by the Queen.

The exhibition is particularly interesting as it is the first occasion on which the work of the different Indian provinces has been shown separately, so that visitors have been able to gain some idea of what each province is doing in art.

The Marquis of Zetland, asking the Duchess of York to perform the ceremony of opening the Modern Indian Art Exhibition described the art movement in India in recent years as an outcome of instinctive impulse towards self-expression and said that Indian art was certainly affected by contact with Europe and there had been occasions when it had been in danger of becoming little more than imitative, but when such tendency was manifested, the movement always languished. Recent art in India remained true to what had broadly always been the distinguishing characteristic of Hindu compared with European art, namely, that the artist aimed at giving expression to mental concepts rather than reproducing the objects of external world around him.

#### Indian Chemical Society

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society has decided to award a gold medal in memory of the late Mr. J. M. Das Gupta, M.Sc. (Gold Medallist), who was an active member of the Society for several years. The medal for this year will be worth Rs. 100 and the subsequent medals will be each worth Rs. 70, to be awarded every alternate year. It will be awarded for chemical research, which will be adjudged by a board of examiners to be appointed by the Society.

#### Delhi University

Delhi University to-day conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, Education Member, and Sir Frank Noyce, Member for the Industries and Labour Department, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sir Abdur Rahman, the retiring Vice-Chancellor. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was described as a statesman of great ability and insight. Of Sir Frank Noyce it was stated that his record of public service in India was brilliant. Sir Frank Noyce said that it was mainly owing to Sir Abdur Rahman's persistent advocacy that the Government of India handed over the Viceregal estate, which is now the home of the University.

#### Moslem Education

The report of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee appointed by the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) to advise on what

should be the policy for advancing Moslem education in Bengal has just been issued.

The report deals exhaustively with the different subjects appertaining to Moslem education and contains the Committee's recommendations which are given below :—

Pending the introduction of free and compulsory education under the Primary Education Act, Maktabas should be maintained as separate institutions.

There should be adequate representation of Moslems on the Education Committee of Local Bodies and in school boards formed under the Primary Education Act. The Primary Education Act should be brought into operation in this province forthwith in spite of the economic distress prevailing in the country as, in the opinion of the Committee, the surest way of advancing elementary education among the Mussalman masses is to make primary education free and to introduce compulsion.

The present system of giving 50 per cent. excess grant to recognized Maktabas should be allowed to continue. Maktabas should be established in each of the subdivisions of the Presidency in Moslems areas. They should be of the type of board schools and should be under the control of the district boards. Steps should be taken for the attainment of the proportion of population percentage in respect of appointments which should be held by Moslems in Government high schools.

The University should be requested to adopt such measures as will secure an effective representation of Moslems on the managing committees and teaching staffs of unaided high schools. Islamic history should be made an optional subject for the University Matriculation Examination. A definite percentage should be reserved for Moslem students in the medical, engineering, veterinary and training colleges the percentage being gradually increased in accordance with the demand.

An adequate number of Moslem representatives should be appointed on all selection boards for the recruitment of officers, and specially in the Bengal Educational Service. The election of members of the Senate by the registered graduates should be made on the lines of the Dacca University, that is, Moslem graduates should elect Moslems and non-Moslem graduates, non-Moslems. There should be a separate electorate of Moslem graduates to elect half the elected members of the Senate. The proportion of the number of Moslem members of the Senate to the total number of Indian members should be the same as the proportion of the Moslem population to the total population of Bengal. There should be reservations of seats for Moslems in the Syndicate of the University. There should be a Faculty of Islamic Studies in the University. Urdu should be prescribed as a second language alternative to Arabic and Persian, for the Intermediate Examination and it should be treated as a principal subject for the M. A. Examination in Indian vernaculars.

As regards Dacca University the committee recommend that (A) fifty per cent. representation should be given to Moslems on selection committees; (B) there should be at least two Moslem representatives of Islamic Intermediate Education in the Academic Council; and (C) the head of the department of Islamic Studies be a Moslem: Immediate steps should be taken for the establishment of a Government Girls' high school for Moslems. In this connexion the possibility of provincializing one of the existing Moslem secondary schools may be considered.

Three Government hostels, namely, one at Calcutta, another at Dacca and a third at Chittagong, should be established immediately for Moslem girl students. The post of Assistant Inspectress of Schools for Mohammedan Education, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, should be held by a qualified Moslem lady. In view of the present disproportionate number of Moslem officers in Government service, the Government may be pleased to see that the number of Moslem officers is not reduced by any proposal for retrenchment.

Fifty per cent. of the members in the Text-book Committee should be Moslems and the rules for the working of the Provincial Text-book Committee, Calcutta, should be modified so that the percentage may be attained.

# Gurselves

PROFESSOR PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

We learn with regret that Professor Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., the Minto Professor of Economics, has signified his intention to retire from the Chair. A distinguished scholar, a keen student of Economics and History, Dr. Banerjea filled the Chair with distinction for fifteen years. He has always been quiet and unassuming in manners and his solicitude for the welfare of the institution made him a loyal colleague and a devoted administrator. He made many contributions on Indian public administration and finance amongst which important works from his able pen may be mentioned *The Fiscal Policy of India*, *Provincial Finance in India*, *The Finance of the East India Company* and *The History of Indian Taxation*. The suffrage of his countrymen has now called him to a wider sphere of activity and the University's loss is the country's gain. We fervently hope that when sitting on the green benches of the Legislative Chamber, the memory of his happy association with the University will not fade away from his mind and that he will continue to take a keen interest in the affairs of his *Alma Mater*.

\* \* \*

## A NEW FELLOW

Mr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), has been appointed an Ordinary Fellow of this University in place of Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra, deceased. The new fellow has been attached to the Faculties of Science and Medicine and appointed a member of the Board of Studies in Medicine.

\* \* \*

## UPENDRANATH MITRA SCHOLARSHIP: CHANGE IN THE RULES FOR THE AWARD

Pursuant to a Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, based on a note from the Vice-Chancellor, the Syndicate have decided that the Upendranath Mitra

Scholarship should henceforth be awarded to the student who *after a regular course of study* in the Post-Graduate Department in English distinguishes himself most at the M.A. Examination in English with a thesis. It has been further provided that if in a particular year no such student is available, the scholarship will be open to any student who after a regular course of study in the Post-Graduate Department in English has passed the M.A. Examination in English in the First Class. We understand that the results of the M.A. Examination in English of 1934 have been taken into consideration in awarding the scholarship.

\* \* \*

#### INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD: ANNUAL MEETING

We understand that the 10th Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board of India will be held at the University Buildings, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 26th February, 1935, and the two following days.

\* \* \*

#### MR. YONE NOGUCHI

It will be welcome news to all who are interested in the cultural history of India and Japan to learn that Mr. Yone Noguchi, poet and litterateur of Nippon, has been requested by this University to deliver his Readership Lectures in 1935. It will be recalled that Mr. Noguchi was appointed a Reader by the Senate in 1924—and the appointment was sanctioned by the Government—to deliver a course of lectures on "Some Aspects of the Arts and Literature of Japan," but he could not come out to India that year. Our readers are not altogether unfamiliar with Mr. Noguchi's writings, and his presence in our midst would undoubtedly make for a fuller appreciation of Japan in the cultural world.

\* \* \*

#### SUBJECTS FOR JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE RESEARCH PRIZE

The following subjects have been selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the years 1934 and 1935:—

Subject for 1934

... "Proprietary Rights of Women under the Ancient Hindu Law with special reference to the Changes introduced by Judicial Decisions and British-Indian Legislation."

Subject for 1935

"Development of the Law of Marriages in the Smṛiti Literature involving relevant references to the Changes introduced by British Indian Legislation and Judicial Decisions in accordance with it."

The last date for submission of theses for 1934 has been extended up to 31st July, 1935.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION: PROPOSED OMISSION OF SUBJECTS  
FROM ITS CURRICULUM: THE UNIVERSITY VIEW-POINT

The Syndicate recently considered the views of the Committee appointed by them to deal with questions relating to the Indian Civil Service Examination, on the subject of the proposal of the Public Service Commission to omit Vernacular Language, Indian Philosophy, Experimental Psychology, and Physical Anthropology from the curriculum of the examination. The University does not agree with the views of the Public Service Commission and in the following letter addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal they have given their reasons:

FROM

THE REGISTRAR,  
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

SIR,

I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 12863A, dated the 8th November, 1934, regarding the proposed omission of certain subjects from the I.C.S. curriculum. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate have given the matter their mature consideration and have obtained the view-point of experts in this connection.

The University regret that they cannot agree with the proposal of the public Service Commission to omit Vernacular Language (compulsory subject No. 5) from the list of subjects for the Indian Civil Service Examination in India. As to the argument that the number of vernaculars recognised for the purposes of the examination is too many and leads to practical difficulties, the Syndicate feel that fourteen vernacular languages are not too many for a vast country like India.

In the Civil Service Examination in England, besides English, an auxiliary language is compulsory. A candidate may offer any of twelve auxiliary languages and it may be noted that the list contains subjects such as German, Latin, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Portuguese and Ancient Greek. The same difficulties are probably faced by the Civil Service Commissioners in England, as with the fourteen vernacular languages in India. But as yet there has been no proposal for a reduction of the number of languages, much less for the total omission of the subject itself.

Further, it appears that all the major Indian vernaculars have been recognised by the Public Service Commission and there is no reason to believe that there will be in the near future a sudden demand for the addition of other vernaculars to this list. It is obvious that a vernacular must acquire sufficient status before it can be recognised for examination purpose.

The Syndicate suggest that should the Public Service Commission consider the difficulties in the way of retaining a compulsory vernacular language as too great, they may combine vernacular language and literature in one compulsory paper. The importance of testing the command of a future Indian Civil Servant over one of the vernacular languages of this country cannot be exaggerated from the administrative

point of view and it will be regrettable if the compulsory subject is omitted from the list.

In regard to Indian Philosophy, the University are of opinion that the subject is of too great an importance to be omitted from the syllabus. It may not be out of place to recall here the opinion publicly expressed by the Marquess of Zetland (then Earl of Ronaldshay) while presiding over the Convocation of Calcutta University. Commenting on the fact that Indian Philosophy did not find any place in the curriculum for a B.A. Degree, he described the omission as "a stupendous anomaly" and proceeded to observe as follows :—

"I should have expected to find the deep thought of India which has sprung from the genius of the people themselves, being discussed and taught as the normal course in an Indian University and the speculations and systems of other peoples from other lands introduced to the student at a later stage after he has obtained a comprehensive view of the philosophic wisdom of his own country."

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate do not feel impressed by your observation that it is difficult to secure suitable examiners in Indian Philosophy who are sufficiently detached from the candidates. The number of Indian scholars well versed in Indian Philosophy, some of them enjoying international reputation, is not by any means strictly limited nor are they confined to any one particular province. The Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate do not understand why it should be specially difficult to find suitable examiners in Indian Philosophy in particular. Neither do the University consider it fair or desirable that Indian Philosophy should be omitted because it represents Hindu thought and culture and there is no special subject dealing with Muslim Philosophy for the Civil Service Examination. The importance of Indian Philosophy, as has been already stated, is recognised in all celebrated seats of learning throughout the civilised world, although there may be neither Hindu nor Muslim representation on such bodies. If however after making due enquiry the Commission is satisfied that Muslim Philosophy, as a subject, deserves to be given recognition, this University will have no hesitation in supporting a proposal to include it in the curriculum.

The University also consider that Experimental Psychology should not be omitted from the list. It is recognised to be an important subject for a future administrator specially in the discharge of his judicial duties. The subject is a growing one and there is provision for its teaching in this University.

Physical Anthropology also should not be removed from the syllabus. The contributions of the Indian Civil Servants to Anthropology have been very great. There is scarcely a province in India which does not afford a fruitful field for Anthropological research, and besides there are in India, and will continue to be for many years, numerous primitive tribes the administration of which is bound to be facilitated by the application of the findings of Anthropology. It would therefore be a great pity if one branch of Anthropology is left out of the syllabus for the I. C. S. Examination. Here again it may be added that there is a provision in this University for the teaching of this subject also. The Commission may however consider the desirability of following the same arrangement as is to be found in the case of the London examination where either Social Anthropology or Physical Anthropology can be taken by an intending candidate for the examination.

It appears from the letter under reply that one of the chief reasons why some of these subjects are proposed to be omitted is that the number of students taking these subjects is but a few. The University do not agree that that should be the chief criterion in omitting these subjects. Their omission may lead to a positive discouragement of important branches of study whose further study and research are essential for sound educational progress in India. It would be interesting to note that there are various subjects at the London examination where the number of candidates has been very small. For instance, taking the London examination of 1933, it appears that out of a total of 380 candidates who sat for the various Civil Service Examinations only 8 offered Statistics, one took up the paper in Agriculture and three appeared in Experimental Psychology. There was no candidate in Physical Anthropology. There was only one candidate for each of the following languages—Italian, Dutch, Portuguese and Russian.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate trust that the Government of Bengal will take the views stated above into their consideration and oppose the proposal made by the Public Service Commission to omit the subjects mentioned in the letter under reply.

I have, etc.,

Registrar.

### BETHUNE COLLEGE: AFFILIATION IN NEW SUBJECTS

The Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) have given their approval to the affiliation of the Bethune College in Elements of Civics and Economics up to the I.A. Standard and in Political Economy and Political Philosophy up to the B.A. (Honours) Standard, of this University with effect from the commencement of the session 1935-36.

\* \* \*

### BASANTA MEDAL

According to the wishes of the donor of the Endowment called the Basanta Medal and Lectureship Fund, some new items have been included among the conditions of the award of the Basanta Medal. These are:

1. That the competition for Basanta Medal should be confined to only Undergraduate students of this University.
2. That the Medical students will be excluded from the competition.
3. That the name of the Medallist should be printed in the University Calendar.
4. That the essay on which the medal is awarded, should be published, if possible, in some Journal or Newspaper for the benefit of the public.

The last date for submission of contributions for the medal has been fixed on the 31st of May, 1935.

\* \* \*

### DATES OF PRELIMINARY, INTERMEDIATE AND FINAL LAW EXAMINATIONS

In modification of the previous orders, the 11th January, 1935, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the ensuing Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law.

\* \* \*

### NEW CENTRES OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION

Two new centres have been sanctioned by the Syndicate for holding the Matriculation Examination, 1935, one at Ghatal and the other at Nilphamari. The latter will be a girls' centre.

\* \* \*

### DATE OF L. T. AND B. T. EXAMINATIONS

The dates for the commencement of L. T. and B. T. Examinations, 1935, have been fixed on the 4th April, 1935.

\* \* \*

### DATE OF B. COM. EXAMINATION, 1935

The date for the commencement of B. Com. Examination, 1935, has been fixed on the 24th April, 1935.

\* \* \*





# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1935

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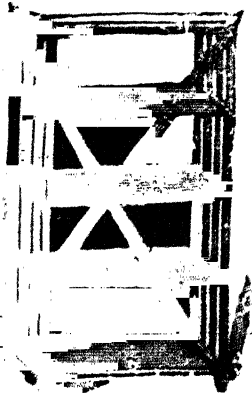
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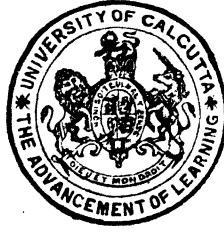
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SIR ABDULLA AL-MAMUN SUHRAWARDY, Kt.,  
M.A., D.LITT., PH.D., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1935

## EDWIN ARNOLD—POET AND ORIENTALIST\*

CHARLES S. BRADEN, PH.D.

*Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.*

**I**F an Orientalist is, as the dictionary states, one who is versed in the language and literature of the Orient, then Edwin Arnold, while not technically a thorough master of any one of the Oriental languages, must be ranked in that group. If, as the writer's own inclinations would lead him to do, he should broaden the definition to include one who, whether learned in the technical sense or not in either language or literature, has as one of his major interests in life the study of the culture of the Oriental peoples and the interpretation of that culture to Western peoples; one who makes the cause of Eastern peoples his own and definitely upholds them among his own Occidental fellows; one who greatly loves, understands and appreciates Oriental peoples; he would feel all the more justified in writing of Sir Edwin Arnold as an Orientalist, for he very aptly fulfils just this description, as will appear in the course of this article. There is a peculiar fitness in writing of him at this time when the one hundredth anniversary of his birth has but recently passed. Consider this brief summary of the chief items of his Oriental record.

\* Read as the President's address at the meeting of the Mid-west Branch of the American Oriental Society in Toledo, March 21, 1933.

1. Five years' residence in India as principal of a government school. 2. One book on education in India and one on government (*Dalhousie's Administration*). 3. One book of description and travel on India. 4. Five books containing translations of famous bits of Indian literature. 5. A book of Indian poetry (original). 6. *The Light of Asia*, the story of Gautama Buddha—All this on India. Add to that, 7. One book based on the Persian poet Sa'di. 8. Three books on Moslem themes, involving the use of Arabic. Add to that, 9. *A Grammar of the Turkish Language*. Add to that, 10. A prolonged residence in Japan, two books on Japanese subjects, and his marriage to a Japanese wife. Add further, 11. At least two books more of travel which deal largely with Oriental subjects. 12. Another which had to do with an ancient voyage around Africa ; and 13. Still another which deals with the life of Jesus, surely an Oriental subject though we have come, alas, to think of Him more frequently as of the West.

If to this it still further be added that during his career as journalist over a period of 40 years he wrote many hundreds of leading articles in *The Daily Telegraph* dealing with Oriental subjects, surely those who read this will agree that under the broader definition Sir Edwin qualifies eminently as an Orientalist.

Born on June 10, 1832, in Gravesend he received the customary education of a boy of good family in that day, and duly entered Oxford University. From the first he was interested in languages, acquiring in the course of his schooling a fair mastery of Greek, Latin, French, and Spanish. His complete list of publications include translations from ten different tongues—Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic and Japanese. In the University his major interest was in the classics, and he read widely in the literature of Greece and Rome. He early developed poetic power winning the Newdigate prize in 1852 with his poem *The Feast of Belshazzar*. Published in 1852, it brought him high praise, and prophecies were freely made that he would achieve eminence. After the publication of his second volume of poetry in 1853—he was then 21 years of age—a reviewer in *Blackwood's Magazine* said of him :

Song comes to him as naturally as to the bird on the bough. He cannot help expressing his thick, thronging and always graceful fancies in verse, and he frequently does so with the true minstrel spirit. That he should be occasionally a little extravagant is to be expected. All young poets are so and we like them the better for it.....he shows

excellent symptoms of breeding and no doubt will in time advance a valid claim to the laurels.

Shortly after graduating from Oxford he and his young wife went out to India where for five years he served as Principal of the Government College in Poona. Those were difficult years in India. They saw the dread Sepoy Mutiny, and Edwin Arnold is till remembered in Poona for the cool collected leadership which he afforded a terrified people in those dark days. But neither his heavy responsibilities as head of the school nor the turbulent political situation prevented his study of Sanskrit and the acquisition of a taste for Indian literature that was to furnish him the inspiration for his major literary work in later years.

Some exceedingly valuable work had already been done in the Oriental literature by Western scholars. Sir William Jones had long before translated the great Hindu drama, the *Sakuntala*; Wilkins, the *Hitopadesa*; H. H. Wilson, the *Vedic Hymns* and the *Puranas*; Millman, a part of the great epic, the *Mahabharata*. Max Muller had already done considerable scholarly work of the more serious sort on the ancient Sanskrit.

Whether inspired by any of these it is not possible to say, but their work in a sense prepared the way for his own, and for a period of years a steady stream of poetry and prose came from his pen, making the literature and life of India known to the world. He remained only five years in India, returning to England to become, more or less by chance, editorial writer on the then little known but later, due in no small part to his own efforts, the all-powerful *London Daily Telegraph*. But in the midst of a busy, even a strenuous journalistic career he continued his study and translation of Indian literature and became the channel through which probably more popular knowledge of the thought and life of India reached the western world than any other, and through his editorial columns he was highly influential in determining the Government's policies in dealing with India.

In 1860 he published a book, *Education in India*, which was regarded as an authoritative book in that field. In 1862 he issued a book on *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration*. Between these two he put forth his first translation, *The Book of Good Counsels from the Hitopadesa*.



He was now back in England engrossed in his editorial tasks. Twelve years passed. Nothing on India appeared save his unsigned contributions to the *Telegraph*. But he had not forgotten India. Even while he was translating and publishing *Political Poems by Victor Hugo and Garibaldi*, 1873, he was saturating himself with Hindu literature, particularly with the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, from which not a few of his Indian translations were taken. It was not until 1873 that he issued his *Indian Song of Songs*, the translation of one of India's best loved poems, the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, in which he gave to the English world the divine romance of Krishna and his great love Radha.

Translated first into English by Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century, "It remained for Mr. Arnold," says T. Rhys Davids, "to give us such a version as can convey to the European reader an adequate idea of the beauty of Jayadeva's verse—For the general reader it is the best yet published and is not likely to be soon surpassed." <sup>1</sup>

Just how wide a circulation this translation had is difficult to discover. Available library catalogues reveal only one English edition recorded under the original title as published by Trubners in 1875, but it is later found incorporated into *Indian Poetry and Indian Idylls* in an edition published as late as 1915 by Kegan Paul, London, and Dutton, New York, with a note saying that it was taken from the 9th impression issued in 1909. It has, therefore, seen at least ten impressions or editions in England. (It is not always possible to distinguish between impression and edition.) It was published in Lovell's library in America in 1885. The writer has found no indication of any subsequent American edition.

His next book to appear was curiously enough a "*Simple Trans-literal Grammar of the Turkish Language*." How did it happen that a London Journalist whose interest lay chiefly in India should turn to producing a Turkish Grammar? The story as told the writer by a son of Sir Edwin, sometime resident in Chicago, Mr. Julian B. Arnold, is as follows:

As Editor of the *Daily Telegraph* Arnold wanted certain material from Turkey. He called in a correspondent and asked him to go. "But," objected the correspondent, "I don't know the language."

"Then learn it," replied the editor. "But the language is difficult, there are no good books on Turkish, and the time is short," insisted the correspondent. "Then I'll create one for you," returned Arnold. "Come back in three days and I'll have it ready for you." Unbelievably the correspondent returned at the appointed time and found that the Grammar was indeed ready. According to his son, Sir Edwin had immediately procured such books as were available, read them, threw them aside and wrote his own. Trubner and Company published it, and the book is still in use after nearly fifty years.

One hesitates to report this incident lest scholarly readers at once leap to the conclusion that all his work was on that level. But that would not be true. It does, however, reveal a remarkable versatility and ability as a linguist. One cannot help wondering what he might not have accomplished had he limited himself to one language field and concentrated his tremendous energy and ability upon it. It may well be supposed that he would have performed some highly useful service, but he would have been read, as is most truly scholarly work, not by the many but by the few. It was Arnold's province to reach the popular ear with the lore of the ancient East.

But it was in 1879 that the work appeared for which Edwin Arnold will be longest remembered. It was the *Light of Asia*, the story of Gautama the Buddha.

It was hailed immediately by critics both in England and America as a truly great poem. Some of the praise seems to present-day readers extravagant, but there is no question that it "took."

Indeed, it was very widely circulated in the West. Besides a very large number of English editions, at least two French, at least one Spanish and possibly many other editions in modern European languages were also published.

It thus becomes clear that this book has brought Indian life and thought to a vast number of readers in the West. Indeed, few other books can compare with it.

What can be said of it as a fair and accurate interpreter of the Buddhist faith the beginnings of which it recounts? The testimony of some of its eminent critics may well be cited.

Oliver Wendell Holmes reviewed it for the *International Review*, and while he was in no sense able to judge of its accuracy or faithfulness to Buddhist thought, it is worth noting how the poem affected

one of America's foremost literary men of the period. He says of it:

It is a work of great beauty. It tells a story of interest which never flags for a moment. Its descriptions are drawn by the hand of a master with the eye of a poet and the familiarity of an expert with the objects described. Its tone is so lofty that there is nothing with which to compare it but the New Testament. It is full of variety, now picturesque, now rising to noblest realms of thought and aspirations. It finds language penetrating, fluent, elevated, impassioned, musical always to clothe its varied thoughts and sentiments.

No critic's estimate of a work on Buddhism should be read with greater confidence than that of T. W. Rhys Davids. Reviewing it in *The Academy* he declares

Mr. Arnold has maintained with great dramatic consistency the rôle of his Buddhist enthusiasts: and has caught up with commendable accuracy and sympathy the spirit of the ancient faith. It is true the archaeologist might detect several anachronisms in the details of dress or architecture and might even object that the people of Buddha's time are supposed to believe in some gods and legends which were really of origin so late that they were born after the sun of Buddhism had already set in India. But critical acumen and historical accuracy would have been inconsistent with the character who is supposed to tell the tale. And if a graver charge were brought that the Buddha occasionally talks very questionable Buddhism, the reader should bear in mind that the Buddhist sects were at least equal in number to those of the Christians. The supposed narrator may have belonged to some school which held that Nirvana was a state beyond the grave, and that a Buddhist may very well have been at the same time a sad heretic and very excellent poet. It will be very evident that though a Dissenter he was a very orthodox Dissenter,...There are many passages of equal beauty and power in which he rises to heights of his great argument and which will make it easy for modern readers to enter into the feelings which the noble and tender character of their reformer inspired in the hearts of his Indian followers.<sup>1</sup>

Sir E. Dennison Ross, an eminent Orientalist, though speaking not of the field in which his specialty lies, and therefore, perhaps, with less weight than otherwise, declares that it "still remains the best description of the life of Buddha in our 'language.'" (*London Observer*, 1932.)

But how do the Orientals themselves regard it? Naturally Buddhists might be expected to praise Sir Edwin for carrying a knowledge of their faith to the West—if, of course, they felt that it was a fair, sympathetic picture. How did they react to it?

On his visit on one occasion to a Buddhist monastery at Panadura in Ceylon the following address (in part) was made to him.

<sup>1</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, Volume 64, p. 34.

" You meritorious and accomplished Sir, who have eclipsed the fame of other learned men as a mountain of diamonds would the lustre of mountains of other precious stones, though born in a distant land, blessed with neither the religion of Sri Sakhya Muni of Solar Dynasty, the Most Holy Subduer of all desires and the world-honored conquerer of all evil passions, nor the intercourse of His devotees, have written in your native language an elegant poem embracing the close of his sojourn as a noble Buddhist in Tusitha Heaven, and the attainment of the Four Noble Truths, great and holy; a poem agreeing to the very letter and disagreeing in no respect with all the popular Buddhistical (*sic*) Scriptures, and the course and the commentaries; and you have thereby accomplished a task which no English pundit has hitherto wrought. You only, therefore, of all the English scholars, are entitled to our loving praise." <sup>1</sup>

It won for him in 1879 the " Order of the White Elephant " from the king of Siam, who after reading "*The Light of Asia*" wrote him, in part, as follows:

I thank you for the copy of your poem, *Light of Asia*. I read it with much pleasure, and I can say that it is the most eloquent defence of Buddhism that has yet appeared and is full of beautiful poetry...I can see that some of your ideas are not quite the same as ours but I think that in showing love to have been the eminent characteristic of Lord Buddha, and Karma...the result of the inevitable law of Dharma, the principle of existence, you have taught Buddhism...To mark my opinion of your good feeling toward eastern people and the service you have done to all Buddhists by this defence of their religion, I have much satisfaction in appointing you an officer of our most exalted Order of the White Elephant.<sup>2</sup>

Of course the poem met with serious criticism at the hands of some churchmen of the West. One book, the only one that has appeared, and that not very big, concerning Edwin Arnold, bore the none too flattering title *Edwin Arnold, Poetizer and Paganizer* (by W. C. Wilkinson) but the writer has been frankly surprised at the favorable reception given it in reviews in the Evangelical periodicals of the day. It will be recalled that America had not yet arrived at the degree of tolerance, still none too great, which marks present-day thought. Here it seems to the writer is to be seen if not the first, at least, from a popular point of view, the most effective impact of Eastern thought on the thought of America. It went far toward opening up a new era of popular interest in, and appreciation of, the culture of the East.

The limits of this article will not permit a detailed discussion of the remainder of Mr. Arnold's works. The other Indian poems include *Indian Poetry*, 1881, *Indian Idylls from the Mahabharata*, 1883,

<sup>1</sup> Julian B. Arnold's Manuscript, *Life of Edwin Arnold*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Journalistic London*, Harper's, Volume 64, p. 35.

usually joined in later editions, and *The Song Celestial*, also a fragment of the great epic. It was to the *Mahabharata* that Arnold turned most frequently for material to translate or an Indian theme to develop. Julian Arnold, his son, writes :

Although he cared little about collecting a library he carefully preserved all his Oriental volumes, and he set a small army of copyists to reproduce for him the translation of the *Mahabharata* in the British Museum. That copy when bound, ran to eighteen folio volumes.....These formidable volumes he valued greatly, and he bade his children to save them before all else if his house should burn down.<sup>1</sup>

He has greatly enriched English literature by bringing to it some of the great episodes of the epic. None of the translations by others seem to the writer to compare at all with those of Arnold.

But it is his translation of that section of the epic known as the *Bhagavad-Gita* under the title, *The Song Celestial*, for which the Western world is in the deepest debt to Sir Edwin.

The *Gita*, as is well known, is probably the most widely read and influential of the sacred writings of India. It is also quite the most frequently translated of all of them into English. Robert E. Hume in his recent *Treasure House of the World Religions* lists forty translations. The writer is by no means acquainted with all of them, but of all of those that he does know he finds Arnold's incomparably the best. But from what point of view ? He confesses that he knows no Sanskrit ; that he cannot judge as to its strict accuracy as a translation, but he has frequently compared it verse by verse, sections of it, with other renderings by scholars of recognized merit, and has found it usually in general agreement with them—but expressed in a language of beauty and grace and poetry which give it an appeal quite lacking in the others. It is probably true that the student will prefer the translation of Barnett, or Telang in the *Sacred Books of the East* or of some other more helpful, but one may doubt if with all their superior scholarship and exactness of expression they have caught the spirit of the work to the degree that Arnold has.

At any rate his verse sings its meaning while the others plod heavily and wearily along. After all does it not remain true that a poet can best translate poetry ?

The writer admits here to speaking perhaps with less objectivity than with regard to the rest of Arnold's work. He confesses his

<sup>1</sup> Julian B. Arnold in an unpublished Manuscript, *Life of Edwin Arnold*, p. 280.

belief, despite not a few critics to the contrary, that here, whatever its merit as a translation, here is a real literary charm and merit, the voice of an authentic poet, all too much neglected and underestimated in this present age. It is possibly true that his work was and is uneven; that here and there it fails to maintain a high standard, but in this poem it seems to this writer that a great work has been achieved.

But it would be a mistake to think of Sir Edwin as interested only in India. The same year that saw the appearance of *Indian Idylls* saw also *Pearls of the Faith or Islam's Rosary*, "being the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah" with comments in verse from various oriental sources (as made by an Indian Mussulman "which," in the author's own words, he has "tried to present in the simple, familiar and credulous but earnest spirit and manner of Islam, and from its own points of view, some of the thoughts and beliefs of the followers of the notable Prophet of Arabia." (Preface.)

It must be frankly confessed that his Islamic poems do not measure up to those of India, and *Pearls of the Faith* in particular was seriously criticized by those who were versed in the Arabic language and the religion of the Prophet.

*After Death or He Who Died at Azan* caught the popular fancy as no other and was very widely distributed in cheap paper editions at five cents in America.

His Persian poem "With Sadi in the Garden," won praise from his critics. A reviewer in *The Academy* said of it:

"The proud passion of an Emperor's love wrought into living stone:" has never been so worthily rendered into verse as by the opening passages of this poem describing the Taj Mahal. Those who wish to acquaint themselves with the most graceful form which can be given to exoteric Sufism should study this poem.

We open the book and forthwith leave behind our modern practical life to find ourselves in a spiritual regime of yearning and ecstasy and high-strung devotion. We close it and come back to our work-a-day world with a feeling that we have been breathing a softer purer air.<sup>1</sup>

From the Persian Shah it won for him the "Order of the Lion and the Sun" as a mark of appreciation of the Persian people.

It remains to speak, and but briefly, of his appreciation of the Japanese and his attempt to interpret Japan to the West. He lived

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Hunter *The Academy*, Volume 35, pp. 67-68.

there for a period of some three years and, as already indicated, he married a Japanese wife, the third, his second one having been a Boston woman. No one was ever more appreciative of the Japanese people than he. He wrote of them once thus :

Where else in the world does there exist such a conspiracy to be agreeable, such a wide-spread compact to render the difficult affairs of life as smooth and graceful as circumstances admit ; such fair decrees of fine behaviour fixed and accepted for all ; such universal restraint of coarser impulses of speech and act ; such pretty picturesqueness of daily existence ; such lively love for nature and as the embellishers of that existence ; such sincere delight in beautiful artistic things ; such frank enjoyment of the enjoyable ; such tenderness to little children ; such reverence for parents and old persons ; such general refinement of taste and habits ; such courtesy to strangers ; such willingness to please and to be pleased.<sup>1</sup>

But he did not content himself with merely pleasant words about them, he used his ever forceful pen in their defence and support in their desperate efforts to do what China is even now seeking to do, secure her freedom from unequal treaties. Japan was then, it will be recalled, under the same handicaps as to extra-territoriality as China.

In a series of vigorous editorials to the *Daily Telegraph* Arnold contributed not a little to Britain's decision to forego her extra-territorial rights.

His Japanese writings are comparatively much less known and read than those on either India or the Moslem faith. They earned for him however the gratitude of Japan as reflected in his being created an officer of the Order of the Rising Sun, being named as an honorary lecturer to the University of Kyoto, as well as made honorary member of several of Japan's learned societies.

To the already impressive list of foreign decorations in recognition of his interest in and service of Oriental peoples must be added his appointment by the Sultan of Turkey to the Imperial Order of Medjide, Second Class, and as a Companion of the Star of India by his own government. An anecdote told by his son concerning his Turkish decoration to which he used to refer as " the apple tart," reveals the character of the poet.

As a result of the constant support by the *Daily Telegraph* of the Turks in the Russo-Turkish war, the Sultan appointed Arnold an officer of the Imperial Order of the Medjide. When the Turkish ambassador made the presentation, Mr. Arnold

<sup>1</sup> Julian B. Arnold's Manuscript, *Life of Edwin Arnold*, p. 172.

hesitated saying that he was not himself the proprietor of the *Telegraph* and that the order should properly be given to his superior. "Oh," replied the Ambassador, "I have the one for him in my office." Arnold then accepted the decoration. The Ambassador as soon as he could get into his office cabled to his government "for God's sake send another insignia."

In 1883 in recognition of *Pearls of Faith* he was again honored with the Order of the Osmanli; making him at the same time a Pasha of the Turkish Empire.

Sir Edwin made at least two indirect contributions to Oriental scholarship. The first was through a suggestion to the owner of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Lawson, who one day said to him:

"What shall we do—something new;" "how much will you spend?" asked Arnold. "Anything you like." "Very well," said Arnold, "send out and discover the beginnings of the Bible." This was the origin of Mr. Smith's expedition to Assyria which Mr. Arnold arranged and for the results of which he was publicly thanked by the trustees of the British Museum. He also was responsible for Stanley's trip to Africa."<sup>1</sup>

His other service indirectly rendered Oriental scholarship was a posthumous one which may incidentally be considered as further justification (if any be needed) for his being called an Orientalist. After his death which occurred in 1904 there was established the Edwin Arnold Memorial Scholarship, in University College, Oxford, to be awarded annually to a "selected candidate for the Indian or other service of the Crown in Eastern lands ....or to a graduate who undertakes to pursue the study of some Oriental language to the satisfaction of the College."

The Secretary of the University College writes that so far no contribution of great note by any holder of the scholarship has been made but it is perhaps too soon to look for that. In 1930-31 the award was made to a student making a systematic study of Persian literature, in 1931-32 it went to a student of Urdu, a native Indian dialect. So the interest of Sir Edwin Arnold in the Orient projects itself down through the present and into the future by his writings, above all through the *Light of Asia*, and in this continuous stream of new scholars some of whom by means of this scholarship may enter upon a career of Oriental studies that will far outrun that of the distinguished Poet and Orientalist in whose memory the fund was established.



Edwin Arnold, Poet and Orientalist. Some have denied that he was a real poet. Space will not permit a discussion of his merit from this angle, but the writer believes that he was. Some will deny that he was an Orientalist. Sir E. D. Ross says that he narrowly escaped being one. But in closing, the writer believes that in a very real sense of the word this man, who, perhaps, more than any other single figure in his day, translated and interpreted clearly and sympathetically the best in the life of the Orient to the English-speaking world of the West, well deserves to be called both Poet and Orientalist.

*Illinois.*

# THE HINDU SOCIETY IN JAVA AND BALI

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THE Indian settlements in Java date from the second century A.D., if not earlier, and the Hindu culture flourished there till the end of the fifteenth century A.D. The beginnings of Indian colonisation in Bali are later, perhaps by several centuries, than those of Java, but in this small island Hindu culture has survived even to this day.

The social organisation evolved by the Indian colonists in these new homes can only be dimly perceived. But enough remains to show that definite and deliberate attempts were made to introduce the Hindu social fabric, though they did not meet with as complete a success as in the case of religion.

The fundamental basis of the Hindu society, and one which distinguishes it from all other known societies, is the system of caste. That this was introduced in Java is clear from the occurrence of the word “*Caturvarṇa*” and frequent reference to the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Sudras. It will be, however, too much to assume that this caste-system was the same as prevalent in Hindu society to-day, and we are not sure if the caste-system there meant anything more than a theoretical recognition of the division of the people into four grades. But, then, it is necessary to remember that the same was also the case in at least many parts of India in earlier times, and that the influence of Buddhism and Tantrik religion obliterated the distinctions of caste to a considerable degree in later periods. It is, therefore, difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between the system of caste in Java and that in India.

This view is strengthened by the fact that the Indian caste-system, such, for example, as is described in Manu Samhitā, prevails in its essential features, even to-day among the Balinese, the only people who have retained the old Hindu religion and customs. In order to convey an idea of the caste-system after its transplantation in the distant colonies, we can do no better than draw a picture of the system as it prevails to-day among the Balinese of Bali and Lombok.

The people are divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vesya (Vaiśya) and Sūdra. The first three castes are 'twice-born' (*dvijāti*) while the Sūdras are 'ekajāti' (once-born).

Marriage among different castes is prevalent, but while a man can marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman can only marry one of equal or higher caste. The union between a woman with a man of lower caste is punishable by death. The children of mixed marriages belong to the caste of the father, though they differ in rank and status according to the caste of their mother.

The Brāhmaṇas are divided into two broad classes according as they are worshippers of Śiva or Buddha. The first is again subdivided into five groups, originating mainly from the marriage with lower castes. To the Brāhmaṇa caste belong the Paṇḍas or priests. The Paṇḍas of the highest rank observe strict *Brahmacarya* (celibacy) and usually the Paṇḍas are expected to have only one wife. But in practice the Paṇḍas marry wives, even from a lower caste. The Brāhmaṇas are usually styled 'Ida' (male) and Idayu (female).

The Kṣatriyas are also subdivided into five classes. Some, but not all the royal families in Bali belong to this caste. Their usual title is 'Deva' for the man and 'Desak' (*Skt. Dāsī* ?) for the woman.

Among the third caste, the Vaiśyas, the Aria (Arya?) forms the chief group to which belong the royal families in Bali who are not Kṣatriyas. Their title is Gusti, for the male, and Gusti-ayu for the female. The 'Vargi' and 'Salit' form the other two Vaiśya-groups.

The Sūdras, known generally as Kaulas, are not despised as impure or untouchable. Impurity, according to the Balinese conception, is the consequence of certain acts such as, for example, (1) using water in which a dead body has been washed, (2) being reduced to slavery by legal process, (3) attempt to commit suicide, (4) refusing to become a *Sati* (i. e., burning herself with her dead husband) after making a declaration to that effect, etc. The duration of impurity varied according to circumstances. Sometimes men of higher castes are degraded to the rank of a Sūdra.

The different castes are not tied down to specific occupations, and men of all castes follow agriculture. The Sūdras, in addition to agriculture, also follow other arts and crafts.

In Bali we meet with another characteristic feature of ancient Indian caste-system, *viz.*, the privileges enjoyed in law courts by the higher caste. Here, again, for the same offence, the law lays down punishment in inverse ratio to the superiority of the caste of the offender.

As to the superiority, although the four castes held a relative position similar to that in India, the ruling princes, be they of Kṣatriya or Vaiśya caste, are regarded as superior to their Brāhmaṇa subjects. This is due to the theory that kings are representatives of God. It must be noted, however, that although superior, even a king cannot marry a Brāhmaṇa girl. In practice, however, even this is done by legal subterfuge. "Mr. Zollinger, in his interesting account of Lombok, gives an example. The young Raja of Mataram in that island, a Balinese, fell in love with the daughter of the chief Deva. In order to possess her a friendly legal ceremony became necessary. The Brāhmaṇa went through the form of expelling his daughter from his house, denouncing her as a "wicked daughter." She was then received into the Raja's house as a Vaiśya and became a princess."

The days of impurity, to be observed in case of a death in a family, vary, as in India, according to caste. A Paṇḍa, an ordinary Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra, become pure respectively after five, ten, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five days.

Two other social institutions in Bali may be referred to in connection with the caste-system. First, the *Satī* or the burning of a widow along with the body of her dead husband. This is forbidden in the case of the Śūdras, and in late periods came to be confined only to royal families. There were two kinds of self-immolation. In one case the wife first killed herself by the *Kris* (sword) and then her body was placed on the funeral pyre; in the other case the wife jumped into the funeral pyre. Sometimes even the slaves and concubines of the dead also perished with him.

Secondly, we may refer to the slaves as forming a distinct class in society. Slavery may be due to one of the following circumstances: (1) birth, (2) non-payment of debt or fines, (3) imprisonment in war or (4) poverty. Although severely punished for crimes or attempts to escape, the lot of a slave is on the whole tolerable.

Whether all these customs which we find to-day in Bali also prevailed in Java and other parts of Hinduised Malaysia is difficult

to determine. But the few references that we get are not incompatible with such a view. For in Javanese literature and Chinese accounts we get references to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and also to slavery and *Satī*. The Javanese literature and history throw some interesting light on certain phases of society, although they do not furnish materials for anything like a connected and complete picture. The system of marriage, for example, seems to show some divergence from Hindu customs. Polygamy was prevalent on almost as large a scale as in India, but the remarriage of widows, even of grown-up ladies with children, seems to have been a usual feature in Java, whereas it was all but unknown in India. For although sanctioned by the scriptures under special circumstances, an odium attached to it, and it hardly came into use, at least in the upper classes of society. In Java we have the famous instance of Ken Angrok or King Rājasa marrying the widow of Tunggul Ametung, the governor of Tumapel. About common people we learn that in an annual gladiatorial combat (to be described later on) in Java the wife of the slain became the prize of the victor.

In general, the position of a woman in Java seems to have been much better than in India, so far at least as the political rights were concerned. Gunapriyā Dharmapatnī ruled in her own rights and in the official records her name was placed before that of her husband. Rājapatnī succeeded Jayanagara, and her eldest daughter acted as regent for her although this daughter had a son. Again, we know that after the death of Vikramavardhana, his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne although she had two brothers.

There does not appear to be any *purdah* system in vogue and the women freely mixed with men. This is evident from literature as well as present-day customs in Bali. Women could choose their own husbands and we find actual reference to *Ṣvayambara* in the case of princess Bhreng Kahuripan. There seems to be no restriction as to the degree of relationship within which marriage relation was prohibited. The case of Aji Jayanagara shows that even marriage with a step-sister was not forbidden.

An old Javanese prose work, *Tatva-Ning-Vyavahāra*, like Raghunandan's *Aṣṭāvimśati Tattva*, seems to lay down rules for society. A Sanskrit śloka describing the origin of the four castes from the forehead, arms, thigh and feet of Brahmā is quoted with an old Javanese translation. It then mentions the classes of food prohibited

to the different classes. A list is given of the unclean animals such as dog, mouse, ape, snake, etc. It also deals with the marriage ceremony. How far books of this kind represent the actual state of society, it is difficult to say.

The duties of the four castes are also given in some books of this kind. Others lay down the dates on which it is improper to institute a law-suit or when a husband should approach his wife, etc. (*cf.* Manu III. 45).

It was not the custom in Java to use match-makers in contracting a marriage. Some gold was paid to the relations of the girl and then the marriage took place. In Borneo they sent, as marriage-presents, first the wine made of cocoanut-tree, then areca-nuts and next a finger ring. At last they sent some cotton cloth or weighed out some gold or silver. In Kora or Kala (Malay Peninsula) they gave no other presents than areca-nuts, sometimes as many as two hundred trays.

The details of marriage ceremony in Java may be gathered from the following description.

“When a man marries, he goes first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brings his wife home, on which occasion the relations of the bridegroom beat copper drums and gongs, blow on cocoanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo and burn fireworks, whilst a number of men armed with small swords surround them. The bride has her hair hanging loose, the upper part of her body and feet naked; round her waist a piece of green flowered cloth is fastened; on her head she wears strings of golden beads, and on the wrists bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented.

The relations, friends and neighbours bring *penang* and betel, whilst with garlands of flowers and leaves they adorn a little ship which they carry along with the newly married as a form of congratulation. Arriving at the house they beat drums and gongs and rejoice for several days after which they go away.”

Some of the Chinese accounts testify to a very high degree of conjugal love and fidelity. In Hsing-Cha-Sheng-lan occurs the following passage about Ma-yi-tung which has been identified with Banka. “They highly value chastity, and when a husband dies, his wife cuts her hair, lacerates her face and does not eat for seven days, sleeping all the time together with the dead body of her husband. Many die

during this time, but if one survives after seven days, her relations exhort her to eat ; she may then live but never marries again. On the day that the husband is burned, many wives throw themselves into the fire and die also."

This last custom is also referred to in other Chinese accounts, and, as we have already seen above, has survived in Bali.

Adultery was punished with death both in San-fo-tsi and Borneo.

The Chinese account makes it clear that the civilizing influence of Indian culture did not always penetrate the masses.

Take for example the following description of the Javanese in Yang-Yai Sheng-lan which is also reproduced in the History of the Ming Dynasty. " The natives are very ugly and uncouth ; they go about with uncombed heads and naked feet and believe devoutly in devils. The food of these people is dirty and bad, as for instance snakes, ants and all other kinds of insects and worms which are kept a moment before the fire and then eaten ; the dogs they have in their houses eat and sleep together with them, without their being disgusted at all."

This is evidently the class of people who were civilised by the Hindus. The Chinese account, which belongs to the last period of Hindu culture, shows that a large section of the people was still beyond the pale of Hindu culture and civilization.

Perhaps even the civilized element retained a degree of primitive ferocity such as is described in the same texts. " The temper (of the people of Java) is cruel and hasty ; young and old, high and low, all carry a sword at their side and on the slightest provocation they injure each other." We read in another text : " The men and women of this country take great care of their heads ; if another touches them, or if they get into a quarrel in trading, or if they are drunk and insult each other, they draw their dagger and begin stabbing, thus deciding the question by violence. If one is killed, the other runs away and conceals himself for three days after which time he has no more to account for his opponent's life. When, on the contrary, a murderer is caught on the spot, he is also stabbed to death immediately."

Quite in keeping with this temper was an annual 'Gladiatorial combat' which is called by the Chinese " Meeting of Bamboo Spears."

It was an annual gathering attended by the king and the queen. The combatants, armed with bamboo spears and accompanied by their wives or concubines, formed two ranks. At the sound of drum two men advanced with their lances and commenced fighting. After they were engaged three times, they were separated by their wives. If one was killed in the fight the king ordered the victor to pay one gold coin to the relations of the deceased whose wife henceforth followed the victor. The Chinese author justly remarks, " Thus they make a game of a deadly fight."

The same primitive character may also be noted in their dress and food. The chief characteristic of the dress of the people was that both men and women usually kept the upper part of their body naked, and only put something like a modern *sarong* around the lower limbs below the waist. This is definitely recorded about the people of Lang-ya-su, Java, and Borneo. The fact that the custom prevails even to-day in the island of Bali gives an authentic character to the Chinese statement. A woman without any covering for the upper part of the body would be regarded in modern India as a relic of barbarism. But it is only fair to bear in mind that even now the custom prevails among some South Indian tribes and that Indian sculpture as a rule represents female figures without any covering for the upper part of the body.

Rice formed the ordinary article of food, at least in Java. Another Indian characteristic was the chewing of betel. They drank wine made from flowers, cocoanuts (probably palm-tree) *penang* or honey, which were all intoxicating.

The people had various amusements to enjoy their life. Gambling seems to have been widely prevalent. The people of San-fotsi played *pa-kui*, chess or arranged cock-fight, in all cases staking money. Cock-fighting was also a favourite pastime in Java. More innocent amusements were trips to mountains or rivers. We are told about Java: " In the fifth month they go in boats for their amusement and in the tenth month they repair to the mountain to enjoy themselves there. They have mountain ponies which carry them very well, and some go in mountain chairs."

The women of Java had their own modes of enjoyment. "On every fifteenth and sixteenth day of the month, when the moon is full and the night is clear, the native women form themselves into troops



of 20 or 30, one woman being the head of them all, and so they go arm in arm to walk in the moonshine; the head woman sings one line of native song and the others afterwards fall in together; they go to the houses of their relations and of rich and high people when they are rewarded with copper cash and such things. This is called "making music in the moonshine."

Music seems to be fairly cultivated all over Malaysia. The History of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) describes the Javanese musical instruments as transversal flute, drums, and wooden boards, and add that the Javanese can also dance. Indeed the modern Javanese music (*gamelan*) and dancing justly enjoy a high reputation and may give us some idea of their past achievements in these directions.

The most important amusement known in Malaysia was of course the *wayang* or shadow-play which still forms one of the most interesting and unique forms of amusement in Java, Bali, Lombok and other places.

Although the term *wayang* is now used for theatre in general it technically means a shadow-play. The essential features of a *wayang* proper are that the actors are represented by shadows of puppets thrown from behind on a white screen, in front of the audience. The puppets are made of leather, generally of buffalo's hide, and painted and gilt with great care. The performer (*dalong*) sits behind the screen under a lamp, and manipulates the puppets so as to suit their actions to the speech which he himself recites from behind on behalf of all the actors. The movements of the puppets are rendered quite easy as they are cut in profile and have loose arms which can be moved by wooden sticks. The *dalong* is, of course, the soul of the whole performance. He not only recites the speeches of all the actors but also repeats verses from the drama illustrating the spirit of the story and adds descriptions necessary to render the action intelligible to the spectators. The music or *gamelan* forms an essential accompaniment of *wayang* and like a band-master the *dalong* gives directions to the musicians seated behind him by means of a small hammer in his left hand. To render the war scenes sufficiently exciting he beats with his right foot two or three metallic plates kept ready for the purpose. Before the performance begins he puts in a cup an offering for the spirits and burns incense.

The most striking thing in a *wayang* is the grotesque form of the puppets of figures which cast shadows on the screen. They are strange

distortions of human figures, with an unnaturally prominent nose, grotesque expression of face and a curious disproportion between different limbs.

The *wayang* proper is of two kinds, *wayang purva* and *wayang gedog*. *Wayang purva* is the ancient and the most important one. Its themes are usually derived from the two Indian epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, though they are sometimes mixed up with the Old-Javanese or real Malay-Polynesian myths. Even to-day it is the most popular form of theatre in Java.

The *wayang gedog* was first introduced during the Majapahit period and differs from *wayang purva* mainly in respect of the subjects of play. Raden Panji, the prince of Janggala, is the hero of this later class of *wayang*, the themes of which are based on the stories of his love adventures and consequent fights with other princes. The dress and equipments of the puppets naturally vary to a certain extent in consequence of the difference of the subject-matter, but these are minor matters of detail.

Thus on the whole we find that poetry, drama, music and dance formed the highest classes of amusement, at least in Java, and the spirit of each of these was undoubtedly derived from India.

Lastly we may turn to the final rites of a man, which form such a characteristic feature of every society. As regards the disposal of the dead, burning, throwing into water, and exposure to wilderness for being devoured by birds or dogs seem to be the chief practices. It is said about Dva-pa-tan, usually identified with Bali, that "When one of them dies, they fill his mouth with gold, put golden bracelet on his legs and arms, and after having added camphor oil, camphor baros and other kinds of perfumery, they pile up firewood and burn the corpse." In Kora or Kala (Malaya Peninsula), after the bodies were burnt the ashes were put in a golden jar and sunk into the sea.

In this connection we may refer to the present practice of cremation at Bali. It consists of a series of ceremonies and takes much time and much money. Immediately after death the body is embalmed, *i.e.*, covered successively with spices, coins, clothes, mats and a covering of split bamboo. In this state the body remains for a length of time, until three days before the cremation the corpse is stripped of its coverings and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. The dead body is then placed on the funeral pyre which is a sort of moving car, consisting of a foundation of bamboo with a superstructure of

bamboo or wood, in the form of a pyramid of three to eleven storeys. Of course the structure and its decoration vary with the wealth of the family and are very gorgeous in the case of princes.

The funeral car is then taken to the cremation ground in a long procession, accompanied by music, and also by armed men, in the case of members of a royal family. The articles of daily use and holy water from the sacred places, both Hindu and Buddhist, are carried with the procession.

At the place of cremation the corpse is carried down from the car and placed into the coffin, which stands on a two-storeyed chamber, and has the figure of a lion in the case of reigning princes, a cow in the case of other distinguished persons, and is usually a simple square wooden chest in the case of ordinary men, although even these sometimes use figures, *e. g.*, Gajamina, a monster half-elephant, half-fish. At last after the Padāṇḍa has muttered the sacred texts and sprinkled the holy water on the body, a fire is kindled beneath the coffin. After the corpse is consumed the bones are collected and carried the next day with great state to the sea and thrown into it together with money and offerings.

# INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGIN OF SANSKRIT

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SOME of the most important languages, living or dead, known to us are now generally grouped under the designation Indo-European. A great deal of useless controversy has raged over the designation to be attached to this group, but it has never been contested that the languages regarded as belonging to this group are characterised by a large number of common peculiar features. The linguists are prepared to go even one step further and state in categorical terms what in their opinion is the only possible explanation of these common peculiar features in such a large number of languages. They will say that however different these languages may appear to be they are essentially continuations of one and the same idiom under different circumstances, for the existence of which however no direct evidence is available. The cause of this differentiation is to be sought not only in the external aspects of life such as time and climate, it may be inherent also in the subject speaking the language. Even under identical conditions of life two different persons cannot speak the identical language. For language is one of the forms of expression of life, however imperfect in this case, and it reflects the mind of the individual as determined by heredity and modified by experience. The same forms of speech evoked from different persons by the same circumstances symbolise as often as not emotions and sensations altogether different, and where this difference is sufficiently pronounced it may find expression also in the language. It is clear therefore that the hypothetical original idiom from which the various Indo-European dialects are supposed to have originated, cannot but be a fiction. In fact neither is it claimed by modern linguists. The original Indo-European, as this hypothetical language is called, is but a convenient formula to cover an *ensemble* of individual idioms all slightly differing from each other, spoken by the individual members of the ancient Indo-European community. These individual idioms mark the first stage of disintegration of the original Indo-European, and subject to

the laws of the growth of languages, which favour the development of certain tendencies into distinct types and make the rest conform to them, they gradually gave rise to the great Indo-European dialects of the historical age. It is proved to-day that definite dialect groups were formed among the ancient Indo-Europeans even before their general dispersal had begun.

The known Indo-European dialects may be conveniently divided into the following groups : (1) Indian (the most ancient Indian language of the Indo-European family being Sanskrit), (2) Iranian, (3) Armenian, (4) Albanian, (5) Slavic, (6) Baltic, (7) Greek, (8) Italic, (9) Celtic, (10) Germanic, to which now must be added (11) Tocharian and (12) Hittite. All these languages are marked by certain common characteristics which distinguish them from the other languages of the world. But already at the dawn of history the difference between them was very great, and some of these languages had changed so much that even for the modern linguist it was not easy to recognise their Indo-European character. The entire science of Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages has grown out of the study of the points of difference and similarity existing between them. in the light of which the history and development of every individual dialect is to be traced. Such a comparative study is at all possible, however, because although every language changes and develops in its own way, it always follows definite laws. Otherwise it would not have been possible to trace the history and development of any language in the world. Comparison between isolated facts of particular languages would signify little or nothing at all had they not been symbols for entire systems of facts in these respective languages. Thus the parallelism between Skt. *ábharan* and Gr. *épheron* would have remained a mere linguistic curio without any scientific value if it could not be proved that every point of difference between these two forms is paralleled by a vast number of similar instances in these two languages, or, in other words, that they are due to certain particular tendencies by which these languages are characterised. We know, for instance, that for every Greek *e* Sanskrit has an *a*, and for every Sanskrit *bh* Greek has a *ph*. Once these particular tendencies (or laws) which account for the difference between these two forms are accurately defined it is possible to give an explanation also of their similarity which is much more striking in this case. In other words, it is now possible to postulate the approximate original form which resulted in

Skt. *ābharan* on the one hand and Greek *épheron* on the other, under the influence of the divergent tendencies inherent in these languages. Thus it is customary to say that the original Indo-European prototype of these forms was \**ébheront*.

A large number of similar examples of correspondence between Sanskrit and Greek may be adduced to prove their common origin. In the same way a similar relation can be established between Sanskrit and every one of the other Indo-European dialects. But the correspondence is not equally clear in every case, for the laws of diverging tendencies cannot be defined with the same precision for all the languages, and even in those cases where they can be defined with tolerable precision their normal action is often disturbed by analogy. Moreover, due to contact with foreign peoples, in every Indo-European dialect a large portion of the vocabulary was replaced by foreign loan-words and sometimes the entire phonetic structure of the language was changed. Thus the number of Semitic loan-words in Hittite and modern Persian is actually greater than that of words of Indo-European origin and there is reason to believe that the phonetic structure of Armenian was largely determined by the influence of the neighbouring Caucasian dialects, which however left its grammatical structure untouched. It is impossible to say whether the consonant shift of the Germanic languages is due to a similar cause, but it can be hardly doubted that the rise of the cerebral series in Sanskrit was possible only because of contact with Munda and Dravidian languages (we will have occasion to speak at greater length on this controversial point).

In almost all the modern Indo-European dialects the accent has become predominantly expiratory to-day, although it is quite certain that the original Indo-European accent was predominantly musical. This fundamental change in the nature of accent had far-reaching effects on the development of Indo-European dialects, for it entailed weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables as in Latin and loss of final syllables as in Germanic and Celtic. Herein also lies one of the fundamental differences between Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The original Indo-European was a strictly flexional language, so that the sentence in Indo-European dialects was composed of independent units. Every word conveyed not only a complete thought-content but also expressed its relation with other parts of the sentence. But even this, one of the chief characteristics of the original Indo-European, is gradually

disappearing from the modern Indo-European dialects, and modern English or Persian is more isolating than flexional in character. For in them the inter-relation between different parts of the sentence is expressed not by flexional endings but by position and particles.

Due to all these and various other multifarious causes every one of the Indo-European dialects has changed almost beyond recognition, and it is possible to establish their common origin to-day only with the help of the science of Comparative Grammar. Already at the dawn of history the process of divergence had advanced so far that the civilised peoples of those days speaking Indo-European dialects, although in constant contact with each other, never suspected that their respective languages are derived from one original idiom. Eminent Greek savants and politicians lived at the Persian Court, many of them had even mastered the Persian language, but to all of them it was merely a barbaric speech. Yet, even across the great gulf of time and space, every Indo-European dialect has retained many essential features of the original Indo-European in phonetic structure, morphology, syntax and vocabulary, and none more than Sanskrit.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Indo-European phonetics is its three series of gutturals. The gutturals in our own dialect too are far from homogeneous in character, for the *k* in *ki*, *ka* and *ku* is fundamentally different in each case. The *k* in *ki* is very much like *ch* and in *ku* it is hardly distinguishable from the sound *kw*. The *k* in *ka* holds an intermediate position. The closure takes place in each case at a different place: in *ki* on the front part of the palate, in *ka* on the soft palate (velum) and in *ku* still lower on the velum with a concomitant rounding of the lips. According to these organs of articulation these gutturals are called palatal, velar and labio-velar respectively, and three different signs are used in Comparative Grammar to indicate them, viz.,  $\hat{k}$ ,  $q$  and  $q^u_{\wedge}$ . In our own dialect, as usually in all other languages, the character of the guttural is largely determined by the following vowel. It will be palatal when it is followed by a palatal vowel like *i* or *e*, and it will be velar when it is followed by a lower vowel like *a* or *u*. But the special feature of the original Indo-European consists in that it seems to have allowed gutturals of every kind in every position irrespective of the following vowel. This is what is meant when it is said that the original Indo-European possessed three series of gutturals. Thus it appears that our

Indo-European forefathers could easily pronounce a labio-velar  $q''$  even when the following vowel was  $i$  or  $e$  and a palatal  $\hat{k}$  even when it was followed by  $o$  or  $u$ . Their linguistic descendants all over the world find it however very difficult to-day to pronounce such sound-combinations.

The three series of gutturals postulated for the original Indo-European cannot however be found in any Indo-European dialect known to us. The pure velars have proved to be a very unstable element in the Indo-European guttural system, for in one section of these dialects they have been completely merged in the palatals, and in another with the labio-velars. The treatment of the Indo-European palatal is singularly different in these two sections. In one group it remains a true occlusive but in the other it becomes a spirantic sibilant. Thus the original Indo-European word for 'hundred' was  $*\hat{k}m'tóm$ , with an initial palatal occlusive. But the form derived from it in Sanskrit is  $\hat{s}atúm$ , in Avestan  $satəm$ , in Old Church Slavic  $suto$ , in Lithuanian  $szimtas$ , etc.,—each beginning with a sibilant. On the other hand, in another group of Indo-European dialects the word for 'hundred' begins with a guttural occlusive, cf. Greek  $hekátón$ , Latin  $centum$ , Old Irish  $cét$ , Tocharian  $kant$ , etc. The Indo-European dialects are therefore divided into two distinct groups so far as the treatment of the original palatal series is concerned. For the sake of convenience the first group is called *Satəm* and the second *Centum* after the words for 'hundred' in Avestan and Latin respectively. In the *Satəm* group the pure velars coincide with the labiovelars and in the *Centum* group they coincide with the palatals.<sup>1</sup> The question now naturally arises, how to know where we have to do with a pure velar if there is no direct independent evidence about its existence in any known Indo-European dialect. Thus if a word occurs only in the *Satəm* languages, such as Skt.  $kr̥ṣṇá$ , O. Ch. Sl.  $crinu$ , etc., it is impossible to say whether the initial consonant was a pure velar or a labio-velar, and in the case of words occurring only in the *Centum* languages, such as Gr.  $kephaltē'$ , O. H. G.  $gebal$ , etc., it is impossible to say whether the initial consonant was a palatal or

<sup>1</sup> Some eminent linguists are inclined to doubt the independent existence of pure velars in the original Indo-European. Without ignoring this possibility we shall here adhere to the usual terminology.



a pure velar. But an original pure velar can be easily detected by the process of elimination if the word concerned occurs both in the *Centum* and the *Satəm* groups. In fact, if a word shows a pure velar both in its *Satəm* and *Centum* forms a pure velar may be postulated also for its original Indo-European form. If palatal, it would have become a sibilant in the *Satəm* languages, and if labio-velar, of the *Centum* languages in Greek, it would have become a dental or a labial (*cf.* Gr. *téttares* : Lith. *keturì* and Gr. *poinē'* : Av. *kaēnā*) and in Latin and Germanic it would have been pronounced with a rounding of the lips (*cf.* Latin *quis*, Goth. *hwis* : Skt. *na-kís*). Thus forms like Skt. *kravís*, Gr. *kréas*, Lat. *cruor*, etc., prove that the initial consonant in the original Indo-European form of the word was a pure velar.<sup>1</sup> Only in those cases where the guttural in question is followed by *u* is it impossible to determine its original character even though the word containing it occurs both in *Satəm* and *Centum* languages, for an original labio-velar followed by *u* is pronounced without the rounding of lips even in the *Centum* languages (in the *Satəm* languages the original labio-velar was under no circumstances pronounced with the rounding of lips). In Skt. *kū'pa*, Gr. *kúpē*, Lat. *cūpa*, for instance, it is impossible to say whether the initial guttural was originally a velar or a labio-velar. Thus, unusual though it may appear, three different types of gutturals, irrespective of the vowels following them, seem to have actually existed in the original Indo-European, and the colourful history of their later development can be followed in no other single Indo-European dialect better than in Sanskrit. On the other hand we shall see that the various subtle phonetic phenomena concealed behind the familiar forms of Sanskrit gutturals and palatals can be discovered only with the help of other Indo-European dialects.

Another peculiar feature of the Indo-European sound system is its four categories of occlusives, namely surd, surd aspirate, sonant and sonant aspirate. Every series of occlusives,—guttural, dental or labial,—was composed of four distinct sounds of the above description. The entire system of Indo-European occlusives, may therefore be

<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted however that the special character of the sounds in the neighbourhood of the pure velar in this and a few other instances considerably weakens the argument for its independent existence in the original Indo-European.

tabulated in the following way:—

	Surd.	asp.	Son.	Son, asp.
Gutturals	âk	âkh	âg	âgh
	q	qh	g	gh
	q <sup>u</sup> <sub>â</sub>	q <sup>u</sup> <sub>â</sub> h	g <sup>u</sup> <sub>â</sub>	g <sup>u</sup> <sub>â</sub> h
Dentals	t	th	d	dh
Labials	p	ph	b	bh

All these various sounds occurred with very different frequency in the original Indo-European. The sonant aspirates, for instance, were much more frequent than the surd aspirates or the pure sonants. It is therefore surprising to see that Sanskrit is the only Indo-European dialect which has preserved these original sonant aspirates (in the modern Indo-Aryan dialects they have become more or less spirantic along with the surd aspirates). In the other dialects they have either become surd aspirates as in Greek, or pure sonants as in Iranian, Germanic and the Balto-Slavic languages, or various spirantic sounds have been developed out of them as in Latin and Celtic. Thus to Skt. *bhārāmi* corresponds Gr. *phérō*, Goth. *baíro* and Lat. *fero*. The original sonant aspirate is not always quite apparent from the corresponding forms in the Indo-European dialects, for in Sanskrit and Greek, the only two languages which have preserved the original aspiration, two aspirates are never allowed either in one and the same syllable, or at the beginning of two successive syllables in the same word. In all such cases one of the two aspirates, generally the preceding one, is changed into a pure surd or sonant, as the case may be, through dissimilation. Thus the original form of the Sanskrit root *dah-* was *dhagh-*, with two sonant aspirates, which however never appear together in any flexional form of this root. Generally the initial consonant drops its aspiration in favour of that of the final [*cf. dāh-a-ti, dah-yá-te*, etc.] and that is how the ancient Indian grammarians were led to believe that the real form of the root is *dah-*. But whenever the final sonant aspirate is compelled to drop its aspiration, the initial consonant at once avails itself of the opportunity and appears in its original aspirated form (*cf. á-dhāk, á-dhāk-ṣ-it*, etc.). There are some exceptions to this rule in the older language in the case of flexional endings with aspirates (*cf. da-dhā-the*,

*dhe-hí*, etc.), but they are mostly due to analogy (thus the irregular form *da-dhá-the* is visibly due to the analogical influence of *da-dhá-te*) or are purposely resorted to for the sake of obtaining clear and unambiguous forms (thus the regular form of *dhā-* in 2. sg. Impv. act. ought to have been \**de-hí* and not *dhe- hí*, but then it could not have been distinguished from the corresponding form of *dā* ]. Very remarkable however is the case of nominal flexional endings with *bh* in whose case the law of dissimilation of aspirates is never observed (forms like *bhūbhyām*, *dhī-bhís*, *asthá-bhyas* are quite normal, perhaps because these endings were joined to the stem at a later date. It is to be noticed that in the *Padapāṭha* these endings are regularly separated from the stem. Now the same law of dissimilation of aspirates is found also in Greek. The original stem form of the word for hair in Greek was *thrich-*, but the two aspirates alternate with each other in the various flexional forms of this stem, cf. *thríx* but *trichós*. The verb *échō* is etymologically connected with Skt. *sah-* and therefore the initial vowel should have had *spiritus asper*. That it shows *spiritus lenis* instead is due to the fact that it is followed by the aspirate *ch*. But whenever this *ch* drops its aspiration on account of combination with *s* the initial vowel shows *spiritus asper*, cf. *héxō*. As in Sanskrit, so in Greek too, the action of this law is sometimes disturbed through analogy, cf. *sóthē-thi* instead of \**sótē-thi* through the influence of forms like *sóthētō*, etc. Due to the effect of this law in Sanskrit and Greek the same original root sometimes assumes very different forms in these two languages. Thus the Indo-European root *bheudh-* has given rise to forms like *bódh-a-ti*, *búdh-ya-te*, etc., in Sanskrit (root *budh-*, cf. however *bhot-syá-ti*), but in Greek the corresponding forms are *peúth-o-mai*, *punth-á-no-mai*, etc. In the same way the Indo-European root *bhendh-* has given rise to Sanskrit *badh-ná-mi*, *ba-bándh-a*, etc. (root *bandh-*, cf. however *bhant-syá-ti*), but in Greek it appears in the form *penth-* in *pentherós* 'father-in-law' (cf. *bandhu* 'relation' in Sanskrit, derived from the same root). In Latin it has assumed the form *fend-* (cf. *of-fend-ix*) and in Germanic the vowel *e* further became *i* before the covered nasal and gave rise to the corresponding Germanic root *bind-*.

It will appear from above that the Indo-European consonant system was very faithfully preserved in Sanskrit, but the Indo-European vowel-system was completely changed in it. Yet even in this respect Sanskrit has preserved some archaic features for which we look in vain

in the other dialects. A peculiar feature of the Indo-European vowel-system is its syllabic liquids. Excepting in some Slavic dialects these syllabic liquids have been given up in all other Indo-European languages, but syllabic *r* (*r*) is quite common in Sanskrit and the syllabic *l* (*l*) occurs at least in the root *kḷp-*. The quantity of Avestan vowels being very uncertain the existence of long diphthongs in the original Indo-European could not have been proved without the help of Sanskrit. All Indo-European short diphthongs have become monophthongs in Sanskrit, thus, for instance, I.-E. \* *ei-ti*, Lith. *eīti* but Skt. *é-ti*; I.-E.\**bheudh-e-ti*, Gr. *peúth-o-mai* but Skt. *bódh-a-ti*. Indo-European long diphthongs however are still real diphthongs in Sanskrit, but they have retained their original character only by sacrificing the length of their first components. Thus Sanskrit goes with all the other dialects in making the long diphthongs short, but on account of its differential treatment of the short diphthongs it betrays the existence of long diphthongs in the original Indo-European. That all Sanskrit diphthongs were originally long is proved by the fact that *ai au* before a consonant often corresponds to *āy āv* before a vowel, cf. *gaú-s*: *gáv-am*, *náu-bhís*: *náv-am*, etc., and whenever a final diphthong is dissolved through sandhi its first component is observed to be invariably long. Yet it is quite certain that already in the earliest Sanskrit these diphthongs had become short, for the RV. shows forms like *praśayúr* (RV. I, 120, 5) composed of *prá* and *iśayúr*, and from the data of the Prātiśākhya it is clear that there was a strong tendency to pronounce the diphthong *ai* as *ayi*. From the standpoint of Sanskrit it is therefore incorrect and often misleading to transcribe Sanskrit diphthongs by *āi āu* as is done by many Sanskritists even to this day. Moreover, such a historical system of transcription would demand *ei eu* in the place of Sanskrit *e o*.

Passing on to Indo-European morphology we shall see that in this field too Sanskrit continues the old Indo-European tradition more faithfully than any other Indo-European dialect, but we shall also see that most of the various forms in Sanskrit cannot be fully comprehended without comparison with other dialects. The Indo-European system of nominal flexion expressed, firstly, the relation between the substantive and the verb, or, more rarely, that between one substantive and another (e.g. in genitive), and secondly, the numerical quality of the substantive in question. Thus from the first point of view the flexional forms can be divided into eight groups of so-called

*cases*, namely nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative (in the order followed in Sanskrit), and from the second into the three *numbers*—singular, dual and plural. Sanskrit alone has preserved intact all these eight cases and three numbers, in all the other dialects the highly complex Indo-European system of nominal flexion has been variously simplified. For the eight different cases Sanskrit has, however, only three different forms in the dual (one for nom., acc. and voc., one for instr., dat. and abl., and one for gen. and loc.). This shows that even in Sanskrit the dual was subjected to that process of simplification which resulted in its complete disappearance from many of the Indo-European dialects. In Latin, for instance, the dual does not exist at all as a grammatical category, and in Greek declension only two forms are met with in the dual. In Lithuanian and Old Church Slavic too the variety of forms in dual is considerably restricted, and in Gothic it is to be found only in the pronominal declension. The same tendency towards simplification may be observed also in the use of cases. Leaving the vocative out of consideration, Sanskrit has the full set of seven distinct cases, Lithuanian and Old Church Slavic six, Latin five, Greek and Gothic only four. The functions of the original seven cases were thus distributed among much fewer ones in the various other dialects and in the process even the case-suffixes had to be transferred from one case to another. Thus though the ablative singular ending of *e/o*-stems in Latin is derived from the corresponding ending in the original Indo-European, the ablative plural ending *is* is but the continuation of the I.-E. Instr. plur. ending *-ois*. And it is well known that the Latin ablative combines in itself also the function of the original instrumental. But though in Latin the ablative holds such an important position it is to be noted that excepting in it and Sanskrit it has survived in no other language. In fact even in the original Indo-European the formal existence of the ablative as an independent case was rather precarious. In dual and plural it was never distinguished from the dative, and in singular it was distinguished from the genitive only in the case of *e/o*-stems.

In the Indo-European system of declension the accent was sometimes on the stem and sometimes on the ending. The stem shows a fuller form where it bore the accent in the original Indo-European, though it may have shifted position in the known Indo-European dialects, and it shows a reduced form where the original

accent stood on the ending. In the technical language of the science of linguistics these fuller case forms are called strong and the reduced forms are called weak. It is curious to note that the distribution of strong and weak case forms is exactly the same in Sanskrit and Greek—the only two languages in which the subtle action of accent can be best studied. This gradation of stem in the nominal flexion did not escape the eye of Pāṇini who designated the strong forms by the technical term *sarvanāmasthāna*, but understood by it only the first five forms in Sanskrit declension. Modern linguistics would include in this category also the locative (and the vocative) of singular. In the declension of *pitār*, for instance, the stem in the strong forms is *pitār-* (the form *pitā* in nom. sg. is due to a special cause), and in the weak forms it is *pitr-* or *pitṛ-* according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant. In Greek too the corresponding strong form of this stem is *pater-* and its weak form is *patr-* or *patra-* according to the nature of the following sound. Thus for Skt. strong forms *pitā*, *pitār-au*, *pitār-i* we find in Greek *patér*, *patér-e*, *patér-i* (original loc. become dat. in Greek), and for the Skt. weak form *pitṛ'-ṣu* we have an exact parallel in Gr. *patrá-si*. The original state of things has been greatly disturbed both in Sanskrit and Greek, so that analogous forms do not always correspond to each other in them. Moreover there is reason to believe that in some cases at least the strong form was extended also to other positions already in the original Indo-European.

Coming to the endings themselves, it is necessary only to cast a glance on the corresponding flexional systems of the various Indo-European dialects to be convinced that they are variations of one original prototype. Everywhere we find an *-s* in nom. sg., an *-m* in acc. sg., an *-ōm* in gen. pl., etc. Apart from isolated cases in particular languages there is real difficulty only in conciliating the consonantal endings with *bh* in Sanskrit with the corresponding endings in some of the other dialects. From the standpoint of these endings the Indo-European dialects may be divided into two groups as from the standpoint of Indo-European gutturals, but the groups thus formed do not by any means coincide with each other. The endings in one group of dialects, including Sanskrit, Armenian and Latin, seem to be derived from forms characterised by a *bh* (cf. Skt. *-bhyas*: Lat. *-bus*), whereas in another group, including the Balto-Slavic and the Germanic languages, the corresponding endings are characterised

by an *m* instead (cf. Lith. *-mus*, Old Ch. Sl. *-mu*, Goth. *-m* in dat. pl.). Thus in each of the *bh* and *m* groups are included both *Centum* and *Satəm* languages. The ending *-phi* or *-phin* in Homeric Greek, which seems to have been used indiscriminately for all cases and numbers, is a precious relic in Greek of the *bh*-endings. Yet however the distinction is not always clear between these two *bh* and *m*-groups, for though O.Ch.Sl. belongs to the *m* group, its *tebja* (2. pron. dat. sg.) exactly corresponds to Latin *tibi*, whose ending is evidently derived from a *bh*-form. Such anomalous forms naturally suggest a probable clue to the original distribution of *bh* and *m*-endings. Perhaps the *bh*-endings were originally associated with pronouns alone and the *m*-endings with the nouns, but later through analogy in certain languages the *bh*-endings were generalised also for the nouns and in others the *m*-endings almost wholly dispossessed the *bh*-endings of their own dominion. Be that as it may, in Sanskrit every *bh*-ending seems to be a combination of *bhi* with some other element:—*bhis* in Instr. pl. seems to be nothing but this *bhi* augmented by an *s* which characterises every plural case form excepting the genitive. In the dual ending *-bhyam*, the same *bhi* is augmented by *am*, certainly connected with the *-am* which plays such an important part in Sanskrit pronominal inflection (cf. Lat. *tibi*: Skt. *túbhy-am*, Lat. *mihi*: Skt. *máhy-am*), and in the plural ending *-bhyas* it is augmented by *-a(s)*. Now if these augment elements are left aside as later adjuncts we get also for Sanskrit, just as in Homeric Greek, an ending *-bhi* which was used indiscriminately for various cases and numbers. Moreover it is to be noticed in this connection that the *bh*-endings in Sanskrit, both in dual and in plural, evince a peculiar tendency to repeat themselves. Various other 'anomalies' of Sanskrit inflexion would appear to date from the hoary antiquity if the other Indo-European dialects are compared. The ending *-āsas* in nom. pl. of *e/o*-stems in Vedic has been for long a puzzle to linguists, but the explanation given by Meillet is now generally accepted. According to M. this double ending was resorted to in Vedic in the case of *e/o*-stems in order to make the number of syllables in the nom. pl. of these stems conform to that of similar forms of other stems; *e/o*-stems were always regarded as the norm of Indo-European inflectional stems, but M. proved that *i* and *u*-stems (I.-E. *ei eu* stems) have a better claim to be regarded as such, for the disyllabic *devás* was changed into the trisyllabic *devásas* in analogy with the

trisyllabic *dhayas* (from *dhi*). Now it is really surprising that the double ending in the nom. pl. of *e/o*-stems seems to be of Indo-European antiquity, for the Old English form *dómas* (stem. *dóm*) in nom. pl. can be satisfactorily explained in terms of the phonetic laws obtaining in Germanic languages entailing the loss of final syllables, only if it is assumed that the original ending had been a double one.

The most difficult chapter in the Sanskrit grammar is decidedly that on the verb. It is mostly in connection with the verbal system that the ancient Indian grammarians failed to render a faithful account of the language of the Vedas, for they missed the fundamental point that the vast multitude of forms making up the Sanskrit verbal system is divided in the first line according to moods into the forms of indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative and imperative. This mistake was also natural, for in the days of Classical Sanskrit, when these grammars were written, the original verbal system had been greatly simplified. But even the Vedic verbal system offers but a very incomplete picture of the original Indo-European verbal system. To begin with, we shall have to be prepared to admit that the Indo-European verbal system was essentially of a non-temporal character, that is to say, every verb form expressed rather the *how* than the *when* of a particular action. Excepting the use of the preverb *e* to indicate past action, which appears as augment in the augment tenses of Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian and Greek, there was to all appearance nothing in the Indo-European verbal system to express the temporal quality of the action concerned. The perfect stem of a verbal root, for instance, does not signify a past completed action but expresses a certain condition of the subject resulting from a previous action. The perfect form *véda* signifies that the subject has discovered a certain thing and therefore knows it thoroughly. Similarly *dādhāra* from *dhar-* signifies that the subject is on the way to get hold of a certain thing as the result of some previous action. Thus *yát sáyám juhóti rátryai téna dādhāra* signifies "in that he makes offering in the evening he secures (Agni) for the night." There is not the slightest suggestion of a past tense here. The perfect has exactly the same function in Homeric Greek, though in the oldest Latin and Germanic the perfect shows a fully developed temporal meaning. The difference between the present and the aorist too lay originally only in the manner of action and the future was hardly distinguished from the subjunctive, a fact which



explains why the future of Latin third and fourth conjugations is derived from the Indo-European subjunctive. From all this it would appear that our Indo-European forefathers had not yet learnt to think beyond the present when the general dispersal of their tribes began. With the growth of civilisation their descendants learnt to discriminate between past, present and future, but to express the new ideas they had at their disposal only the older forms whose function was altogether different. Hence the almost insuperable difficulty in the way of reconstructing anything like a complete picture of the Indo-European verbal system.

Yet what we can infer about it clearly shows that the Indo-European verbal system was fundamentally different from the verbal system of Classical Sanskrit, Greek or any other Indo-European dialect. From the school grammars of these languages, it would appear that the bare mention of a particular root is enough to develop and set forth in all its details the complete verbal system, but a historical study of these languages will soon dispel this idea. It will show that almost every root has its own special features, that by no means are all the roots susceptible of all the voices, moods and tenses, and that according to the manner of action (*aspect*) the root had to assume special forms, though in the later dialects the variety of forms has been greatly simplified. A glance at Whitney's "Roots....." will show that a wide gulf separates the actual language from the language of the grammars. If the above interpretation of the perfect is true, as it is generally considered to be, it must have been originally confined to verbs denoting some sort of continued action, and as the original function of the aorist was to express momentary action as opposed to durative, only verbs of the type *find* (as opposed to *see*) were originally eligible to aorist forms. Due to later confusion it is equally difficult to distinguish between the various original modal and temporal stems. We are familiar with subjunctives with long vowels in Sanskrit and Greek, but traces of short vowel forms at their side are still abundant in these languages both in present and in aorist. Thus we have for present Skt. *kṛṇávat(i)* (ind. *kṛṇóti*) and Homeric *íomen* (ind. *í-men*), and for aorist Skt. *néśat(i)* (ind. *é-naíś-am*) and Homeric *teíso-men* (ind. *é-teis-a*). These short vowel subjunctive forms, however, were gradually supplanted by the long vowel ones, evidently because they were less ambiguous from the formantic point of view. Among the temporal

stems sometimes the very same form functions in two very different capacities. Thus Skt. *ābhāt* is imperfect, but *āsthāt* is aorist. Again the corresponding Greek forms *éphē* (impf.) and *éstē* (aor.) prove that the line of demarcation between these two categories had been destroyed in this case already in the Indo-European epoch. The perfect stem has been on the whole handed down in its original form, for it was distinguished from the beginning not only by partial reduplication but also by peculiar personal endings. It is all the more curious to note, therefore, that in most languages the function of the perfect stem has been taken up by other stems,—in Latin and O.Ch.Sl. it has been largely supplanted by the aorist stem.

Of the numerous modal and “temporal” stems of the original Indo-European verbal system the individual Indo-European dialects have retained only very few. In Classical Sanskrit the aggregate of forms comprised in the entire system had become so limited that the Indian grammarians failed even to distinguish properly between the different moods. By a careful study of the Vedic forms and through comparison with other Indo-European dialects, however, much of the older verbal system can be still reconstructed. Thus through comparison can it be detected that Sanskrit has altogether shaken off the thematic ending *-i* in 1. person sg. just as Latin has done away with the athematic ending *-mi*. In Greek however both forms are living, and English *am* and German *bin* are lingering traces of the ending *-mi* in Germanic.

The science of Comparative Grammar has not yet succeeded in tackling the syntax with the same precision and on an equally broad basis as phonology and morphology. Yet the comparative study of the allied Indo-European dialects has thrown a flood of light on many of the most interesting syntactical peculiarities of Sanskrit. In the RV. several times a singular verb form has been used in connection with a plural neuter substantive. This apparent anomaly could never have been explained without the help of Greek syntax which teaches that the plural neuter substantive shall always take a verb in the singular. Indeed the nom. pl. of neuter was itself often a singular even morphologically. The nom. pl. of *yugám* was *yugá* (cf. Gr. *zúga*) which signified a plurality of yokes, not however in the distributive but in the collective sense. The ending in *yugá* is evidently the same as in the nom. sg. of feminine *-ā*-stems. In this way the use of singular verb forms in connection with plural

neuter substantives receives its natural and obvious explanation. The use of the fem. ending *-ā* to signify a collection of objects is a peculiar characteristic of the Indo-European dialects ; cf. Gr. *mēroí*, but *mēra* when the plural has a collective sense, similarly Latin *loci* and *loca*. Enclitic pronouns exhibit a pronounced tendency in Sanskrit to occupy the second place in the sentence, even though it may thus give rise to ambiguity. Thus in *né 'n me 'gnír vaiśvānaró mūkhān niṣpadyātai* it may appear that the enclitic *me* is connected with *agní* and that the whole sentence signifies "so that my Agni Vaiśvānara may not fall out of the mouth." In fact however *me* is connected with *mūkhāt* and the purport of the sentence is "so that A.V. may not fall out of my mouth." No satisfactory explanation of this astonishing tendency of the enclitics to occupy the second place can be given, but Wackernagel has proved that this peculiarity is shared also by Greek and other Indo-European dialects. The sentence quoted above betrays another syntactical peculiarity of Sanskrit. The verb in the principal sentence generally remains unaccented, but it is accented in the subordinate clause, and the preverb is often detached in the principal sentence but is always compounded in the subordinate clause. Nothing exactly parallel can be pointed out in the other allied dialects but there is ample indication to prove that the tendency to treat the finite verb as enclitic was present already in the original Indo-European. Thus in Greek the verb is unaccented after negations and other adverbs (preverbs including the augment), cf. *ού φῆμι*, *πρός λαβε*, etc. Modern German offers a striking parallel to Sanskrit by assigning not only a special position but also a special accent to the finite verb in the subordinate clause. The Germanic form *sind* is but a later variation of I.-E. *\*sénti*, but its sonant *d* shows that the form from which it is directly derived must have been accentless.

Lastly also in vocabulary Sanskrit bears the stamp of the original Indo-European. A large number of parallel forms of Sanskrit words in other Indo-European dialects shows that the ground stock of words in each of them must have been essentially identical, though however also from this point of view it may be easily proved that the original Indo-Europeans were split up into different dialect groups. But the parallelism is not confined merely to the external resemblance of certain vocables, it extends also to the special significance attached to them, as is not very often the case. Words generally considered to be synonymous in reality convey, as often as not, very widely

different ideas, for every sound-symbol stands for an infinite number of particular shades of meaning. The meaning of a word can therefore be visualised never by a point but by a circle. It is but rarely that two such circles fully coincide with each other, specially when the words concerned belong to different languages. But in the case of Indo-European dialects such coincident circles are not altogether rare. The father was conceived of primarily as the protector by the ancient Indo-Europeans. The word *pitá* (cf. Gr. *patér* etc.) is connected with the root *pā-* 'to protect' and its formal difference from *pātá* 'protector' proves but its hoary antiquity. The highest god of the Indo-European pantheon was therefore called *dyaús pitár*, Gr. *Zeū páter*, Lat. *Jupiter*, etc. The Roman patrician father was in reality the protector not only of his own children but also of his whole clientèle. It is this old Indo-European conception of the father which explains that from the Middle Ages downwards even monks vowed to celibacy are called 'father.' But the father as the begetter also occupied a high place in the imagination of the original Indo-Europeans, for beside *pitá*, etc., we also find words such as Skt. *janitá*, Gr. *genetór*, Lat. *genetrix* etc.,—all signifying 'father.' Even where different vocables are used, the ideas conveyed by them are often identical. It is certain that man was regarded by the ancient Indo-Europeans as the earthly being *par excellence* as opposed to the gods, the celestial beings,—*devá* signifies simply 'celestial.' Thus Lat. *homo*. Goth. *guma*, Lith. *zmuo* are derived from an I.-E. root *\*ghzem* signifying 'earth,' which has given rise to Skt. *kṣmá* and Gr. *chthón*. An exact semasiological parallel to this group of words may be found in the word *martya* in Classical Sanskrit. In the Vedic language however *mártya* as well as *márta* signifies man as a mortal being. That the Indo-Europeans were familiar also with this conception of man as opposed to gods as immortal beings is proved by Gr. *brotós*. Av. *masya*, etc. Similarly the conception of the elements of nature as it obtained among the ancient Indo-Europeans is fully reflected on Sanskrit and elucidates the analogous conceptions of the ancient Indians. Both for fire and water we find in the Indo-European dialects one set of words in neuter and another in masculine or feminine. Thus for 'fire' Skt. *agní* (m.) Lat. *ignis* (m.) Lith. *ugnìs* (its fem. gender is of later origin), etc., on the one hand, and Hitt. *pahhur*, Gr. *pūr* German *Feuer* (all neuter), etc., on the other. Water too was sometimes regarded as an animate object as is proved by Skt. *ápah*, Lat.

*aqua*, Goth. *ahwa* (all fem.), and sometimes as inanimate, *cf.* Skt. *udakām*, Gr. *húdōr*, Goth. *watō* (all neuter). An explanation of this curious phenomenon is to be found in the fact that both fire and water were worshipped as something supernatural and also used in their daily life by the ancient Indo-Europeans. *Agní* is the designation of the fire-god but Gr. *pār* signifies only the kitchen-fire. In the R.V. *āpah* is always used in connection with moving waters, but *udakām* signifies the still, inanimate water whose only characteristic feature is its capacity to make things wet,—hence its connection with *unātti*. It is curious to note that when this originally neuter stem was applied to moving waters an animate gender was attributed to it, *cf.* Lat. *unda* ‘wave.’

Thus the Indo-European origin of Sanskrit is unmistakable from whichever point of view it may be considered. What is more, Sanskrit is still an Indo-European dialect in all essential features. Unless Sanskrit is studied in this light as part of a vast system of languages a full comprehension of its forms and structure cannot be possible.

*Dacca.*

# AN ALL-INDIA NOTATION FOR INDIAN MUSIC.

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THE complaint is often made by men who are not very conversant with Indian music, be it Hindustani (Northern) or Carnatic (Southern), that we Indians have not devised a method to write down our music, or if it is written down, it is not universally understandable unless one learns it from the very author who devised the system and that melodies are merely learnt by way of the ear. It is more often said that the notation is not even fully expressive, so that any student can play the music on an instrument off-hand, by merely looking at it; also that the compositions as made by the composer are often changed by the singer in their melodic structure; but these statements are only half truths since this can very well be stated of any system of melodic music or of any notation. The Northern and the Southern systems may have different names for the twelve recognised *svaras* (or notes) within the *sthayi* (octave); but with a little patience one should be able to understand whatever little has been written down of the Indian musical melody. It is only of late within the last fifty years, *within public knowledge* that any attempt has been made to write down the Carnatic music with a certain amount of fair accuracy to denote its melodic structure. Recently also, with the revival of Northern music, Pandit Vishnu Digambar and Mr. Bhatkande had published a large number of musical pieces to propagate it according to a notation devised by them.

One predominant fact, which cannot but strike the student of both the systems of the Hindustani and the Carnatic music, is that there exists certainly a cultural unity in both. The abbreviations for the *svaras* (or notes) *Shadja*, *Rishaba*, *Gandhara*, *Madhyama*, *Panchama*,

*Dhairvata* and *Nishada*, abridged generally as *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha* and *Ni*, स-रि-ग-म-प-ध-नि are in use with reference to Indian music ever since the days of Panini, the Grammarian, where *Shadja* represents the fundamental pitch or *Adharasruti*, आधाररुति of the singer. The subsequent history of the recognition of the flats and sharps, as the European denotes them, in *Ri, Ga, Ma, Dha, Ni*, रि ग म ध नि need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that after the fretting in hard wax of the *Saravathi Vina* of the South India, or the *Rudra Vina* of the North, the twelve different notes or *svaras* came to be recognised in Indian music. The question before us is whether we can devise an all-India system of notation for the melodies extant through the whole of India, which any one versed in music could understand and subsequently learn either to sing the melody, or play it on a violin or *Vina*, after devoting some little time to it. Very recently the question of adoption of the European notation for the transcription of all Indian melodies was even revived in the Mysore Music Conference, and the adoption of the Western system of staff notation was carried by the casting vote of the President, as the daily papers inform me ; but I, for one, would not adopt for Indian melodies the staff notation of the European system for various reasons, which I shall explain as I proceed with the discussion of the notation, since it is not simply for the purpose of the understanding of our melodies by the European that a notation has to be devised. I can tell you on the authority of an European artist, who has been trying to learn Indian (both Carnatic and Hindustani) songs with reference to dancing, that she found it easier to learn them by the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, system of India, than by the staff notation with which she was conversant in her earlier years, and this for obvious reasons. When I met, in London, an English author of a well-known book on Indian Music, and when he played before me on the piano a South Indian *Krithi* of Thyagaraja in Raga *Madhyamavathi* (corresponding to the Northern Indian *Sarang* where the *Ni* is flat (to use the European word), the Raga being | *Sa, Ri, Ma, Pa, Ni, Śa Śa Ni Pa Ma Ri Sa*, | the rest of the notes being of the diatonic scale, he immediately changed the scale, that is, he did not play the melody with the *Adharasruti* or fundamental *Sa C*. Therefore the adoption of staff notation is likely to confuse the Indian reader of the melody, for the whole melody is related to the *Adharasruti* and its *Panchama* or the fifth, and there is a further obvious defect, which I shall refer to later.

In this connection, the three systems which have been advocated for the writing down of music with only *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, may be described here. One is the South Indian system, which has been adopted for the *varnas* वर्ण (a peculiar type of composition) in the *Gayakapajatham* of T. Singaracharyulu, a renowned musician of Madras, who published probably the first South Indian musical books, in print in the Telugu language, in the eighties of the last century. The second is Vishnu Digambar's system, where he also follows the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* system in transcribing the music. Mr. Popley in his *Music of India* advocates a modified staff notation with the words *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* in English alphabets capital and small, except for *Sa* and *Pa*. As an humble student of the Carnatic system of music for over fifteen years, also of late of the Hindustani system of music, and as one who has transcribed a fair number of songs, including songs from the *Gita Govinda*, as sung in Hindustani music, for an understanding of them, by hearing the mere singing of the songs, bit by bit, twice or thrice, I venture to submit for the consideration of musicians the following scheme, which has, in my opinion, decided advantages for its adoption as an all-India notation.

Firstly, it is essential that the music as well as the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, should be in the *Devanagari* character of Sanskrit, for the rendering of various melodies throughout the length and breadth of India. Secondly, the adoption of the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* system is advanced, because the combination of the seven notes or *svaras*, either as in threes or fours conveys to us the familiar tone of *spoken words*, and we are able to read the notation of the music as if it were printed script or language. Another point is that in the *Devanagari* character, as in other Indian languages, the letters *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* स-रि-ग-म-प-ध-नि can be elongated simply in the same way as ordinary consonants in writing as सा-रो-गा-मा-पा-दा-नो. If स represents one sub-unit of time, then सा will represent two sub-units of time. Further elongations can be denoted by the suffix of a comma thus ( , ) for each sub-unit, or the fourth of a *mātrā* of time.

The essential features of a notation must embrace the following factors: (1) Easy printing, (2) symbols to present the unit of time stayed on in each *swara*, (3) the *Sthayi* (octave) to which the notes belong and (4) the distinction between the flats and sharps so as to be



easily distinguishable. With that view, it is necessary to adopt the following symbols.

All melodies sung in Indian music, I find generally, have fairly a gamut of two octaves only, commencing from the lower *Pa* or *Ma*, and passing through the middle octave and rising up to a higher *Pa*, in relation to the *Adhara Shadja* of the singer. The middle octave needs no differentiation. *Swaras* of the lower octave may be distinguished by putting a dot below them, and of the higher octave, by the insertion of a dot above. Thus  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{pa}}$  is of lower octave and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{pa}}$  is of higher octave.

The time effect may be represented thus. Each melodic piece is seen to run, in South Indian music especially, in cycles of a definite number of *mātrās* of time, which may be 4, 5, 6, or 7, or double these numbers as 8, 10, 12, 14 and so on. The *mātrā* may be defined to be a unit of time. The South Indian writes down the music for, say, eight *mātrās*, by giving four sub-units to each *mātrā* so that the musical cycle is written down in 32 sub-units. Similarly, for 14 *mātrās* of time the music would be written down in 56 sub-units. Where a further division is necessary, a bar thus (—) over the notes, each of which runs in half the sub-unit of time, may be placed so that, though it is written down according to the sub-units, it can be understood to run with double pace. A double bar (==) may be used to represent a quarter of the sub-unit.

Each *rāga* has a scale in which seven or more of the selected notes are largely employed, and the South Indian generally writes down this scale or *Mela Raga* at the top of the piece; and from which he recognises whether a particular note is flat or sharp in the music. It may be as well to adopt a sign to show the accidental *svaras* as they occur, instead of simply mentioning in a footnote, where and in what combinations the accidental note comes, which is either sharper or flatter than that of the scale in which the particular melody is composed. In the Hindustani system of music, there are perhaps rarely occasions in which the *Ri* and *Ga* or *Dha* and *Ni* nomenclature is used for two notes within a *semitone* of each other, i.e., where *Ri* and *Ga* or *Dha* and *Ni* are found as of two adjacent frets of the *Vina* between *Sa* and *Pa* or *Pa* and *Sa* respectively. It would perhaps be better therefore for the Hindustani system to simply have no symbols for the *Suddha* (or *Bilaval*) scale of Northern India, corresponding to the diatonic scale of

the European, and using symbols  $b$  and  $\sharp$  for flat and sharp of the *svaras* of above scale, to be printed just above the *svara*. It is, of course, understood that these twelve *svaras* are used in relation to the *Adharasruti* of the vocalist, or of the instrumental player and there is no effort at changing the *Adharasruti*.

The twelve frets of the *Vina* on Shadaja string for Hindustani music may be shown thus

$b \quad b \quad \sharp \quad b \quad b$   
स रि रि ग ग म म प ध ध नि नि

Then, there is the intonation of the note, by which I mean the peculiar way in which the *svara* commences, as it were, from a certain pitch rising to where it rests. Mr. Bhatkande has recommended the insertion, in brackets, of the *svara*, from which it develops into the *svara* in the music, just at the left-hand top corner of the latter. This is also very essential for the proper grasp of the melodic concept. The transcription of music ought to show the position at which we end the music; for instance, in the South Indian melodies, in the *kritis* (a type of melodic composition) of various composers there are three parts, the *pallavi*, the *anupallavi* and the *charana*. There is an elaboration in the *pallavi*, and after the elaboration, we stop with a certain sentence of the *pallavi*. This sentence of the *pallavi* is repeated finally even after the *anupallavi* is sung, and again after the *charana* is sung. The transcription of music should exactly show which is the ending piece of each of these portions of the melodic piece.

In some cases, the *Adharasruti* is changed by us in Indian melody after a certain period of singing, as when the voice gets tired, when instead of the *Sa*, *Pa*, it becomes *Ma*, *Sa*, so as to enable the voice to reach certain higher or lower pitches. In the case of *Ma*, *Sa*, the *Adharasruti* *Ma* is felt to be the *Adhara Shadaja* and *Sa* is to be *Panchama* by the songster, but it is better to denote, on the melody itself, whether the music will be sung in the *Panchamasruti*, as we in the South call it, or the *Madhyamasruti*, as these two systems of *Adharasruti* are designated.

It is also perhaps advisable to note by numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 etc., the points where *mātrās* begin. In South India, the 'sam' in rhythm, as defined in Northern Indian music, is perhaps not definitely

mentioned, but we are told where the accents fall. For instance in cycles of 8 *mātrās*, the accent falls on the first, the fifth and the seventh *mātrās*, whereas in a cycle of six *mātrās*, the accent falls on the first and the third while the fifth is unaspirate. In the Hindustani music which I have taken down, I have used these principles to show exactly where I have felt the accent falling in the various rhythmic movements, as I find the similar number of *mātrās*, as are current in South Indian music, are actually found in Hindustani music also. I shall make clear the system of notation, by giving a few lines of music in the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* notation, of two or three cycles of a couple of melodies to illustrate the features of the South Indian method of writing them, as it differs from Vishnu Digambar's system. In giving the South Indian pieces, I am following what has been followed for about half a century and even used in the present day, in a journal, *Sangithābhimani*, published in Tamil, by an amateur musician at Madras, and I also give a few lines of a Hindustani song from Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*, as taken down by me when sung, that is, set to music, by Mr. Purohit, a pupil of Vishnu Digambar.

## CARNATIC MUSIC.

I	मेल	स		रि		ग	म		प		ध		नि	सं
---	-----	---	--	----	--	---	---	--	---	--	---	--	----	----

A line from *Pallavi*राग शंकरा भरण, ताल 8 *mātrās*

1 पा मा पा, म गा, म पा, म म ग ग रि | 5 रि ग रि स सा स नि | 7 सा री, ग म | Notation

मरि या ————— द. | गा ————— दु र | Words

A line from *Ahupallavi*.

1 2 3 4 . | 5 6 . . | 7 . . . 8 | 1  
 ,, धनि सनि सा ,, धनि सनि सा | ,, निसा रि री | सारि स नि स धा सनि | , प  
 कद क- क रा वा - रि नि नी- रि नी- |

The last two sub-*mātrās* carry us to the next line.

b

II. मेल 

स	—	रि	—	ग	म	—	प	—	ध	न	—	सं
---	---	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

नि is flat throughout the melody. Hence no sign is given.

A line from *Pallavi*

*Raga Harikambodhi, 8 mātrās.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
„ नि	ध नि	सा, नि	ध नि	स, नि	धा	„ पा	ध प
रा	न्त रा	नि	त ना	केन्त	पो	- नौ	नौ -
1							
प	ध	प					

The last three sub-units of the 2nd line, are used when repeating the 1st line and to carry us also to the next line.

A line from *Charana*.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
„ स,	स सा	„ नि	धा नि	सा	„ स	निरि	स स	नि ध	नि सं
शे	षु ट,	शि	बु नि	को	मु	षु ट,	ल - -	ल्ल	ण
1									
म	प	ध	नि						

Notation  
Words

The last two sub-units of 2nd line are used for carrying to the next line.

### HINDUSTANI MUSIC.

I. राग—केदार 

स	—	रि	—	ग	म	—	प	—	ध	—	नि	सं
---	---	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----

≠                      b  
म                      नि

ताल 12 mātrās:—an occasional use of म and नि :—ग is वज्यं *varjya*.

(1)

म	म	ध	प	म	प	म	म	रि	स	री	सा
त	व	वि	र	हे	- - -	व	न	मा	लौ		

Notation  
Words

(म)                      b                      ≠

„ सस मा पा धा नि ध प म प

सखि सी — — द — ति

1 . ! . . . . b  
 पप सा स स स सा सा ध नि स रि नि स धा नि ध प म पा  
 वह ती म ल य स मी रे म द न म, प नि धा — — — य

≠ ≠  
 म म म ध प म प म प म म री सा स स म म प प म प ध नि स रि स नि ध प  
 स्फुट ति कु सु - म नि - क - रे - वि र हि द्र द य द ल न — — —

1  
 म प म म रि स नि स  
 य — — — त व वि र हि व न मा ली

II. Same scale as above :—

राग—दुर्गा ग and नि—वर्ण . 8 *mātrās*

7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 पा, ध पा, ध पममा रि पा ,, रिमपध मपधा पममा र  
 अ वि ना शि हा आ ना म

7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6  
 ,, स सर ध स ,, सधरिस मरिपम धप  
 ज ग - ती - - - - जी-व- ब-ल - ल-

7 8 1 . . . 2 3 4 5 6  
 ध,, धप : सरिसस धप मपमम रिस सरमध स  
 भ-ल ल- - मक न- - मज ल- - - अविनाशि

It will be seen from the comparison of the South Indian music notation with the Hindustani music notation, as published by Vishnu Digambar, that there are certain improvements in the former :—(1) The printing adopted by Vishnu Digambar in three lines to represent the three octaves has been done away with. (2) To definitely mark and to give a distinctive sign for each unit and its divisions of time, such as twice the *mātrā*, one *mātrā*, a half, one-fourth, one-eighth and one-sixteenth of the *mātrā*, has been avoided. In the system advocated by me we are able to read, as I have already said, the *svaras* of the music as if it were a language. The one peculiar deficiency, which must be remedied in the Southern notation, is the addition of what I

shall call '*anu-svaras*' अनुस्वर to describe the intonation. The South Indian has his concepts of *Raga* so clearly defined by hearing, and in the learning of the technique of the movements, that is, deflections of the strings across the frets of *Vina*, or of the slight touches of the higher notes on the violin, that he does not feel it essential to denote the so-called *anusvaras*, considered necessary by Mr. Bhatkande in his notation. This *anusvara* for each *svara*, either at commencement or end, seems to me to be very necessary in the case of Hindustani music, and it is expected that those who undertake the publication of Hindustani melodies will solve this question more thoroughly than I am capable of doing.

There is one other matter I should like to refer to, in regard to the indication of direction of the bow in violin play, considered necessary in European music, corresponding to a fresh plucking of the string on *Vina*. I have noticed that, generally, the direction of the bow of the violin changes, or a fresh plucking of the string is made, only when a fresh 'consonant' in the musical piece comes in. During the prolongation of vowel sounds, even when attendant with rising or falling in pitch, there is no change in the direction of the bow of the violin, as the sound of the string is kept up by the bowing, nor is a fresh plucking of the string, in the case of the *Vina*, necessary unless the sound happens to die out. The following might also interest the reader, as to the adequacy, or otherwise, of the notation. During my European tour, when I handed the two melodic pieces, written down in this very notation except that I substituted for *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, C. D. E. F. G. A. B.* to two persons, one a conductor of an Orchestra in London (who was something of a violin-player) and also to a vocalist singer whom I met in the Oriental Institute at Paris (who was something of a Piano-player), they after listening to my violin play, about a couple of times, of these melodies, and by subsequent transcriptions of the pieces to the staff notation, because they were more familiar with that method of reading the music, were able to play the melodies fairly well, of course without the embellishments which an Indian is capable of producing. They have affirmed to me that for melodic music, the notation, as I have adopted, is fairly sufficient for an understanding of the music. Of course, the soul of the music cannot come in, until what may be termed the *Ragabhava* रागभाव of each *raga* is completely assimilated and understood. It is here that the quarter-tones (as the English term it),

meaning thereby a slight rise or fall in the pitch of these 12 *svaras*, comes in, and the proper grasp of the melodic structure, alone can give the correct quarter-tones. The adoption of the staff notation of the European music will, in my opinion, tear up our musical heritage to the very roots, and it would be analogous to the printing of English books with a phonetic spelling, forgetting all associations and origins of words. Besides the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, as pronounced in *svara*-singing, both in Northern and Southern India, have given a distinct impress to the melodic art. As in *svara*-singing quarter-tones are used, the structure of every melody in every *raga* will not be disturbed if the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* have continued to be used, and I believe I have quoted sufficient evidence to show that we should not give up this age-long heritage of expression in *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* of our music.

*Bombay.*

of the industrial system of England, and was thus directly cutting away at the roots of the social system over which the quarrel was raging.

#### THE DEFEATISTS AND THE CONSERVATIVES

At first there was a frank sense of surrender and Indians of all classes suffered from a feeling of inferiority with reference to English culture. This led to the spread of Christian influence among educated Bengalis during the second and third decades of the 19th century, just at it had done among the Mundas. The converts, as well as many of those who came under their influence, not only extolled the religion as well as the civilization of the west, but also thought that the natural course for India was to forsake her ancient culture and adopt modern European civilization in place of the old one. Europeans were looked upon as superior not only in mental but even in physical prowess, and this led to an interesting attitude towards them as proved by the following facts. In a newspaper published on 22nd January, 1825,<sup>1</sup> we find a gentleman denouncing the wearing of European clothes by Indians on the plea that it would lead to considerable scandal in society if a man in European habits were seen entering the zenana of a household. Marriage between European men and Indian women was looked upon with abhorrence, and the issue of such unions were considered as belonging to very low castes.<sup>2</sup> Food cooked or touched by Europeans was similarly tabooed, and thus any possibility of social intercourse between the two communities was rendered impossible. The inferiority complex of the Indians created a feeling of mental subservience as well as of physical aversion with respect to Europeans at the same time. No doubt this was partly the natural feeling of a conquered nation towards the conquerors, but it is also probable that an undercurrent of sexual abhorrence was mixed up with it and added a certain amount of bitterness to the rules of taboo. That, in itself, was another expression of inferiority complex.

As a reaction against this, a conservative tendency slowly appeared in Bengal. At first it manifested itself among the more prosperous sections of the educated class, those who had not been laid low by British domination; but later on, it gained in volume and drew its

<sup>1</sup> Brajendranath Banerji, *Sangbadpatray Sekaler Katha*, Vol. I, p. 86, also Vol. II, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 185.



support from poor to poorer sections of the population. Due to this conservative tendency, the attention of the nation was, at first, directed towards the literature and culture of the past. Two new encyclopædias were compiled in Sanskrit about this time so as to render the old culture of the land more familiar to the public. These were the *Sabdakalpadrumah* of Raja Radhakanta Deb (1784-1867) and the *Vachaspatya Abhidhana* of Taranath Tarkavachaspati (1812-1885). The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were, later on, translated for the same reason, while the *Puranas* as well as the *Samhitas* were also similarly treated. Through these activities, the nation not only tried to fortify itself against its own sense of cultural inferiority, but also unconsciously prepared the way for a discovery of its own soul before it could make that knowledge a starting point for fresh advance.

But the movement of defending the ancient culture, which grew from national self-respect, was sometimes carried to excess as we shall presently see. Students, who had lately been reading the scientific literature of the west tried to read a 'scientific' meaning into every element of Hindu ceremonial practice. Ancient literature was hunted for proofs of the existence of fire-arms, balloons and the like. The ideal of renunciation was also glorified to the point of absurdity. Its purpose was forgotten and it was praised for its own sake. This was done because Europe, all the while, stood for a material enrichment of life.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to observe that in these very attempts to defend Hinduism, its champions paid unconscious homage to the west. According to them, Hindu culture was great because ancient Hindu scientists had discovered the atom or had invented the balloon, fire-arms or certain principles of hygiene. It was thus still a surrender of values to the west. The spirit of self-defence had been set working and was manifesting itself in frantic efforts to save the ancient culture of the land from complete annihilation.

#### THE LIBERAL BRAHMO SAMAJ MOVEMENT

The first movement of a healthy nature which resulted from national self-consciousness led in the third decade of the last century to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Raja Rammohan Roy (1774-1833). The movement started by him was of a

<sup>1</sup> Jadunath Sarker, *India through the Ages*, p. 112 ff.

liberalizing character and its purpose was to build up a new culture out of the best elements of both the east and the west. It tried to bring about a synthesis between the pro-western and anti-western tendencies in Bengali cultural life. At first this movement gained very little sympathy, and much opposition from the public. But when it was turned into an expression of reaction against the cultural domination of the west under the leadership of Devendranath Tagore (1818-1905), it gathered more strength and engaged the sympathies of all those spirits who had suffered from European contact, but who were too liberal to join the conservatives in their wholesale worship of the past. Devendranath tried to stem the tide of conversion to Christianity, but as he was not radical enough in his social opinions, the progressives soon broke away from him to found the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which became frankly pro-western in its sympathies as well as in the character of its ceremonial observances. But later on, Keshabchandra Sen (1838-1884), who had headed the revolt against Devendranath, broke away even from the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj to found the Navavidhan Samaj where he developed sympathies more akin to the Hindu spirit of synthesis than to the Rationalist movement of the west, with which the Brahmo Samaj movement had been spiritually affiliated. Keshab's sympathies towards the synthetic spirit of Hinduism was however looked upon as a clever form of conservatism, and led to a definite schism in the Brahmo Samaj which left the Sadharan church pro-western and the Navavidhan as the more nationalistic among the two.

Within a short time, however, the Brahmo Samaj failed to keep pace with the spirit of the times. The movements of the Samaj were confined, more or less, to the world of opinions and of social life; but what the people of Bengal were suffering from, more deeply than anything else, was a growing economic submergence under British capitalism. The Brahmo Samaj movement was too far removed from this to stem the tide of economic bankruptcy. The pro-western leanings of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, as well as the sympathies of Keshabchandra towards Christianity, were not to the liking of the people in general. They wanted something to voice their protest against European domination, and any movement or leader who personified this protest was, for the time being, given a position of prominence, no matter what his real sympathies were like. The Brahmo Samaj failed to keep pace with this spirit of the people, and was consequently

thrown into the background of national life. What the country stood sorely in need of, was a movement which would not only satisfy this spirit of freedom from spiritual or cultural oppression, but would also hold forward the promise of economic freedom to the masses. But this was yet a long way in coming.

#### THE NEO-HINDU MOVEMENT

In the meanwhile, there grew up a movement in Bengal under the leadership of Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) which was not conservative like the earlier Hindu movement but was more progressive as well as pronouncedly nationalistic in character. The Swami himself, however, was not a narrow nationalist in his inner sympathies, but the movement started by him gradually developed a character which was perhaps not designed by its author.

Swami Vivekananda did not lay down any clear-cut programme for the nation to follow. He was a champion of the removal of untouchability, as well as of the upliftment of women; but he did not give any routine for them to follow. He insisted that our sole business was to educate the women and the untouchables, and then leave them free to follow any path which they might choose for themselves. All his life he preached the idea that society had to be purified not by any outside agency, but by the growth of knowledge from within; for, after all, the growth of this full knowledge was the object of life, and not the building up of a social structure, however perfect in appearance it might happen to be. Vivekananda also started a mission for carrying relief to the distressed in famine and flood, and thus indirectly helped to bring the educated classes in real and sympathetic contact with the actual conditions of life.

Vivekananda's appeal was thus meant more for the potential leaders of men rather than for the ordinary run of mankind. His programme, with its insistence upon self-development, has therefore had rather a restricted appeal. But there was another aspect of his teaching which endeared him to the public and made him for some time the symbol of India's nationalism. Vivekananda believed that the highest wisdom of the Hindus was to be found in Vedanta philosophy. He asked the young men of India to go forth to the west and learn all that it had to teach and then come back with that knowledge to reorganize the economic life of the country. In return of that, he

asked them to give to the west the supreme lesson of Vedanta, which it stood sorely in need of. But the nation understood otherwise. It merely found in the Vedanta another object in which it could legitimately take pride, and thus it took one-half of Vivekananda's teaching and slept over the other half, and turned the teacher into the symbol of a creed of which he would, at best, have been an unwilling representative.

However that may be, the Neo-Hindu movement did at least one thing. It turned men's mind away from the liberal or the more westernised Brahmo movement, and laid the foundations of nationalism upon a Hinduism of a more purified character.

#### THE INCREASING WESTERN TIDE <sup>1</sup>

Near about the time when Swami Vivekananda died, Japan gained her famous victory over Russia, and the news of an eastern nation having humbled a European power was carried through the land like wild fire. It inspired the educated people of India with hope and led them on into a series of activities which were calculated to bring solidarity in the nation and give it the strength to overcome foreign domination. Those who had been advocating the industrialization of India, and were western-minded, now received an added strength in their faith, for it was known that Japan had become great by the adoption of western methods. The history of the Russo-Japanese war was published in Bengali and portraits of Japanese heroes were printed in the vernacular papers and held up for the nation's admiration. Societies and funds were organised in order to send students to Europe so that they might equip themselves with the scientific and technical knowledge of the west.

The Swadeshi movement was started soon after this, and both the conservatives and the westernists worked together in order to foster national industries with a view to boycotting British goods and thus crippling Britain's position in the market of India. The cotton-mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad derived much benefit from this movement but the net result of the latter, as far as the economic revival of India was concerned, was of a negligible character. Several small-scale and isolated efforts were made to improve the condition of the

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the growth of nationalism see "The Congress and the National Movement," a booklet issued by the Reception Committee of the 48th Indian National Congress.

weavers and of peasants, but the work was neither carried out wholeheartedly nor was it able to make much headway against the united interests of the Indian mercantile classes, on the one hand, and of the British Government, on the other. These attempts therefore broke down and the masses were left where they were before.

#### THE GANDHI MOVEMENT

The first movement in which the masses actively participated was in connection with the Non-co-operation movement of 1920. By intensive propaganda Mahatma Gandhi succeeded, for the first time, in combining the masses of India in recording a protest against the political domination of the west. The protest was feeble, but it had the merit of being a protest of the people in general and not of the educated classes alone, and that in itself was a great step forward. It is necessary, at this stage, to examine in some detail the political ideals and activities of Gandhi in order to understand fully the course which the culture of the land has been taking or is likely to take in the future.

Gandhi believes that "the sum-total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious working of the law of love."<sup>1</sup> He holds that "human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality."<sup>2</sup> This faith in human progress forms the foundation of Gandhi's philosophy. He holds that in spite of the fact that violence seems to rule our lives, yet it is the spirit of love which is responsible for all the progress we observe in human evolution. So if we want to be on the side of progress, we must mould all our activities in conformity with this law of love. Gandhi's contribution to political method consists in his non-violent non-co-operation or Satyagraha, which he calls a moral substitute for war. In its practice, one has to convert one's opponents not by inflicting suffering upon the latter, but by confining all the suffering to oneself. He thus either converts the opponent or, at least, breaks down the social or political instrument of oppression. Thus non-violence allows men to oppose one another and yet allow freedom to different conceptions of truth, so long as their upholders are prepared to accept personal suffering as the reward for the pursuit of truth.

<sup>1</sup> *Bose, Selections from Gandhi*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Non-violence is not ruthless like violence, for it does not crush and kill and thus leaves more room for freedom of opinion and, therefore, of human progress.

Gandhi believes that nature assures a certain fixed amount of total wealth to man. If everybody took enough for his needs, and none for the satisfaction of desires, then there would be no inequality on earth and men would live happily. Gandhi also firmly holds that these needs have to be satisfied by all men through manual labour in connection with agriculture or its allied industries. Agriculture should form the central economic activity of man. Gandhi holds that human life is for the sake of service. Some men can serve best through knowledge, others through physical prowess, still others through commercial ability, while the rest can serve best through bodily labour. These four classes are the four *varnas* of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. In an ideal society, men of different talents would all find an opportunity to serve mankind through the exercise of their special talents. Varnashrama is a system of defining men's duties and not for securing special rights and privileges. The most important thing about the four *varnas*, in Gandhi's version of Varnashrama, is that none of them is exempt from the obligation of manual labour so far as the satisfaction of economic needs is concerned.

Gandhi's essential political and social activities consist in applying the method of Satyagraha in order to restore Varnashrama in its ideal condition in India. In 1919 he formed an alliance with the nationalists during the campaign of non-co-operation. The nationalists were mostly Hindu, and many of them dreamt of creating a Hindu kingdom after ousting the British power. They thought that Gandhi was on their side with regard to inner beliefs ; but they did not sufficiently recognise Gandhi's uniqueness with regard to his interpretation of Hinduism, nor did they know that his anarchistic socialism might not be to their liking in the end, although Gandhi professed that it had been derived from ancient India.

However, the Gandhi Movement prospered with the help of the nationalists during 1920 and in 1930. The latter were all the time gathering more power among the masses. Naturally, the divisive spirit of nationalism drove national development, outside Gandhi's immediate influence, into the alley of communalism. Within the Congress too the nationalists, by giving repeated promises of 'unity'

and 'support,' wrenched out from Gandhi victories on their own behalf, *i.e.*, on behalf of the existing order. Gandhi had to make concessions to landed proprietors and millowners against his creed of Varnashrama, and to that extent suffered defeat with respect to his own ideal. But when he found that he was making concessions to them until his own principles were at a vanishing point, he made a rally and left them in order to follow more closely his plan of Varnashrama. The initiation of the Village Industries Association at the last Congress was only a move in this direction.

The more orthodox westernists have never recognized Gandhi as their political leader and have left him either to follow the path of nationalism as learnt from Italy or Ireland, or of communism as learnt from Russia. Deprived of the support of Gandhi, as well as through the opposition of the Government, the former have been driven into fruitless individual terrorism. And only the communists now remain among those with a western outlook, who seem to have any future before them.

India in the near future will thus see a competition between western influence in the shape of communism and the unique ideals of Gandhi, who although professing to take his stand upon the ancient ideals of India, rejects all the historical development which those ideals had been subjected to in India. The more orthodox nationalists alone take their stand upon Indian history as it actually was, and are trying to maintain the social and economic arrangements which were thrown up by Indian historical development. But so long as Gandhi and the communists are working against them among the masses, there does not seem to be any chance for the conservative spirit to spread; and communalism will therefore be gradually driven away from among the masses. It will take refuge among the middle-classes alone this time, where an alliance is soon likely to be formed between the orthodoxy of the Hindus and the Muslims, in order to combat the spread of communism and of Gandhism among the masses, for both of them are sources of danger to orthodoxy.

#### ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESULTS

This is the course which the history of Bengal, and of India, has been following within recent times. The reaction against European domination has sometimes strengthened the conservative, and sometimes the progressive attitude, and these moods have varied

within wide limits according to the character of personal leadership. Culturally the varying moods have been of the greatest significance as they have created biases in favour of particular brands of culture.

The press and schools came into existence in Bengal during the first flush of western influence in the early decades of the 19th century, while about the third quarter of the 19th century, there were started methods of political association in imitation of the west. After the Russo-Japanese war, the pro-western bias received a fresh impetus, and political organizations of a more active character, both open and secret in nature, were started all over the country. There also grew a strong opinion in favour of the industrialization of India so as to bring it in line with the progressive nations of the west. On the other hand, when a conservative spirit has prevailed, it has added fresh life to decaying institutions like caste, just as it has stimulated an interest in Sanskrit or vernacular literature or restored lost ideals in life, art and philosophy.

When again the life of the people has been oriented towards a new ideal, as in the Gandhi movement, it may have stimulated both the conservative as well as the pro-western tendencies by its challenge of action, or added strength to them in course of its own retreat, but it has also created, in moments of victory, certain phases of culture which are not the repetition of anything gone by, but which are new in the cultural history of the land. The nature of these new items, like a new method of warfare like Satyagraha or an idealised Varnashrama may be unstable, but it is a mood like this, which springs from the orientation of attention neither to the past nor to the present but towards a future which has apparently little justification either in the past or the present, that gives birth to a cultural item which is new in the history of mankind. And of such orientation, faith forms the mainstay.



# RABINDRANATH'S *KHEYA*

PRABHAS CHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.,

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*Kheya* or "Crossing" is the record of the feelings and experiences of one of the most significant periods of our poet's spiritual life. In his soul the consciousness of the Absolute has now taken the form of a sense of divine companionship. The Deity has become the central fact of his life. The object of his constant intuition is this Object of supreme desire. It is this craving, this restlessness, which has made him a pilgrim and a wanderer. It is a longing to go out in search of his soul's own country, its own mate. The poems describe some of the stages of this spiritual pilgrimage with great psychological and mystical insight; the pilgrim goes because he has been called; because he must go if he is to find rest and peace; and he leaves his all behind him and sets out. The poem "Traveller" shows how very keen his heart's desire is. The world tries to hold the pilgrim back, seeking to tempt him with the fresh and rich joys of life and the happiness of the home of men, but all in vain. The Call of the Infinite has come, the pilgrim must start at once. The poem is pervaded by a strange and mystical atmosphere, the sleepless spirit that comes from the heart of the midnight, or, as it were, the message of those dear friends of his, the immortal silent stars of the sky.

Traveller, must you go?  
The night is still and the darkness swoons upon the forest.  
The lamps are bright in our balcony,  
The flowers all fresh, and the youthful eyes still awake.  
Is the time for your parting come?  
Traveller, must you go?

The merry meetings, the multifarious joys of the earth, which have been celebrated in the previous volumes of verses and fiction with such ecstasy and rapture, are just suggested; we just seem to catch a glimpse of the banquet-hall, with its festive lamps and its harp's music, its young revellers and its flowers and songs; but the traveller cannot participate in these festivities any longer, he must go; under the image of a pilgrimage the poem suggests much of the history of the soul in its journey onward. The restlessness of the traveller, his departure from his normal life and interests, the dark night into which he plunges, the glimpses of the destination far away,—all these are there in these verses; yet the temptations of the past life, the wayside allurements cannot hold him back; the soft and gently caressing pleasures have lost their charm for him and the horseman must ride forth into the unknown.

We have not bound your feet with our entreating arms.  
Your doors are open. Your horse stands saddled at the gate.  
If we have tried to bar your passage, it was but with our songs.  
Did we ever try to hold you back, it was but with our eyes.  
Traveller, we are helpless to keep you.  
We have only our tears.

The poet's soul is eager to commence its homeward journey, but he knows also how strong is the bond of attachment with which he is tied; and this feeling has found a most poignant expression here. All the arrangements for the journey have now been completed, the preparations have been made, and yet this last-minute entreaty has a singularly pathetic appeal. But our great artist of the Art of Life who has drunk life almost to the lees and known, intimately and at first hand, all the aspects of the great drama of enjoyment, must now abandon all these things which are now but impediments to his spiritual quest and will listen to no entreaties, however tender and gentle and sweet. The natural magnetism will draw the pilgrim along the road from the Many to the One. The call has come.

What quenchless fire glows in your eyes ? What restless fever runs in your blood ?  
 What call from the dark urges you ?  
 What awful incantation have you read among the stars in the sky that with a  
 sealed secret message the night entered your heart, silent and strange ?

The call from the dark is the call of the great Beyond, the same call which came to the poet earlier in life, as we find it in *Utsarga* and other volumes of poems. "I am restless. I am athirst for far away things. My soul goes out in a longing to touch the skirt of the dim distance. O great Beyond, O the keen call of thy flute.....I am eager and wakeful, I am a stranger in a strange land. Thy breath comes to me whispering an impossible hope. Thy tongue is known to my heart as its very own. O Far-to-seek, O the keen call of thy flute." The same message had already been brought to the poet's heart by the unknown messenger when he was writing *Kalpana* and *Kshanika* and *Naivedya*.

It is impossible for the traveller to tarry any longer on the river-shores, among the homes of men; his near and dear ones cannot keep him, the call of One who is the nearest and dearest to his heart has reached him and it is irresistible. A very great change has come over him, a quenchless fire glows in his eyes and a restless fever is in his blood.

The Infinite has touched him and the Eternal has beckoned to him.

In the last stanza his former friends and companions make a last appeal to the traveller; it is in reality his own former life, his life of soft joys and pleasures trying to call him back, to hold him from his quest, and to keep him from his search for the Absolute, a search so strange and awful, in the dark, silent night.

If you do not care for merry meetings, if you must have peace, weary soul we shall put our lamps out and silence our hearts.

We shall sit still in the dark in the rustle of leaves, and the tired moon will shed her pale rays on your window.

O traveller, what sleepless spirit has touched you from the heart of the midnight ?

The message that has come to the poet has found more definite expression in the poems of *Gitanjali* and *Gitimalya*; for instance, the same awe-inspiring, silent, deep and gloomy atmosphere is there in the poem, "Light, oh where is the light ? Kindle it with the burning fire of desire."

"The message is that thy lord is wakeful, and he calls thee to the love-tryst through the darkness of night. The sky is overcast with clouds and the rain is ceaseless. I know not what this is that stirs in me—I know not its meaning. The night is black as a black stone. Let not the hours pass by in the dark..... A moment's flash of lightning drags down a deeper gloom on my sight, and my heart gropes for the Unknown, the Beyond where the music of the night calls me."

The Traveller in the present piece (*Pathik* in *Kheya*) has read this music of the night, and it has penetrated into his deepest heart. The music of the pleasures of the earth cannot therefore fascinate him now ; he must march onward, though his path lies through the darkest and most dangerous forests, for he knows that his Friend and Lover can be approached only along this path. We find the same idea in another poem of *Gitanjali* : " I have no sleep to-night ; ever and again I open my door and look out on the darkness, my friend ! I can see nothing before me. I wonder where lies thy path ! By what dim shore of the ink-black river, by what far edge of the frowning forest, through what mazy depth of gloom art thou threading thy course to me, my Friend ? " In this poem the Traveller himself goes forth to meet his Friend ; he cannot tarry, he leaves the bright lamps and harps and flowers behind and sets out.

The goal of his quest, the destination of the journey of love is the same mysterious country towards which the Traveller in the *Gitanjali* and *Balaka* poems marches in joy and love ; in all these we find that one symbol, that same pilgrimage idea which appears so often in the mystical literature of all countries eastern and western.

The whole book of poems has appropriately been named *Kheya* or Crossing ; the soul has entered into the great stream of spiritual life, the self is torn away from the world in which all its natural affections and desires are rooted and is carried towards the supreme consummation of life's aspirations ; it passes through the stress and anguish of the Dark Night and draws nearer and nearer to the Lover. The renewed and ecstatic awareness of the Absolute brings with it of necessity the awareness of the self's continued separation from the Lord of Life ; and the intense feeling of pain and deprivation, of dimness and helplessness, is again a stimulus to the growth of a new life. The first poem, " The Last Ferry," depicts the poet as waiting all alone, homeless, and companionless and forlorn, on the banks of a deep stream, for the ferryman, who will row him across in the darkness of the night to his destination. The sense of spiritual gloom is deep and strong and the whole atmosphere is dreamy. The stream is a Bengal river, with a silvery peace resting on both land and water, with a few boats drifting along " like shadows moving among the shadows " and the fringe of trees on the bank steeped in a deep blue. The river is probably the Ganges, one of the poet's most dearly beloved friends. One remembers how in his earlier days he had enjoyed long periods of supreme bliss on its banks, in the company of his brothers and friends ; in his *Reminiscences* he has described one of these periods with very tender and deep feeling. But in the poem " Last Ferry " we find the whole atmosphere changed ; the poet is now all alone, waiting for his last voyage to begin, with his Eternal Lover as his pilot and sole companion.

The same theme constitutes the main note of a few other lyrics and songs, conveying in their delicately soft and gentle strains the consciousness of the intimate companionship and union with the Fellow-traveler ; one of these " Who art thou, O Ferryman, who rowest the boat to and fro across the river ? " is remarkable for its ineffably sweet music and its dreamy atmosphere, reminding the reader of some of the *Evening Songs* and some of Tagore's recent songs in *Prabahini*. The poet has lost his heart to the Ferryman and he would leave his all and go and join the Rower ; the shadows of the evening suggest the evening of the poet's life and he is aware that the time has come for him to set out and sail towards the Great Beyond.

In another poem " In the Sea " the poet speaks of his voyages down the narrower stream of his earlier life of earthly joys, and at last comes into the

Great Ocean and joyfully accepts his lot, which is to pass beyond the domain of the known and familiar, singing the joyous songs of the shoreless seas ; "let the banks be blotted out for good, it does not matter if nothing is visible now ; let the fathomless deep respond to the call of the ever-free wind ; let me pass along all at once to the land of the One without a second, and let me spread out both my arms to embrace the great unbounded Unknown ! " The verses are quite vigorous and ecstatic in their rapturous delight, and the pilgrim goes forth boldly and unhesitatingly, without casting a longing, lingering look behind.

"The Journey's End" opens with a splendid description of an early morning, the dawn of the poet's own wandering life when the call of the road had reached his heart and had fascinated him altogether ; the travel-mad wanderer would move further and further onward, lured on by the very charm of the road at his feet and always seeking the unknown and the mysterious. He could not realise at that time who it was whom he was seeking and why ; he travelled on and on without rest or turning back ; his constant hope was that he would be able to meet the unexpected and the sudden at every turn of the road. But all that seeking and waiting is over now, and the wanderer has come to the end of his quest ; Love draws him irresistibly from the Many to the One and the sole desire of his heart is to row his ferry-boat towards his supreme destination, the heart of his Lover : now he has learned the great truth of his own life, and he has abandoned all his desires for the unexpected and the sudden. Through all these metaphors of pilgrimage to a goal, says Evelyn Underhill, there was the definite idea that the travelling self in undertaking the journey, is fulfilling a destiny, a law of the transcendental life obeying an imperative need. Indeed this idea grows deeper and deeper through most of Tagore's religious poems of this period as well as his symbolical dramas. The poem "Nest and Sky" shows the joy of this child of the Infinite in his wanderings in the limitless blue. Tagore feels that his life in the nest can no longer suffice for him and that he must now go forth to meet the Absolute.

This emergence of the transcendental faculty, or mystic sense, illustrates one of the most significant stages in the spiritual life of the contemplative. Transcendental matters, it has been said, are for most of us always beyond the margin ; because most of us have given up our whole consciousness to the occupation of the senses and permitted them to construct there a universe in which we are contented to remain. Now in persons of mystical genius, in the natural explorers of Eternity, the transcendental faculty, the eye of the soul, is not merely present in embryo, but is highly developed ; and is combined with great emotional and volitional power. In the great mystics these mighty tracts of personality, lying below the level of normal consciousness, are of unusual richness. The mystics have roused the dweller in the innermost from its slumbers, and round it have unified their life. Heart, Reason, Will are there in full action, drawing their energy not from the shadow-show of sense, but from the deeps of true Being.

The poems of *Kheya*, *Gitanjali*, *Gitimalya*, *Gitali*, *Balaka*, and *Purabi* amply demonstrate the emergence and gradual development and ultimate victory of this transcendental faculty in the life of our poet ; this movement of his soul towards the Absolute has been a genuine life-process ; and these poems are the spontaneous expression of the rare personality of this poet of the Infinite, this Pilgrim of Eternity.

The poem "Nest and Sky" shows how Tagore himself realised at this period the emergence of this genius for the Absolute, this Love for the Infinite Blue; he feels that the period of confinement in the nest is over and the solitary adventures of his soul are to begin now; his poems are henceforth to describe the workings of the mystical consciousness, the flight of the Alone to the Alone. Like Whitman he prepares himself for "a passage to more than India," and joyfully announces a life that shall be copious, vehement, spiritual, bold. The life in the nest is sweet; but even sweeter is the life in the sky, and he sings rapturously of his ineffable delight in the heavenly flights. The verses cannot fail to remind the reader of an earlier poem (in the *Naivedya*) "Thou art the sky and thou art the nest as well." The first few stanzas of the present poem as also of the *Naivedya* sonnet describe the joys and beauties of the life of nature, and even there the images of the morning and evening are remarkably similar. "There comes the morning with the golden basket in her right hand bearing the wealth of beauty, silently to crown the earth. And there comes evening over the lonely meadows deserted by herds, through trackless paths, carrying cool draughts of peace in her golden pitcher from the Western Ocean of Rest." These re-appear in *Kheya* in a condensed form as "The victorious journeying forth of dawn, the sad silence of evening." The earlier poem speaks of the colours and sounds and odours which enclose the soul in the nest; and "Nest and Sky" seems to convey to us these shapes and hues, these natural stirrings and activities themselves, in a surprisingly vivid manner. "Sitting in my nest, I sang the varying chant of light and shadow. I mingled with that song the restless life of the woods the heavy weariness of noon, the deep peace of the night tide, the glorious march of victory of early morning, and the pale, meek, speechless quiet of evening; the trembling of the leaves and the bursting forth of flowers; the pattering down of the rain drops in the July nights, and the chirping of insects at play in their holes; of the hints and whispers of going and coming, of the sudden gusts of the winds, the wistful messages of the bamboos in the sweetly perfumed full-moon nights; and all the odours of grass and leaves and earth, and all the musical strains of all the seasons were intimated, mingled with the song sung in the nest."

The poet had thus celebrated the life which is immanent in every shape and form and hue in the green nests of our mother earth. In his earlier lyrics and his music and had given himself to this task with real zest. He had been an affectionate singer of the Infinite which manifests itself in the finite, in the little homes of earth-born creatures; but now he has to begin a new strain. "Am I to sing to-day the lonely song of the blue sky? Must I let my freed soul wander, forgetful of the ties of the nest! Shall my life mingle entirely in the light that has no shadow, in ecstatic bliss, in absolutely companionless solitude, freed from all bonds and affections, in the odourless airs and the absolutely blank regions of silence? I shall soar upward, singing my meaningless bird-notes in full-throated ease. I cannot now fathom the mysterious depths of my soul, I forget all fears and all desires, when I drink this nectar of joy in bare, sheer, absolute freedom."

The lines are like "an invitation into space" (Wordsworth). They give the reader an inspiring certitude of boundless spiritual growth, of the infinite aspirations of the soul; they are charged with the joy of Shelley's *Skylark*; the spirit of the verses is a note of bold triumph surpassing, in its feeling of delight in the Infinite, the *Kalpana* poem "Though the evening comes with silent steps and slow," though it is undeniable that the latter

is vastly superior when all the various elements of poetic excellence are taken into consideration. The sky in that first piece of *Kalpana* was of course a dark, dismal, terrible thing, "a pageantry of fear."

Some of these *Kheya* poems bring before our mind's eyes the loneliness of the author's life. In "Unnecessary" we find the maiden carrying her lamps to the river or to the Carnival, while the poet stands all alone in the dark, vainly requesting her to lend him her light. "On the slope of the desolate river among tall grasses I asked her, 'Maiden, where do you go, shading your lamp with your mantle? My house is all dark and lonesome.....lend me your light.'.....I stood alone among the tall grasses and watched the timid flame of the lamp uselessly drifting in the tide." He meets her again in the silence of the gathering night and says, "Maiden, your lights are all lit...then where do you go with your lamp? My house is all dark and lonesome, lend me your light." And again his prayer goes unheeded. In the third stanza the poet stands in the moonless gloom of midnight making the same request to the maiden with the lamp and this time too he makes it all in vain.

In "The End" (*Samapti*) the wanderer returns home in the evening, for his journey is done and his business with the world has to be closed; he has to forget the activities of the day and to prepare himself for the night; he is weary and he must take rest. The silence of the nightfall seems to pervade the whole poem.

*Calcutta.*

# INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

*Twenty-Second Session*

## OPENING ADDRESS

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FREEMAN

FREEMAN-THOMAS, EARL OF WILLINGDON,

P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.M.G., G.B.E.,

*Viceroy and Governor-General of India.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY, DR. HUTTON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the fourth occasion upon which the Indian Science Congress has met in Calcutta. The first was the inaugural meeting held in 1914 in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It met again in Calcutta in 1921, by which date the activities of the Congress had outgrown the capacity of the rooms of the Asiatic Society; and also in 1928. After the lapse of seven years, it re-assembles in the great city of its birth. This is a well-deserved tribute to the intellectual and scientific attractions of Calcutta; but the very periodicity of these sessions in one centre, however eminent, illustrates the importance which the Congress attaches to maintaining touch with the length and breadth of India. Thus it is that you have visited in turn Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, Lahore, Lucknow, Allahabad, Patna and Nagpur. This is in the fitness of things. It is apt to be forgotten that India is a sub-continent, with many centres of vigorous and expanding intellectual life. A body, which confines its activities to any one place, can never achieve that synthesis of national service which must be the aim of, as indeed it is the sole justification for, an all-India organisation.

Though your activities thus extend throughout India and though they indubitably exercise a wide-spread and an expanding influence, the Viceroy has never yet been present at one of your meetings. My distinguished predecessor, Lord Irwin, was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present in 1928. I am glad that, in this respect, I have been able to establish a precedent; I am confident that my friend and joint patron of this session of the Congress, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, will not grudge me the pleasure (which would otherwise have fallen to him) of opening the present session and of affording a practical demonstration of the keen interest which I and my Government take in your deliberations.

I am even more glad that my presence here to-day coincides with what may be termed the "coming of age" of the Congress. Ladies and Gentlemen, historical generalisations run the risk of giving an imperfect expression of the truth. Truth has many facts, and the greater the brevity of a generalisation, the greater may be its imperfection; but I suggest that I run the least risk of this imperfection in describing our present age as predominantly the age of science. Every aspect of human activity bears testimony to this contention. Even literature has been enriched by the concepts and terminology of science. Economics and industry depend, for progress, on its quickening force.

Human life has been shorn of many terrors of disease by the light which scientific investigation has thrown on their causes and on the methods of their prevention and cure. The data of science have provided new and fascinating material for those brilliant minds whose speculations seek the inner meaning of the nature of life and the universe.

India, the birth-place of philosophy, cannot but aspire to an active and honourable share in these movements, whether utilitarian or philosophic. But, as I have already suggested, India is a land of vast distances, and the isolation of scientific workers presents a grave disadvantage; it is, therefore, at least something that, once a year, leaders in science have been enabled to meet together in order to exchange experiences and also to examine and discuss the several contributions which have been made by scientists in India to the common stock of scientific knowledge. I offer my sincere good wishes not only for the successful deliberations of the present session, but also for the future development of your Association which, having completed twenty-one years of fruitful activity, now "comes of age." In the days that lie before us, India will need, more than ever before, your help and guidance.

It may be asked what part does the Government play or propose to play in India's contribution to science. Members of the Congress will need no elaborate reminder of what the Government of India have done and are doing in this respect. Three Scientific Services, whose work has won world-wide recognition owe their inception and existence to their initiative. I refer to the Geological, the Meteorological and the Zoological Surveys of India. Further, the Medical Research Department of the Government of India and the Indian Research Fund Association, which is financed by them, have done much to alleviate human suffering in combating those fell diseases which are still so powerful and so destructive.

In the promotion of agricultural research, on which the prosperity of our agricultural masses so vitally depends, they still take a useful share through the agency of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The problems of India's forests, a great economic asset, also receive attention in the laboratories of the Forest Research Institute, at Dehra Dun. Again, a Bureau of Industrial Information and Research is in the process of formation; and only last month a congress of Road Engineers met to devise ways and means of organizing research in problems of road construction.

In modern times, a country without maps is a "dark continent." The preparation of such maps has been accepted in India for many years past as an important function of the Government; the topographical maps of this country, which the Survey of India produce, bear comparison with those of any other country.

This enumeration of the Central Government's activities has not been made in any spirit of self-congratulation; it is intended merely to indicate that I and my Government have not been unaware of the benefits which should be derived from scientific research. I hasten to add that we shall continue to render assistance in these directions to such extent as our resources permit. Nor is my account in any sense exhaustive of the share of the State in scientific research. Under our present constitutional structure, responsibility for many branches of scientific activity, as, for example, in medicine, industry and agriculture, rests, within their own territorial limits, with provincial Governments. I have not touched upon their achievements owing to limitations of time as well as of information.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, Government can be only a single factor in what is a nation-wide undertaking. Scientific research demands the sympathetic interest and the effective support of all who have India's welfare at heart; of Governments, Central and



Provincial ; of universities, which must remain the principal homes of fundamental research ; of pioneers of industrial development ; of landed magnates ; and last, but not least, of scientists themselves. Those private individuals or organisations, whom fortune has favoured with command of material resources, can afford the much needed augmentation to the financial assistance rendered by the State and by universities. The example of the late Sir Jamsethji Tata, of the late Sir Tarak Nath Palit, and of the late Sir Rash Behary Ghose should be an emulous stimulant to private benefactors. Only then can universities and leaders of science satisfactorily enrich the stream of scientific work that flows from various centres of scientific activity.

I have viewed with special interest and appreciation the growing contact between scientific research and the practical demands and requirements of industry, of which the liberal assistance given by the Burma Oil Company towards the foundation of the College of Engineering in Rangoon, and the recent donation of Messrs. Steel Brothers for research in oil technology at Lahore are outstanding examples—examples which are also significant of a growing and beneficial contact between universities and industry, and which, I earnestly hope, are but the forerunners of a far closer intimacy between these two in the realm of scientific research. As for scientists themselves, besides directing the efforts of others, they can, by team work in the broadest sense of the word, ensure the maximum of achievement that is possible within available resources. For, however great may be the future assistance given by Government and by private benefactors, it can never be sufficient to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of scientific research. I would suggest, therefore, that there is urgent need for an effective and an economical husbanding of your resources. A well-devised co-ordination of scientific activities has become imperative ; it is from this standpoint that I especially welcome the functions and outlook of your Association.

Members of the Congress, I shall not detain you longer. I have greatly appreciated the privilege of inaugurating your proceedings. I shall now leave you to the more exacting part of your programme ; I am confident that, under the guidance of your distinguished President, Dr. Hutton, whose anthropological researches have made his name familiar wherever this interesting and valuable science is studied, your deliberations will be fruitful to the cause you serve.

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY

MR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.C.,  
*Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Chairman, Local Reception Committee.*

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS,

On behalf of the Local Reception Committee and the University of Calcutta, it is my pleasant duty to extend to you all, to the members and to our distinguished President, a most cordial welcome to this city, the birth-place of the Indian Science Congress. It is our unique privilege to have in our midst to-day both Your Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor and for this generous mark of appreciation we convey to you our deep and grateful thanks.

This is the fourth occasion that Calcutta has been chosen as the seat of the Congress. In spite of inevitable changes which a great city such as ours must witness with the passage of years, I believe you will find yourselves not in the midst of strange environments but in familiar surroundings, reminiscent of former associations of friendliness and comradeship.

During the last twenty-five years India has made noteworthy progress in the domain of higher scientific study and research. On an occasion like this we cannot but recall with pride and pleasure that this has been achieved mainly through the efforts of Indian scholars who, after assimilating the best that their own Universities could bestow, travelled abroad, equipped themselves with new knowledge and experience and came back to their motherland, trained for national service. In this great movement Calcutta has played her part with far-seeing vision and courage and has produced a band of capable and enthusiastic workers who have by no means remained confined to their own University,—scholars whose contributions in the different branches of science have elicited the admiration of eminent scientists in other and distant parts of the world. The splendid work which the Calcutta University has been fortunate enough to accomplish has been possible as much on account of the far-sighted policy initiated by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, your first President, as through the munificence of two of our illustrious countrymen, Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose, and later of the Kumar of Khairā. Outside the University the three institutions which have added most to Calcutta's fame and prestige are the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bose Institute and the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Much valuable work has also been done in the several scientific departments under State control which have been adorned by officers renowned for their ability and

attainments. If Calcutta was the pioneer, other provinces have not lagged behind and the presence here of this distinguished galaxy of talent from all parts of India bears ample testimony to the progress which has been already achieved.

It will however be unwise for us to assume that we have reached our goal or have even come near it. Indeed much more remains to be done if India is to contribute her legitimate share to the scientific knowledge of the world. It is not for me to discuss here in detail the form your future activities should take. But, if you will permit me, I shall mention for your consideration only two problems of outstanding importance which must be solved if we are to enhance our national efficiency and prosperity.

It has been said that the future of civilisation depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind and it becomes an urgent duty with you, who represent science in this ancient land of ours, to think out and promulgate practical methods for effecting this. It is for you to indicate how to develop "that questioning, impartial, problem-solving attitude of mind, which must obtain if truth and sanity are to rule the world." It should be as much your duty thus to contribute towards the making of the Indian Citizen as your privilege to closely relate science to our everyday life ; to regard it not as the special field of work for the gifted few but to make it the inheritance of the many. Poets are often said to be the guides of mankind in the realm of thought, for they give shape and form to men's ideas. The same is no less true of men of science, with this difference that, while poets may draw inspiration from the limitless fountain of imagination, science, though not without its romance, cannot deviate from accuracy and truth. It is for you to raise the standard of education ; to enrich its quality by interpreting the manifold discoveries of science to the lay public in non-technical language, preferably through our vernaculars ; to unfold how the secrets of Nature have been brought to light, how resolutely darkness has been chased away, how science, like sunshine before mist, has cleared away doubt and superstition and opened up a never-ending vista before despairing humanity. This is one of the problems to which I venture to draw your attention.

The other is concerned with the possibility—nay the imperative necessity—of an increasingly closer connection between the institutions you represent and the development of Indian industries. While it is true that by your original researches you have attained individual eminence, and some have acquired international reputation, inspiring others to follow your examples, it is time for you to consider what contributions you can make for the industrial regeneration of your country ; for the proper utilisation of the inexhaustible raw materials in which India abounds and which are at present being but partially utilised and that also not always to India's best advantage. Modern India asks you, have you considered the problem of helping the cause of our national progress not from the political platform where differences of opinion are bound to exist but from your quiet and peaceful

laboratories and from your organised workshops ? Have you considered how science should be applied towards the alleviation of poverty and sufferings of millions of your countrymen ? It is for you to undertake a systematic and scientific investigation of India's industrial problems, the solution of which would result in the improvement of our economic condition. Who are better fitted for this great work than you, who are expected to act inspired solely by the lofty motive of serving your country and humanity and not for personal gain or profit ? What nobler return can you give for all the facilities which you have been privileged to enjoy and for the confidence which your countrymen have reposed in you ?

Your responsibilities are indeed immense. You have taken upon yourselves the sacred task of widening the boundaries of knowledge. Your contributions are subjected to searching examination by the master minds of other countries which offer opportunities to their scholars on a scale which we have yet to attain. On you rests the maintenance of India's prestige and reputation as a home for scientific and technological study and research. You cannot remain satisfied with academic achievements only. India expects you to utilise your attainments in such a way as to benefit your country and humanity at large—to regard science not as a powerful instrument of destruction but as a vital factor for promotion of the good of mankind. To enable you to fulfil this noble mission, you are justly entitled to unstinted assistance from the people and from Government. As trustees of the precious heritage of knowledge, may you use your gifts in a manner which may not at any stage be marred by petty jealousies or unprofitable friction ; may you extend the usefulness of your organisation from more to more, cementing all differences and raising higher and higher the mighty fabric of the Temple of Truth and Service whose doors will be thrown open to all seekers of knowledge, irrespective of caste, creed or colour !

In requesting Your Excellency to open the Congress it is my fervent wish that it may continue to receive your benevolent sympathy and support which will be no small asset in its onward march towards expansion and progress.

# Miscellany

## THE SOCIAL INSURANCE POLICY OF TRADE UNIONS

At its Congress held in Brussels the International Federation of Trade Unions laid down a series of guiding principles to govern its social insurance policy.

The Federation noted that the wages paid to the workers are barely sufficient to meet their immediate needs and that it is impossible for them to accumulate any appreciable savings, and that compulsory social insurance is therefore the best way of protecting the working classes effectively against occupational and social risks.

It demanded the maintenance or institution of a system of compulsory insurance covering the risks of industrial accident and occupational disease, sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death and unemployment. Social insurance as a whole should fulfil the following functions; it should restore the health and earning capacity of the worker, provide the fullest possible compensation for the loss of earnings caused by the various evils covered by it, prevent the onset of these evils by means of precautionary measures, provide cash benefits either varying with wages or fixed at a flat rate, but in any case taking account of family burdens.

The funds required for sickness, maternity, invalidity old-age, survivors' and unemployment insurance could either be derived from the contributions of employers and insured persons, plus grants from public resources, or provided entirely by the State out of taxation, whichever method is the more appropriate to the country concerned. The cost of insurance against industrial accidents and occupational diseases should be borne by the employers alone.

As regards the administration of social insurance, the widest possible share should be allowed to the insured persons themselves. The representatives of the insured persons on the social insurance bodies must be nominated by the trade unions as the recognised defenders of the workers' interests.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

## PENSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

The number of pensions paid in Great Britain during 1929, is given below:

1. Widow pensions under Contributory Pensions' Act., 1925	...	270,977
2. Contributory Old Age pensions 65-70	...	558,470
3. Old Age Pensions, 70 and over, by virtue of Contributory Pensions' Act (irrespective of means, residence or nationality tests)	...	403,522
4. Children's allowances and orphans' pensions	...	274,295
5. Old Age pensions for the blind under 70	...	21,601
6. Old Age pensions at 70 and over under the Old Age Pensions Acts (1908-24)	...	920,816
Total		2,449,681

The additions to the pension list under the Act of 1929 were estimated as follows:—

1. New pre-Act widows' pensions	...	...	...	295,000
2. New wives' pensions	...	...	...	24,000
3. Relaxation of "average contributions" condition	...	...	...	20,000
4. Pensions extension for pre-Act widows with children	...	...	...	18,000
5. Full children's allowances in workmen's compensation cases	...	...	...	10,000
6. Removal of disqualifications for inmates of lunatic asylums	...	...	...	5,000
Total				372,500

The two lists together account for 2,822,181 persons.

The latest figures available for Great Britain are those for 1933, as follows:—

I. Old Age Pensions from Age 70 (in 1933):

A. By Old Age Pension Act, 1908-24:

(a) Men	...	...	...	221,886
(b) Women	...	...	...	555,719
Total				777,605
				...
				777,605

B. By Contributory Pensions Acts, 1925-31:

(a) Men	...	...	...	404,244
(b) Women	...	...	...	344,288
Total				748,532
				...
				748,532

II. Beneficiaries under the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts, 1925-31: (in 1932)

1. Widows:

(a) Contributory:	...	...	372,135
(b) Non-contributory:	...	...	322,645

2. Children:

(a) Contributory:	...	...	254,046
(b) Non-contributory:	...	...	79,797

3. 65-70 Pensioners:

(a) Men	...	...	...	429,644
(b) Women	...	...	...	257,373

Total	1,715,640	...	1,715,640
TOTAL			3,241,777

III. War-Pensioners (disabled officers and men, widows, dependants, orphans, nurses, etc.):

In 1933	...	...	...	...	1,107,000
GRAND TOTAL					4,348,777

In 1933 out of a total estimated population of 45,266,000 the number of pensioners (including the war pensioners) was, say, 4,348,777. The pensioners thus constituted 9·7 or nearly 10 per cent. of the total population. Excluding the war pensioners these "invalidity"—pensioners accounted for nearly 7·3 per cent. of the inhabitants.

The full rate of old age pension was fixed in 1914 at 5 shillings per week. Later it was fixed at 10 shillings.

In Great Britain to-day widows get 10 shillings per week. Children under 14 get allowances. The rates are 5 shillings per week for the first child and 3 shillings for every other child. As soon as a widow reaches the 70th year she is automatically placed on the old age list for which she gets the old age pension of 10 shillings, but she forfeits thereby the widows' pension. No woman can draw a widows' pension and an old age pension at the same time.

Under the Act of 1925 the state contribution to the pension fund was £4,000,000 per year until 1935-36. The following estimates of state aid were made for subsequent years :

1930-31	...	...	£9,999,999	per year
1936-45	...	...	£13,000,000	„ „
1942-43	...	...	£21,000,000	„ „

By 1946 Parliament is to determine the amount of state aid afresh.

The British budget on pension (excluding the Ministry of Pensions) is itemized below for the period from 1927 to 1930 :

Items.	1927-28. £	1928-29. £	1929-30. £
1. Old age pensions	32,870,148	34,091,615	35,537,000
2. Widows', orphans', and old age contributory pensions ... ..	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
Total	36,870,148	38,091,615	39,537,000

In 1929-30 there were altogether 2,822,181 pensioners. The average pension comes up to about £14-0-0 per year.

The pension account grew in the course of the next three years on account of the increase in the number of pensioners. For 1933 we get the following disbursements :—

I. Old Age Pensions from Age 70 :			
			£
A	...	...	21,979,000
B	...	...	18,556,000
	Total		40,335,000
II. Contributory Pensions			41,133,000
III. War Pensions	...		46,990,000
	GRAND TOTAL		128,658,000

In 1933 the pensions totalled £128,658,000. Per head of pensioner the amount was £29-10-0 or nearly £30. And as the 3,241,777 "invalidity" pensioners got £81,668,000 the amount per head was £25.

The Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 was saddled with a "means test." The pensionable age was 70. But nobody at this age was entitled to a pension if one possessed an income of nearly £14 per year. The means test has been continued for non-contributory pensioners even after the passing of the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act in 1925. Persons who do not contribute are entitled to a pension at 70 but only if they possess an income less than £50 per year.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR



## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Linguistics**: Selected Papers in English, French and German by Otto Jespersen: Levin and Munksgaard, Nørregade 6, Copenhagen, (Denmark), and George Allen & Union Ltd., Museum Street, London. 1933. Large Octavo, pp. 461.

Otto Jespersen's is an honoured name in present-day Linguistics, and this great scholar of Denmark, a small country which made a most conspicuous contribution to the linguistic science, who retired a little less than a decade from the chair of English language and literature in the University of Copenhagen, is an acknowledged authority on English Philology, in Phonetics and in other branches of Linguistics. Prof. Jespersen's books are well known in the domain of Linguistics, and his "Growth and Structure of the English Language" and to a lesser extent his valuable historical grammar of English have made his name familiar to thousands of Indian students. His original contributions to Linguistics in general or to English or other particular sides of the science are characterised by a singular suggestiveness supported by a wealth of examples or other carefully collected data and couched in a remarkable clarity and felicity of expression.

It was a good thought which will be appreciated by all admirers of his work and his scholarly personality to publish a selection from his papers and addresses as a suitable pendant to his important bigger publications. In the present volume the 21 papers range from 1886 to 1933, and the titles would indicate their scope: (1) Farewell Lecture (on the eve of his retirement)—a review of his scholastic life and work; (2) Karl Verner—an appreciation of the great linguistic scholar of Denmark; (3) the Study of the Mother-tongue in Denmark (in French); (4) On the History of Early Phonetics (German); (5) Presidential address before the *Modern Humanities Research Association*, London; (6) *Energetics of Speech* (German); (7) Review of Ferdinand de Saussure's 'Cours de Linguistique generale' (French); (8) The Individual and the Community (French); (9) Nature and System of Speech-sounds (German); (10) On the Question of Sound Laws (German), in three parts; (11) Verner's Law and the Nature of Accent (German); (12) Notes on Metre; (13) Adversative Conjunctions; (14) Symbolic Value of the Vowel *i*; (15) The System of Grammar; (16) Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives in English; (17) Monosyllabism in English; (18) Veiled Language; (19) A Supposed Feminine Ending; (20) A Marginal Note on Shakespeare's Language; and (21) Nature and Art in Language. There is an index. The work is sure to find a welcome place in the libraries of specialists, and it should also be in our college libraries, as the English articles at least will have some appeal to our professor and students with a taste for linguistic and literary studies. The printing is excellent, as also is the general get-up, and the book forms a fine example of Danish book-producing.

**Pundalik:** a verse-play by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, pp. 1-22. Reprinted from the *Shama'a* for January, 1924. Madras.

The story of Pundalik, or Pundarik, the graceless young man who through divine mercy became the most affectionate and most filial of sons and through whose piety Vishnu and Sri manifested themselves as Vithoba at Pandharpur, is one of the most beautiful in the Hindu *Golden Legend* of the Deccan, and it was a happy idea of Mr. Chattopadhyaya to adapt the story for a short English verse-play. It would be too much to expect that the spirit and the moral of the original story in its old Hindu setting would be kept intact in an English and a very modern adaptation, but we see enough of Mr. Chattopadhyaya's own particular quality—his facility and even his fire—to be able to appreciate it as a characteristic product of this distinguished Indian poet who has chosen to woo the muse through English.

S. K. C.

**The Dream Queen.** A translation of the *Svapnavasavadatta* of Bhasa. By A. G. Shirreff & Panna Lall. Second Edition. The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. 1933. Price 12 annas only.

It is gratifying to note that Bhasa's drama, translated by the two authors in English verse, and published in 1918, has been successfully produced at the Experimental Theatre of the Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, and that a second edition has been necessary. The version has been therefore before the public and received a certain amount of popular praise. Bhasa's simplicity of diction and naturalness of characterisation easily lend themselves to staging under modern conditions, and the translators deserve to be congratulated for their rendering. There are a few blemishes of print and diction but they are of little significance. It is hoped that other Sanskrit plays will be similarly translated by Messrs. Shirreff and Lall and introduced to the West under lucky auspices.

**The Gathas.** A metrical version in English, Sorabjee Pestonjee Kanga. Introduction by D. J. Irani, B.A., LL.B., Sole Agents: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1934.

The Gathas, important groups of metrical pieces containing the essence of the teachings of Zarathustra, have an abiding interest as a distinct branch of studies pertaining to a glorious period of the Faith; they have an abiding interest for the philologist, the historian, the student of ancient culture no less than for the devotee. Mr. Kanga has in this volume presented them in an English and metrical garb for the benefit of the public, and in this he has sought to accomplish what he has thought to be a filial duty. His father had been an enterprising and successful businessman; but his pursuit of business never interfered with his religious practices, and his benevolence kept pace with his beneficence. With the idea of paying homage to his father's memory Mr. Kanga has published his translation, relying not on the original text but on the Gujarati version, "Gatha ba maeni," with occasional changes as seemed necessary to him. The stanzas are regular, the scheme being *a b a b b c b c c*, and the choice of words generally happy. The translator's notes and the introduction, contributed by the distinguished scholar Mr. D. J. Irani, with a brief sketch of Zoroastrianism, will go far to help the general reader to understand and appreciate the version.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

**The Saiva School of Hinduism**, by S. Shivapada Sundaram, B.A., Emeritus Principal, Victoria College, Chulipuram, Ceylon, with a preface by T. S. Mackenzie, LITT. D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor in University College, Cardiff: pp. 189. (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 6s. net.)

This is an important work dealing with a somewhat neglected aspect of Hindu Religion and Philosophy, *viz.*, the Religion of the Saivas. According to the author's estimate Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism constitute the most important members of the group of religions which go by the name of Hinduism. Of these Saivism counts the largest number of followers both in India and Ceylon. Saivism in its orthodox form is now found in South India, Ceylon, Kashmir and Nepal.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter deals with *Mata* or doctrines and the second chapter with *samaya* or theistic union of soul with god. The next seven chapters are elucidatory of the Saiva views of the soul's goal of union with god. The last five chapters deal with *praxis* or *sādhana*, the methods of realising the spiritual ideal. There are also two appendices dealing with images and Mantra.

The author says in the Introduction that his purpose being "to present only that side of Saivism which has a direct bearing on daily life," the philosophical part of Saivism has not received the same degree of attention from him as its ethical and religious teachings. This indeed is true in a sense as one reads of union with god in almost every chapter of the book but never of any clear account of what this union is, whether it is pantheistic absorption or theistic communion and love, or a union of identity as well as difference. No doubt, the author speaks of different stages of ascent to complete union through the exercises of the *Dasa Marga* (the path of a servant), the *Putra Marga* (the path of the son), etc. All this however leaves the end or goal a beautifully vague consummation which the soul is exhorted to attain without any clear idea of what it is.

Despite these obvious philosophical deficiencies, the work makes good reading as a clear and persuasive exposition of the Saiva religious and ethical teachings in a form that is easily comprehensible to the modern reader. The author's account of the Saiva religion deserves special notice in this connection. Religion according to Saivism, says the author, "is the urge in living beings that leads them to their ultimate goal of perfection." By perfection the author means some sort of union with god, the urge towards this perfection in creatures being nothing but a manifestation of the Divine Love that draws all creatures towards god and withdraws them from the influence of the limiting principle of *Anava*. This is indeed a synthetic view of religion that unites in the concept of a universal upward urge towards God the diverse warring creeds of men as different manifestations of a common principle. The author's clear and able presentations of the Law of Karma is also deserving of special notice, though it must be confessed we have here too much of a naive confidence in an inherently moral universe that makes for perfection with a corresponding under-estimation of the naturalistic scientific view of the world as a play of blind forces.

In the absence of quotations or translations from authoritative Saiva works, it is difficult to judge the correctness and authenticity of some of the views expressed in the course of the exposition, but this is by no means a defect as the author as interpreter is entitled to put the Saiva views in the best light possible under the circumstances. An overnice

literalism is apt sometimes to overshoot its mark and the author has done well, in our view, to put comprehension before everything else.

S. K. MAITRA

**Six Poems of Sri Aurobindo.** Rameswar & Co., Chandernagore.

As the title indicates, this brings together six of Sri Aurobindo's poems, mostly recent, and one of them, we may note with pleasure, was published in this *Review* a few months ago. Along with the original poems in English, their Bengali versions are also given, done by some of Sri Aurobindo's disciples, who, by the way, are all well known to the literary public of Bengal.

Extracts from Sri Aurobindo's letters, explaining the metres used in the poems and also their significance, greatly add to the value of the book.

**The Teachings and the Asram of Sri Aurobindo**—with Bengali and Hindusthani versions and four photographs. Rameswar & Co., Chandernagore.

This pamphlet is an opportune publication indeed, explaining in brief but clear terms the ideals of the Asram of Sri Aurobindo and his teaching and it should help "to remove many misunderstandings" (for which purpose this book is plainly intended) "which seem to have grown up about his Asram in Pondicherry."

... "All houses of the Asram are owned either by Sri Aurobindo or by the Mother. All the money spent belongs either to Sri Aurobindo or the Mother..."

... "The Asram is not an association, there is no constituted body, no officials, no common property owned by an association, no governing council or committee, no activity undertaken of a public character."

"The Asram is not a political institution..... The Asram is not a religious association. Those who are here come from all religions and some are of no religion. There is no creed or set of dogmas, no governing religious body; there are only the teachings of Sri Aurobindo and certain psychological practices of concentration and meditation, etc., for the enlarging of the consciousness, receptivity to the truth, mastery over the desires the discovery of the divine self and consciousness concealed within each human being, a higher evolution of the nature."

*Nietzsche's Bani* (Message of Nietzsche, in Bengali), by Nalinikanta Gupta. Rameswar & Co., Chandernagore.

Those who do not find it convenient to read Nietzsche in original or in bigger volumes but would be acquainted with this message will certainly welcome this tiny volume, which has a number of quotations from Nietzsche's writings, all of them well-chosen (one always finds it more profitable to read the author's own writings, even in extracts, than reading half a dozen books about them), and also an essay by S. J. Gupta in which he attempts a comprehensive interpretation of Nietzsche's spirit and message.

PULINBEHARI SEN

**The Cambridge Modern History**, Vol. I. The Renaissance, Edited by Sir A. W. Ward, Sir G. W. Prothero and Sir Stanley Leathes, K.C.B. Cambridge University Press. Cheap Edition, 7s. 6d. net.

This book calls for no comment or criticism nor any new introduction to the public. It is the monumental Cambridge Modern History now offered to thousands of its readers in the form of a cheap edition, and is in fact a reprint, minus the bibliography, of the original issued thirty-two years ago, and re-issued several times afterwards. The present volume is priced at 7s. 6d. net, and is thus placed within easy reach of a larger number of readers. The print, paper and get-up are of standard quality, and would commend themselves to even the fastidious book-lover.

The present reprint, we are told in a note to the present volume, comprises the twelve volumes, together with Volume XIII, which contains the genealogical tables and general index. The bibliographies and the atlas volume are not included in this edition. The entire set of twelve volumes is priced at 90s.

N. R.

# Abstracts

## MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

In an article 'What is the use of Poetry?' in *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review* January, Mr. J. E. Barton incidentally gives a few characteristics of the modern English Poetry. Admitting that it cannot claim now a 'Galaxy of Poetic genius' as it did a century ago, he seeks to give an explanation and goes on:—

"The major creative powers of our own time are poured into non-literary channels. All over Europe, the outward forms of civilization are being transfigured wholesale by the collective efforts of modern architects, engineers, and constructive designers. Literature is not the characteristic art of this age. In preceding ages, until the end of the Tennyson period, there was a more or less homogeneous reading public—a definite, prepared and educated audience to which the poet might appeal and by whose verdict he was judged. There is nothing of that sort now. It is true that every few years, in what are vulgarly known as highbrow circles, we have novel literary cults, with their own jargon; but the mass of readers is broken up into bewilderingly various sections, with no common aims or standard to unite them. 'Great' poets, in the old sense of that word, could only exist when they had a large and united constituency of whose aspirations they were the mouthpiece. At the moment, our vast half-baked reading public—for most of whom the inheritance of reading itself is only fifty years old—is groping its way towards self-expression by studying compendiums of economics, or alleged popular explanations of the physical universe. That this social and intellectual welter will one day be unified, and that great new poets will arise to answer in a broad way its spiritual cravings, I have personally no doubt. But meanwhile, social conditions do not favour the existence of voluminous poets of classic rank. We have to be content with poets who are authentic, though their genius moves (so to speak) within a smallish orbit. If no poet now writing can be compared in importance with such poets as Wordsworth and Browning and Hardy, we have a surprising number of indubitably real poets, who within their limits respond to the sincere demands of that remnant of readers who seek emotional satisfaction through the art of verse.

"What qualities distinguish the real, though small-scale, poets of this age? One general gift they share is that of a wider and less timid diction than that of their immediate predecessors. We are going back to the seventeenth-century freedom and variety: the spirit which juxtaposes the serious and the humorous, the sacred and the secular, the agreeable and the ugly, with no hard lines of demarcation. Read Andrew Marvell's wonderful lines 'To His Coy Mistress,' with their inimitably subtle blend of deep feeling and playful irony, and you recognize the type of poetic art which is now returning to favour in a modern dress. Stevenson declared that the word 'hatter' was impossible for emotional verse: neither a seventeenth-century nor a twentieth-century poet would agree with him. Our poets no longer treat words as though they were candidates for some exclusive club, requiring the most careful social introductions before they can be admitted.

Tennyson calls a tea-kettle 'a fluttering urn,' but to-day such a phrase would only appear in definitely comic verse. And this wider freedom of vocabulary, which calls things by their plain names, and passes unhesitatingly from the sublime to the ordinary whenever the rhythm of the poet's thought demands it, is the vehicle of a style which is lyric rather than didactic, preferring images to arguments. The clear musical quality of such poems as Ralph Hodgson's 'Time, You Old Gipsy Man,' or 'The Bull,' is an excellent illustration of the modern poet's principle, that the idea should be dissolved in the image. No need to point the moral, if the magic of words and imagery has already created the atmosphere in which we can feel the moral for ourselves. W. H. Davies is another writer whose best verse achieves, apparently by the most simple means, the unity of image and thought.

" Know, all ye sheep  
And cows, that keep  
On staring that I stand so long  
In grass that's wet from heavy rain—  
A rainbow and a cuckoo's song  
May never come together again;  
May never come  
This side the tomb.

"Many of our contemporary poets just look at things, and thereby invite us also to look. John Drinkwater's 'Moonlit Apples,' and Edmund Blunden's 'The Barn,' are typical of what I mean. A direct picture is created; and just as the spiritual content of a good painting emerges, with no conscious analysis, from the total impression that the canvas makes on mind, so in such poems as these our sense of life's mysterious beauty is enhanced by what to the unthinking would seem no more than a plain scrutiny of something concrete. In one of his later prefaces Thomas Hardy refers to 'Coleridge's proof that a versification of any length neither can be nor ought to be all poetry.' We should not now put the matter quite in that way, but the meaning is clear enough. The modern poet is concerned with the effect of his poem as a whole. To assemble a select body of 'poetic' lines, each one carefully polished and adorned, is not necessarily to create the poem itself. In Masfield's 'Reynard the Fox,' when you read the description of the busy harness-room and the grooming of the horses, you are not reading poetry in the academic sense of that word. But the quick colloquialisms and realism, the zest and gusto and even 'the strong ammonia flavour,' contribute their vitality to the entire picture of life and humanity which it is the poet's aim to give you. This sort of concreteness, recalling the tavern scenes of the Dutch and Flemish 'little masters,' is a powerful ingredient of poetry as we now understand it, and as Shakespeare understood it.

"Another element in our poetry is what everybody now calls the psychological. Heaven forbid that poets should turn Freud into rhyme. Some of our intellectuals, who make the profound mistake of supposing that intellectualism is art, have produced verses that can only be described as a clever mixture of psycho-analysis and verbiage. But the whole history of poetry, and of the process by which certain poets have found their way to establishment as classics, reveals the fact that no new 'movement,' however interesting it may be from a social or philosophical or scientific point of view, can ever be dissolved into the substance of poetry until it has shed all its technicalities and has been absorbed into the daily unreflective consciousness of ordinary people. There is nothing in Thomas

Hardy's poems that could fairly be called an exposition of nineteenth-century science: yet no poet has so completely embodied, in terms of pure and simple art, those widespread influences of the evolutionary theory, which cause us (rightly or wrongly) to view man as 'a link in the chain of natural causes.' The genuine poet will never give us the sort of psychology which I once heard described, with happy flippancy, as 'gut-burrowing.' But whatever you call it, there is to-day a general awareness of inner mental experiences, often fugitive and only partially apprehended, which our fathers do not seem to have had. Walter de la Mare's verse is full of hints and intimations that lead us towards these more secluded recesses of emotional being. Endowed with extraordinary verbal gifts and a most delicate insight, he captures the flotsam of feeling and converts it into a gossamer beauty. When we read 'The Listeners,' we do not try to explain to ourselves the whole story: we feel as Lamb did, when he said that Coleridge ought never to have explained the first part of 'Christabel.' The characteristic poems of Mr. de la Mare all deal with the inner side of life, suggested to us by images and contacts of a childlike simplicity. If the function of literary art, as somebody once said, is 'to educate the sentiments,' we may say that such poems as 'The Scribe' or 'Arabia' or 'The Stranger' (which I only mention at random from dozens of similar virtue) have the effect of *intensifying* our susceptibility to normal as well as to unusual impressions. In the delightful short poem 'Farewell' he enjoins us:

"Look thy last on all things lovely,  
Every hour.

And this sums up what poetry can do for us. A secret quintessence of life is made to exude from sights and sounds to which we might have remained indifferent; and modern readers do not need, or try, to evaluate their pleasure by any logical or ethical standard. Like the mystic in religion, they know that their experience is good: its value is a matter of certitude, not of proof."

#### INDIA AND THE ORIGINS OF CIVILIZATION.

In the January number of *The Indian Review* (Madras, Monthly), Dr. Gilbert Slater, in an article entitled, 'India and the Origins of Civilization,' refers to the discoveries at Mohenjo Daro and comments:

"We have then the knowledge now of three, instead of only two, most ancient centres of civilization, from which nearly all, if not quite all, subsequent civilisations have developed. But what about the relations between those three? The one fact which is clear is that the Sumerian and Indian civilizations must have had a common origin; one must have been derived from the other, or both must have been derived from some third birth-place, perhaps one still undiscovered. But how were both of these related to ancient Egypt? Here we come within the range of a long-standing archæological controversy.

"Prof. Elliot Smith and Prof. W. J. Perry, both strong advocates of the theory of the diffusion of any given element of culture from one source only, as opposed to that of independent discovery or invention in various places, hold that both Sumerian and Indian civilisations were derived from Egyptian, the former being brought by Egyptian sailors who had learnt the art of navigation on the Nile, and who explored the shores of Arabia in search of metals, pearls and aromatic gums, which were believed to



have magical life-giving and life-preserving qualities, and who ultimately established settlements on the banks of the lower Euphrates. Sumerian explorers later, he opines, travelling eastwards on a similar quest, arrived at the banks of the Indus, and founded the city of Harappa in the Punjab.

"This view is, however, strongly controverted by the Assyriologists, who are able to put forward evidence, believed by them to be conclusive, that Sumerian civilisation, required by Elliot Smith's theory to be much more recent than that of Egypt, is in reality the more ancient. If they are right, it does not follow that Egyptian civilisation is derived from Sumerian, for it has on it so distinctively the marks of evolution in its own unique environment, that of the narrow Nile Valley, of fertile land enriched by the annual overflow of the river and flanked on both sides by arid and barren deserts, that it can have owed only its most primitive beginnings to any outside source. The Assyriologists, however, appear to endorse Elliot Smith's opinion that ancient Indian culture was an offshoot of Sumerian. But from that doctrine Sir John Marshall, who is of all archæologists the best informed on the subject, vigorously dissents.

"The problem is approached from another point of view by Prof. H. J. Fleure and Mr. Harold Peake in their "Corridors of Time." They remind us that the first step towards the attainment of a settled life, and the more rapid progress in useful arts which constitute civilisation, must have been the cultivation of some cereal, perhaps rice in China and maize in America, but certainly wheat in Western Asia, and either wheat or barley in the Nile Valley. They then point out that this preliminary step, pretty certainly, was not taken in any low lying river valley, covered with dense vegetation until cleared by man, but on more open ground on the slopes of hills, where wild wheat or wild barley grew. They selected, as the probable birth-place of wheat cultivation, an area where wild wheat, called "emmer," can still be found, on the hills which bound the Upper Euphrates Valley. From that centre, they think, the art of cultivation spread down the Euphrates, and through Syria and Palestine into Egypt, and as the richer lands of the plains were opened up, settled communities established on the banks of great rivers, which were linked together when men took to boat-building, grew into cities which became the homes of advanced civilisation."

Here the writer refers to Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, the Cambridge Professor of Bio-Chemistry from whose volume of essays, entitled 'The Inequality of Man,' he gives quotations to show that one of the centres from which the more important group of wheats is derived is in or near South-Eastern Afghanistan. Elsewhere in the same book, Prof. Haldane specifies 'the areas of the more important original centres of wheat cultivation' as 'the fold between the Hindukush and the Himalayas,' the Punjab and the neighbouring hill country. Dr. Slate concludes:

"The conclusions which follow from this new evidence with regard to the original home of other cultivated wheats and of the plants mentioned above are more striking, and more interesting, specially to Indians. They show that the civilisation based on the cultivation of the more important wheats began in the Punjab, and spread thence down the river Indus to Scinde, and that Mesopotamia learnt from India the art of civilisation. Further, since Sumerian civilisation is pretty certainly older than Egyptian, it follows that Indian pre-Vedic civilisation is the most ancient of all, and that to Dravidian pioneers in the life-giving arts of peace, the world owes more of its material prosperity than to the people of any other race or country."

# News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and outside.]

## **Anthropologist honoured**

The French Government have honoured the Indian Anthropologist, Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who retired from the Calcutta University two years ago, by nominating him a Fellow of the French Academy. The Minister of National Education of France has just issued in his name a brevet of "Officier d'Academie."

## **Co-education favoured**

An appeal for the introduction of co-education in primary schools in India with a view to removing the present inequality between men and women was made by Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji in an address to the All-India Women's Conference which opened at Karachi on December 29 last.

Women of India, she said, should press the Government to make larger provision for the education of girls.

Mrs. Faridoonji favoured the establishment of a "cultural college where girls, after leaving school, could specialize in two or three subjects, one of which should be of such a character as would enable them to take up some useful occupation. She recommended the formation of a representative committee to inquire into the remodelling of primary and secondary education, and submit a report. The latest European and American methods might also be examined and a scheme evolved to suit present conditions in India.

## **Primary Education in Mysore**

Presiding at the last educational week at Shimoga, Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, Director of Public Instruction, Mysore, said that primary education was the birth-right of every citizen like pure water, sanitation and medical relief. In Mysore State, he said they were maintaining 6,256 schools with 9,606 teachers and 246,273 pupils at a total cost of Rs. 23,00,000. He was however not satisfied with this state of affairs and thought that the system was capable of much improvement and expansion.

## **Indian Education Conference**

The authorities of the various educational institutions of Nagpur have decided to invite the 11th session of the All-India Educational Conference to Nagpur next year.

**Physiological Society of India**

A Society named "The Physiological Society of India," had been started in Calcutta in July last year, and was registered in December. This society aims at promoting and organising researches in Physiological and Bio-chemical problems of India by enlisting the co-operation of Physiologists and Biochemists working in the various laboratories of India and also of those scientists and medical men who take an interest in these two basic medical sciences. The society had already arranged four ordinary meetings in which several important contributions by research workers were discussed. The office-bearers of the society are:—

*President* :—S. C. Mahalanobis, Esq., B.Sc. (Edin.), F.R.S.E., I.E.S. (retd.), Professor of Physiology, the University of Calcutta and Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

*Vice-Presidents* :—(1) Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., formerly Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. (2) Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari, Kt., M.A., M.D., Ph.D., Professor of Tropical Medicine, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta. (3) Sir Kedarnath Das, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., F.C.O.G., Principal, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta. (4) Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D. (Cal.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), Professor of Medicine, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta. (5) Dr. H. E. C. Wilson, Professor of Bio-Chemistry, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health.

*Secretaries* :—(1) N. C. Bhattacharji, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Physiology, Presidency College, Calcutta (2) N. M. Basu, Esq., M.Sc., Professor of Physiology, Presidency College, Calcutta.

*Assistant Secretary* :—Dr. P. N. Brahmachari, M.Sc., M.B., P.R.S.

*Treasurer* :—Dr. B. B. Sarkar, D.Sc. (Edin.), F.R.S.E., Lecturer in Physiology, University of Calcutta.

The Executive Committee of the Society consists of the above office-bearers and eleven other members representing various institutions.

**Indian Economic Association**

The annual meeting of the Indian Economic Association held at Patna on Dec. 29, last, accepted the invitation of Dacca University to hold the Nineteenth Economic Conference there. The Conference will be held between December 31, 1935, and January 2, 1936, the exact date to be settled and announced later by Dacca University. The subject to be selected for discussion will be the Economic and Financial Aspects of the New Constitution, Wages in Relation to Costs, Land Tenures: Historical and Modern, the Structure of Indian Industry and a current topic to be decided later. The Association has unanimously elected the following office-bearers for 1935:—Mr. Manohar Lal, Ex-Minister of Education, Punjab (President), Dr. L. C. Jain (Secretary), and an Executive Committee of twelve representing various Indian universities. The Indian Economic Conference, considered a proposal for the formation of an organization for the study of population problems, and formed a committee consisting of the following, with powers to co-opt members, to convene a preliminary conference with a view to bringing into existence a separate organization (Institute of Population Research) for scientific investigation of population problems: Mr. Manohar Lal, Mr. K. T. Shah, Professor C. N. Vakil, Dr. B. N. Kaul, Dr. H. L. Dey, Dr. Gyanchand and Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjea.

**Allahabad University**

At a meeting held on Dec. 29 last, the Executive Council of the Allahabad University considered the letter received from the Secretary, Unemployment Committee, U. P., to the Vice-Chancellor, requesting the University authorities to submit a memorandum on the question of unemployment to the Committee and to nominate three members of their staff to appear before the public sittings of the Committee. The Council decided that the letter of the Secretary be circulated to all the members of the teaching staff so that those members who are desirous to appear as witnesses may do so in their individual capacity and authorized the Vice-Chancellor to call a Committee to consider the form of memorandum to be submitted to the Unemployment Committee if it is considered at all necessary. The Council considered the Academic Council's resolution favouring the formation of an advisory board to advise intending candidates for the Competitive Examinations held by the Public Service Commission (India) especially the Indian Civil Service Examination. It accepted the principle underlying the proposal which was originally forwarded to the University authorities by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India on the recommendation of the Inter-University Board. The Council decided to recommend to the authorities concerned that they approved of the suggestion of the Academic Council that subjects like Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Pali be included as optionals for the Indian Military Academy Examination.

**Education in Bengal, 1932-33**

An interesting review of the progress of education in Bengal has been furnished by the Bengal Publicity Board. It shows that Bengal is definitely taking an increasing interest in the education of her people. Owing to the prevailing economic distress and the consequent fall in revenue, Government had to curtail their expenditure under all heads possible. This accounted for the decrease in expenditure on public instruction in 1932-33 as compared with the previous year. Certain communities have remained more or less stationary while others have taken tremendous strides forward.

It is more or less true of the "educationally advanced" Hindus. The number of their pupils has not shown much variation during the last decade. The backward classes are now fully alive to the need for education. The number of their pupils has increased by rapid strides. In 1922, it was 82,852; in 1927, 344,179; in 1932, 440,054 and in 1933, 437,220. For every one of their number at school in 1922 there are now 5. The Namasudras and Pods in particular among the backward classes have taken full advantage of the facilities available and are helping themselves by founding more schools and providing scholarships for their children. The advance of Mahomedans is also noticeable. They have nearly doubled their enrolment and the percentage of those under instruction to the total population has risen from 3.5 in 1922 to 5.2 in 1932 and to 5.3 in 1933. The proportion of Mahomedan scholars to the total number of scholars is now 51.7 which is not far from 54.8, the percentage of Mahomedans to the total population.

It is a striking feature in the education of this country that there is appalling illiteracy among the masses side by side with people who in the sphere of higher education can hold their own against any other people in the world. To lay the entire blame on paucity of funds will certainly not

be a fair explanation of the position. The number of primary schools in the province is quite adequate for universal education, and if only pupils who entered could have continued till the end of the full primary course, the problem of illiteracy would have been solved long ago. But, unfortunately, people in the country are so poor that they cannot afford to keep away their wards from work for that length of time with the inevitable result that they have very little education and what little they acquire they forget in the atmosphere of village life. Moreover, those who learn anything find the dull village life distasteful and tend to drift to the town and the standard of literacy in the village therefore remains as low as before. Though it is a happy sign that increasing attention is being paid to the stage of education which affects the masses, the problem of education in Bengal is still a difficult one, closely interwoven as it is with her economic conditions. Any effort that will be directed towards the economic recovery of the province will therefore go a long way towards the solution of this problem.

#### Indian Institute for Medical Research

The Secretary, Indian Institute for Medical Research writes :—

“Eminent public and scientific men of the country—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. A. R. Dalal, Sir Nilratan Sircar and others—issued an appeal last year for public support to a scheme for the establishment of an Indian Institute for Medical Research. The generosity of some of our countrymen, and of the Sir Dorab Tata Trust, has now made it possible to start the Institute in the first week of January, 1935, and it will be located in temporary premises at 41, Dharamtala Street, later shifting to a more suitable and commodious block of buildings, for which negotiations are proceeding. The funds obtained so far do not permit the opening of all the proposed departments immediately. For the present, the Institute will start with the research departments of Bacteriology and Protozoology, together with the diagnostic department. To these it is proposed to add the departments of “Chemotherapy,” “Biochemistry and Nutrition,” “Experimental Pharmacology and Indigenous Drugs Inquiry” and “Tuberculosis” as funds become available. It will be recalled that the scheme envisages the establishment and running of the Institute on the plan of the Pasteur Institute of Paris. A total sum of Rs. 1,25,000 will be necessary for starting the Institute. So far as the recurrent annual expenditure is concerned, the scheme provides for making the Institute self-supporting from the second or third year. That is proposed to be done by having a manufacturing annexe for standardized biological products. It has been estimated that the proceeds from the diagnostic department and the manufacturing annexe will be adequate for the maintenance of the Institute. The Institute is an all-India organization and it is proposed to offer facilities for research, as far as funds allow, to workers drawn from all parts of India. The research work will bear on both basic problems and problems of immediate importance to the Indian people. The researches will be published in different journals and also in the ‘Transactions of the Indian Institute for Medical Research,’ which will be periodically issued. The promoters of the scheme realise the importance of making this work available to the general public from time to time in clear, non-technical language, as far as possible. The Institute will provide for a very important section, which will be entrusted with the dissemination

of the knowledge of hygiene and of preventive measures among the masses of the country. The Institute will make every effort to further the cause of science and service. Though hearty response has been evoked by the appeal published last year, the sum obtained still falls short of the funds required. Contributions and donations will be gratefully acknowledged by the Secretary."

#### Education in Bihar, 1933-34.

The fact that the economic depression continued to assist in the growth of the number of secondary schools, many graduates and undergraduates in villages and towns taking to the profession of teaching on low pay failing other avenues of employment is revealed in the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, for the year 1933-34.

The total number of students, reading in schools and colleges, showed a rise of 15,688 over 1,118,221 of the previous year. Expenditure on education also rose to Rs. 1,69,49,133 against Rs. 1,67,08,763. Out of this some 32.51 per cent. was spent from Government funds.

The number of recognised schools decreased by 185 but the total number of schools rose by 178 i.e., to 31, 573.

The number of primary schools of all classes for boys and girls, both Indian and European, fell from 27,426 to 27,173 but the number of pupils in them rose from 891,231 to 895,164; the direct expenditure rose from Rs. 55,14,791 to Rs. 55,43,500. The number of primary schools for Indian boys fell from 25,004 to 24,759 but the number of pupils rose from 826,846 to 830,510; the direct expenditure rose from Rs. 49,77,160 to 50,09,206. The recurring grants for primary education made to local bodies amounted to Rs. 33,25,178, against Rs. 31,22,374 in the previous year.

The work done in the primary schools was of very good quality. One inspector reported the gradual introduction of the play-way and the story method of teaching reading to beginners. The use of manuscript word-cards, locally prepared reading sheets, beautifully illustrated simple stories and counting sheets and materials have done much to break the monotony and dullness of school work for beginners.

The education of Indian girls and women again showed a slow but steady improvement. There was an increase of 1,084 girls in the number attending girls' schools during the past year, the total being 75,960 compared with 74,876 girls in the preceding year. There was an even greater increase in the number of girls reading in colleges and schools for boys, viz., 5,426, the figures being 63,926 this year and 58,500 in 1932-33, an interesting indication of the progress made in co-education.

#### Inter-University Debates

Representatives of Calcutta, Lahore, Lucknow, Aligarh, Agra and Delhi Universities took part in a debate organized by the Literary Union of Hindu College of Delhi, the proposition debated being "that Socialism is the only means of political emancipation." Mr. D. M. Chatterji, of Calcutta University, obtained the first prize while the second and third prizes went to Mr. Baldeo Kapur of Lahore and Mr. Hasan Turab Ali of Delhi, respectively. In another debate held at the Law College, on January 19 last, the proposition discussed was "that Imperialism is a stumbling block in the

way of the federation of man." The Law College of Calcutta won the prize, a miniature Kutub Minar.

#### Indian Philosophical Congress

His Excellency Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, opened the tenth session of the Philosophical Congress on December 20 last. Dr. John Mackenzie, Principal of Wilson College, presided. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, who is chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, welcomed the delegates.

#### Mr. E. B. Havell

The death occurred on Dec. 30 last of Mr. E. B. Havell, formerly of the Indian Educational Service, at the age of 73. Coming to India in 1884 as Superintendent of the Madras School of Art, he conducted an inquiry into the indigenous arts and industries of India before coming to Calcutta, in 1896, as Principal of the Calcutta School of Art and Keeper of the Government Art Gallery. Mr. Havell took a leading part in initiating a movement for the revival of hand-loom weaving and, as a Fellow of the Calcutta University, drew up the report of a Committee appointed by Government to revise the scheme of vernacular education in Bengal. He retired in 1906 but offered his services to the country during the War and was, from 1916 to 1923, a member of the British Legation at Copenhagen.

#### Allahabad Museum

The Allahabad Municipal Museum received some of the archaeological antiquities of Sarnath and other places from the Director-General of Archaeology as well as from other sources. A large number of old Tibetan paintings and bronzes from Tibet, Nepal and South India have been added to the Museum's collections.

#### Primary Education at Chittagong

A report on the progress of free and compulsory primary education among boys and girls of the Chittagong municipal area during 1933-34 states that out of the total of 3,100 boys between the ages of six and eleven according to the census of 1931, 2,853 boys were reading in the municipal primary schools and night schools, and 425 boys were studying in the primary section of the high and middle schools of the town. In all 3,278 boys were reading in the educational institutions of the town, in other words, the number of boys exceeded the census figure by 178. Out of a total of 2,600 girls between the ages of six and eleven within the municipal area (again according to the census of 1931), 1,751 girls were reading in the municipal primary schools, that is, about 67 per cent. of the girls were in school. Two model girls' schools were started during the year in accordance with a scheme sanctioned by the Government. Since 1928, when compulsion for boys' attendance in schools was enforced, it appears that the number of boys in

Class II has doubled. There have also been increases in the numbers in Classes III and IV, and in the number of girls in the higher classes.

#### Indian Economic Conference

Presiding at the 18th session of the Indian Economic Conference held at Patna on Dec. 26th Professor C. N. Vakil said that events in the world in general and in India in particular indicated a trend towards a new economic order. Among other things, he said that there was also a complete absence of systematic study of economic problems and the existing arrangements for leading public opinion were wholly inadequate. Compared with foreign universities, the equipment and resources for economic studies in the universities in India were very poor. And even the limited resources available could not be utilized for a wider purpose because one class of teachers were poorly equipped and a second class, well-equipped and in a position to do useful work were poorly paid and often over-worked. A third class—chiefly teachers in the superior grades of the Government service—were both well-equipped and highly paid but were hindered by restrictions on the free expression of opinion. The scientific worker, he said, should be allowed to express his opinion freely, irrespective of persons and parties. The fourth class—teachers working in the universities and private institutions—were both well-equipped and well-paid but they were comparatively few. They had opportunities for independent thought and facilities for work which, though poor compared with those available in the West, might be characterized as good under the present conditions.

Professor Vakil pleaded for the raising of academic economists in public esteem and the provision of sufficient facilities to encourage and develop the work of this class of teachers and institutions. For this purpose he suggested the endowment of chairs and fellowships for research work in economic problems. He suggested also the expansion of economic departments of universities and colleges by the appointments of specialists in different branches ; the employment of a special research staff for the study of current problems by commercial and political bodies in the country ; the encouragement of research publications ; consultation with the experts on a footing of equality by the Government commercial bodies or political organizations ; and the improvement of the Government machinery for the collection and publication of economic and statistical information.

#### Aligarh University Convocation

The Hon. Sir Shah Mohammed Salaiman, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, in his address at the annual convocation of Muslim University at Aligarh, declared that the time was gone when the merely literary or scientific education imparted in most of the Indian educational institutions could suffice to find work for educated youngmen or women and that the whole system of education required drastic overhauling.

The existing institutions which impart merely general education, he urged, must be transformed into semi-vocational institutions, so as to equip students for various callings and occupations.

The secondary schools throughout the country, he continued, are designed pre-eminently to provide purely literary education and qualify



matriculates for admission to the universities, and not so much to give them training to adapt themselves to occupations and callings. The existing schools have no doubt contributed to the progress of secondary education on a large scale but it is in consequence of these very schools that the problem of unemployment has been so acute, boys are taken away from their hereditary occupations and given nothing but a smattering of literary education instead. If the type of education imparted by the schools were changed, their output could be absorbed into agricultural, industrial and commercial activities.

Some vocational training should be made compulsory so that no student should be allowed to pass out of school without having learnt some art or craft on which he could fall back, if he could not afford to prosecute his studies further. The curriculum of the High Schools should include vocational training, and the examination should not be a mere test for admission to universities as it is at present. The problem of unemployment would be solved to a large extent, if instead of creating in their minds a contempt for their trade, the students were given some special training for it, and were made more fitted to go back to it.

#### Indian Science Congress

There were a number of discussions and meetings on interesting subjects when the Indian Science Congress met at Calcutta on January 3 last.

Standardization of Courses in Geology for university examinations was discussed at the request of the Inter-University Board of India. On the same day there was a meeting for considering the foundation of the Indian Society of Soil Science. On January 4, a symposium was held on the North Behar Earthquake, 1934, in which members of the Mathematics, Physics and Geology sections took part. The teaching of elementary Biology in India was debated upon on January 5, and on January 7, the members of the Chemical and Medical sections met to discuss the theory of Vitamin.

His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal were the patrons of the Congress while Dr. J. H. Hutton, Deputy Commissioner, Assam, was the president of the Calcutta session. Dr. F. J. F. Shaw, Director, Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, was the president of the section for Agriculture ; Dr. N. R. Sen, Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics, Calcutta University, was the president of the section for Mathematics and Physics ; Dr. A. C. Sarkar, Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta, was the president of the Chemistry section ; Diwan Ananda Kumar, reader in Zoology, Punjab University, was the president of the Zoology section ; Dr. J. H. Mitter, University Professor of Botany, Allahabad University, was the president of the Botany section ; Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Assistant Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, was the president of the Geology section ; Major K. R. K. Iyengar, Director, Pasteur Institute of Southern India, the president of the Medical and Veterinary Research section ; Mr. G. S. Ghurye, Head of the Department of Sociology, Bombay University, was the president of the Anthropology section ; and Dr. S. C. Mitra, Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University College of Science, Calcutta, was the president of the Psychology section.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, was the chairman of the Reception Committee while Prof. S. K. Mitra, Khaira

Professor of Physics, Calcutta University, and Principal B. M. Sen of the Presidency College, Calcutta, were local secretaries.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Congress at the Senate Hall, Calcutta University, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of scientists from different parts of India. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal also attended.

The most important thing in connection with the Congress was the foundation of a National Institute of Sciences of India. The National Institute was formally inaugurated by His Excellency Sir John Anderson in the Senate House of the Calcutta University on January 7, and its first ordinary general meeting was held in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on January 8 last. The foundation of the Institute puts an end to all controversy regarding the formation of a National Institution for the organization of Science in India and to effect co-ordination between Scientific Academies, Societies, Institutions and Government Scientific Departments and Services, and generally to act as the National Research Council of India.

#### All-India Education Conference

Rao Bhadur Thakur Singh Chain Singh, Senior Minister of Jodhpur State, presiding at the tenth All-India Education Conference held on Dec. 27 last, said that there was not much chance of modern democratic institutions being successful in India unless those responsible worked for the educational advancement of the people and produced a democracy capable of understanding not only the privileges but also the responsibilities of citizenship.

Sir Fazl-Hussain, Education Member, Government of India, opened the Conference.

A large number of delegates representing various provincial associations including those in many Indian States, were present. Several women delegates were also present to give their views on women's education.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Chain Singh said that the signal honour which had fallen to him, a subject of an Indian State, of presiding at the Conference was symbolical of the growing realization in the country that British India and the Indian States were intimately connected with one another in most matters affecting national progress and, particularly, education.

He said that it furnished a platform on which they could meet in a spirit of comradeship for fighting the forces of ignorance. He hoped that when the Federation materialized they would have greater opportunities for such co-operation in important nation-building activities.

Important resolutions were passed and interesting topics discussed. Principal P. Seshadri, of Ajmere Government College, suggested that colleges should co-operate to create a Federal University so that a unitary system of instruction might be found which would suit the varying interests of India. Principal K. G. Sayigi Bain of the Aligarh Teachers' Training College discussed the new movements and forces which were operating nationally and internationally to reshape education throughout the world. The need of eliminating the waste of time and effort in India's educational system was emphasized by Sir George Anderson (Education Commissioner with the Government of India). While there had been substantial progress in many directions, said Sir George, there was still cause for great disquietude, especially in the disappointing headway being made against illiteracy and the congestion of the universities by students unfitted to benefit from the

teaching there. "The solution," he declared, "is to provide separate stages of education, each with a well-defined objective and to ensure that pupils shall attain the objective of each stage which they attempt."

**All-India Libraries Conference.**

Raja Kshitindradeb Rai Mahasai of the Bansberia-Raj, Hoogly, is one of the initiators of the Library Movement in India. To the ninth All-India Library Conference which lately held its sittings at Madras he sent the following message :

This is the age of Democracy. National consciousness has been aroused all over the world. Young and old are stirred by this national feeling which rightly or wrongly has to be recognised. In recognising this it must be remembered that there is need for directing this consciousness along right lines. No better way, no path so good towards progress, can be devised to help along our young men than the study of books. In 1891 I recognised this by founding a library in my native place and the Bansberia Public Library now contains several thousands of books. I know how much this is valued. The Library building is a meeting place for young and old. While the way is long, it has to be remembered that a journey of 1,000 miles begins with one foot-step. We are on the way that is the way of progress. I therefore wish my fellow-workers and countrymen every success in their efforts to make life more interesting than it has been and by doing that we make the world a better one to live in. As an old man I give the movement and its organisers my blessings.

# Gurselves

[I. University's Loss—II. Calcutta University Foundation Day Celebrations—III. The University Crest—IV. Election of Fellows by Registered Graduates—V. New Fellows—VI. University Representative on the Inter-University Board—VII. Our New Minto Professor of Economics—VIII. Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Physics—IX. Madam Halide Edib Adnan—X. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Science, 1933—XI. Indian Philosophical Congress, 1935—XII. Annual Convocation, 1935—XIII. Annual Grant to Non-Government Colleges—XIV. Co-education and the Assam Government—XV. Calcutta Students' Mess Scheme—XVI. The University and Next Election to Provincial Legislature—XVII. Sir P. C. Ray Fellowship in Chemistry—XVIII. Doctor Birendranath Datta Memorial Medal.]

## UNIVERSITY'S LOSS

The month of January has been, in a sense, one of great loss to the University. Three of our stalwarts passed out of the land of living, one calamity following quickly upon another. We mourn the deaths of Sir Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, Khan Bahadur Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi and Mr. Jyotiprosad Sarvadhikary.

Sir Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, KT., M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, who by his charming personality had endeared himself to all who knew him, died on 6th January last, after a brief spell of illness, at the age of fifty-five. A son of Hazrat Maulana Obeidulla-al-Obeidi Suhrawardy, Sir Abdullah distinguished himself at Dacca Madrassah and then at Dacca College, where he received his early education. Later he proceeded to England and was educated at University College and King's College, London. He enlarged his continental experience by sojourning in France, Germany, Austria, Constantinople and Cairo. He was called to the bar at Gray's Inn. During his stay in England Sir Abdullah founded the Pan-Islamic Society of London. Returning to Calcutta loaded with honours, he joined the High Court as a Barrister. He was one of the two distinguished persons who were the first to be admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University in 1908, his thesis being *Sources of Muslim Law*. In 1911 he was appointed Tagore Professor of Law in this University. As Professor of Islamic History in the Post-Graduate department, as a Fellow of the University, as the Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and as the author of *Sayings of Muhammad* and of other valuable works he enjoyed a reputation second to none in the academic world. He will also be remembered as the donor of the Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal, of which he himself was the first recipient in

1919, jointly with Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barister-at-Law, on a Thesis entitled—*The Story of Nala as narrated by Vyāsa and Faizi—a comparison and a contrast.*

Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy had also a distinguished political career. He was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1910 and was a member of that body till 1926. In the same year he was elected to the Legislative Assembly where he sat till his death, representing the Moslems of West Bengal. He was a member of Lord Southborough's Reforms Committee and also of the Indian Central Committee, co-operating with the Simon Commission. He was created a Knight in 1931.

The Syndicate before proceeding to the business of the meeting held on 18th January adopted the following Resolution:—

The Syndicate place on record their deep sense of sorrow at the death of Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy, KT., M.A., PH.D., D.LITT, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, who by his many-sided activities rendered valuable services to the University in particular and to the country in general, and offer their heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family.

Sympathetic reference to his death was also made at the Annual Meeting of the Senate held on 26th January last. "Sir Abdullah," said the Vice-Chancellor, "was not only a great scholar, but a man who had a large heart and a very broad vision, who worked whole-heartedly for the welfare of this University whenever his services were required."

Khan Bahadur Aga Muhammad Kazim Shirazi, originally a native of Persia, chose Calcutta as his venue of work. A distinguished Persian scholar, he was connected with the now defunct Board of Examiners that used to hold language tests for Government officers. He was Post-Graduate Lecturer in Persian at the Calcutta University for the last twenty-five years, retiring from service in July last year. He was, until his death, a Fellow of this University. "His death," the Vice-Chancellor remarked at the Annual Meeting of the Senate, "was a loss not only to Persian scholarship but also to the cause of teaching in the Calcutta University." Reference to his death was made at the meeting of the Syndicate on 18th January and a Resolution recording "their deep sense of sorrow" was adopted.

Mr. Jyotiprosad Sarvadhikary, M.A., B.L., was a distinguished Advocate of the Calcutta High Court and Senior Professor of Hindu Law in University Law College. Educated at the Hare School and the Presidency College, Calcutta, Mr. Sarvadhikary took his M.A. degree in 1885 and B.L. in 1887 and was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in 1889 where by sheer dint of merit, he soon became an illustrious member of

the Vakil Bar and commanded a large practice. He devoted most of his time and intellect to the work of a jurist. With the establishment of the University Law College the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee chose Mr. Sarvadhikary as a Lecturer in Hindu Law for the new college, to which post he adhered till death, becoming latterly Professor of Hindu Law. His edition of the late Professor Raj Kumar Sarvadhikary's Hindu Law of Inheritance has been acclaimed as a hall-mark of his attainments as a jurist. Mr. Sarvadhikary was also a recognised authority on Constitutional Law. He was elected an Ordinary Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1909 and, with the new University Act coming into force, he became its Honorary Fellow.

The Syndicate at their meeting held on 18th January adopted a resolution recording their deep sense of loss and sorrow at his death. Sympathetic reference was also made at the Annual Meeting of the Senate by the Vice-Chancellor, who described him as a "pillar of strength" to the University Law College.

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## II. CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION DAY CELEBRATIONS.

The 24th January, 1935, was a glorious day in the Annals of the University of Calcutta. For the first time in a long span of seventy-seven years it celebrated on that date its Foundation Day amidst scenes of unprecedented splendour and enthusiasm. His Excellency the Chancellor, Sir John Anderson, presided on the occasion.

Elaborate arrangements were made by the University authorities befitting the occasion and the entire programme was gone through smoothly. A stadium was erected on the Maidan on a portion of the ground bounded on the east by the Red Road, on the north by Esplanade, on the west by Plassey Gate Road and on the south by the Hockey ground of the Women's Hockey Association. At 7-30 in the morning, students from different colleges in the city numbering over 1,500 assembled at the grounds to the south of the Presidency College. At about 8 A.M. the Route March began, the University Band leading. In the forefront of the procession was the University banner, while each college bore its own banner with its name thereon. The whole route from College Street to the Maidan was thronged with thousands of spectators, and house-tops and balconies were overcrowded. The column arranged in fours reached the arena at about 9 A.M. His Excellency the Chancellor arrived at 9-15 A.M. and was received by the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. At 9-15 the March Past began, with the girl students of the Asutosh College robed in blue-bordered *sari* leading, followed by the

girl students of the Vidyasagar College wearing red-bordered Khaddar sari. As the students filed past the University banner posted in front of the Chancellor, His Excellency rose from his seat and watched the march with keen interest. The march lasted about twenty minutes, after which the Vice-Chancellor addressed the gathering.

It was a soul-stirring speech delivered with mighty lungs, and the whole cultured audience was held spell-bound for over quarter of an hour. In that short but forceful harangue the Vice-Chancellor recalled in glowing terms the past achievements of the University tracing its development stage by stage and clinched his speech by an expression of optimism for the glorious future that awaits the University as the sustaining spring of our corporate life and national solidarity.

His Excellency the Chancellor next addressed the gathering.<sup>1</sup> The speech was marked by His Excellency's deep appreciation of the University's achievements in diverse fields of activity. His Excellency dilated on the merit of observing the Foundation Day. Said he: "The observance of Foundation Day by a university, college, or school gives an opportunity to successive generations of paying their homage and publicly manifesting their gratitude to its founders and to those who in their various ways have contributed to its healthy growth and development. It rightly focusses attention upon the ideals and example of those from whose efforts spring the privileges enjoyed through membership of the body, be it university, college or school." The ideals which the University has fostered are, His Excellency remarked, "a godly heritage" and he exhorted the members of the University to "see to it that it was ever handed on undiminished." His Excellency concluded his speech after alluding to the great task of national regeneration lying before Bengal, which was only possible by upholding "the traditions of service which the great benefactors of the past have handed down." With the conclusion of the speech the morning programme was finished.

The afternoon programme consisted of mass demonstration of freehand exercises, indigenous exercises, agility exercises and gymnastics, Indian club drill and Bratachari demonstrations. The Vice-Chancellor distributed prizes to the winners in the Inter-Collegiate Gymnastic Competition and granted certificates and badges to the successful candidates at the Athletic Proficiency Test and also awarded Blues.

The noble idea of this commemoration owes its origin to the superb imagination of Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, who has already initiated many an important scheme of University reform during the six months

<sup>1</sup> The full text of the addresses of H. E. the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor is given in the Appendix.

that he has been Vice-Chancellor. The execution of the programme was entrusted to the Students' Welfare Committee. For the unique success that attended the emprise, our thanks are due to the Secretary of the Committee, Dr. Anathnath Chatterji, M.B.B.S., who was ably assisted by a band of experienced and indefatigable workers.

The function will henceforth be an annual one. To those who witnessed the celebrations, the scene must have brought sufficiently home what the term "affiliation" has hitherto meant and what it henceforth is going to mean. A new life is pulsating within University men and a kindred feeling is passing from mind to mind. It seems that the concept *University* is nebulous no more, for the synthesis of its constituent attributes is clearer than ever.

It will perhaps be interesting in this connection to recall the circumstances in which this University came into existence seventy-seven years ago. Calcutta had long before that date earned some eminence as a seat of learning. The Asiatic Society of Bengal had been carrying on researches in practically all branches of knowledge. The Sanskrit College, the Medical College and the Hindu College had already been founded, and as early as 1845 Mr. Charles Hay Cameron had suggested the foundation of a University for co-ordinating the activities of the existing institutions and conferring degrees on suitable candidates. Mr. Cameron went so far as to petition the Parliament in 1852, but it was not till 1854 that the necessity for founding Universities in India was officially recognised. In that year Sir Charles Wood sent his famous Education Despatch urging upon the Government of India the task of formulating "a properly articulated scheme of education from the Primary School to the University."

It was in pursuance of this policy that an Act of incorporation was passed in January, 1857, and the Calcutta University began its glorious career as a federation of Colleges for conducting examinations and conferring degrees on the lines of the University of London. A few months later the Universities of Bombay and Madras were founded with the self-same object. In the early days the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extended over the whole of Northern and Central India, Burma and Ceylon. Later on its burdens were considerably lightened by the foundation of the Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad. The Act of 1904 limited its jurisdiction to the Presidency of Bengal, Assam, and Burma. In recent years the creation of the Universities of Patna, Rangoon and Dacca has limited its jurisdiction further to Bengal and Assam with the exception of the city of Dacca and its immediate neighbourhood. The first Chancellor of the University was the first Viceroy of India. Viscount Canning brought with him the great traditions of Oxford, but it is needless to add that he had hardly any time to devote to the infant



University. So the duty of shaping its policy devolved naturally upon the first Vice-Chancellor, Sir James William Colville.

It may not be irrelevant to note here that among the Foundation Fellows were such distinguished Indians as Prasanna Coomar Tagore, Rama Prasad Roy, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Muhammad Wujeeh. Calcutta had been very fortunate in her Vice-Chancellors, among whom may be mentioned Ilbert and Maine, but it was not till 1890 that an Indian, Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, attained the great honour. One of the first to seek and obtain a Degree of the newly-founded University was the great Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the poet of "Bande Mataram." The foundation of the University was followed by foundation of new colleges. The St. Xavier's College was founded in 1862; seven years later, the Metropolitan College came into existence under the fostering care of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Two other colleges, the City and the Albert, were founded in 1881.

The University, however, continued to be an examining body, its administration being carried on by the Syndicate and the Senate. College professors like Duff did indeed exercise great influence in the Senate, but they were there by accident and not by right. Among the most notable donations that the University received in the old days were those made by Mr. Premchand Roychand of Bombay and Mr. Prasanna Coomar Tagore.

A new epoch in the history of the University began with the amending Act of 1904 and the appointment of Sir Asutosh Mookerji as Vice-Chancellor in 1906. The Act recognised the need of a new orientation and a permissive clause afforded suitable opportunity, if the University was so inclined, of revising its aims and ideals. A piece of legislation may very well create fresh opportunities of reform but it seldom effaces old traditions. The great majority of the intelligentsia had been trained in old institutions which formed the component parts of the federal University and it is almost impossible to realise to-day what a stupendous task Sir Asutosh undertook to accomplish. Few people now remember that the present regulations were the handiwork of the great Vice-Chancellor.

The regulations recognised teaching as one of the inherent duties of the University and affiliated institutions were immediately subjected to a careful supervision of the affiliating body. In his first Convocation Address Sir Asutosh Mookerjee clearly explained his ideals. "The regulations," he said, "indicate that the University is no longer to be a merely examining body with power to grant degrees; it is not even to be merely a federation of colleges, it is to be a centre for the cultivation and advancement of knowledge. \* \* \* \* Unless the University can show a substantial amount of research, produced by the aggregate of its Professors

and unless it can show that it has trained a substantial number of able and willing workers to carry on research in different branches of knowledge, the University can hardly be regarded as approaching the realisation of its ideal. No University can rightly be regarded as fulfilling the purposes of its existence unless it affords, to the best of its students, adequate encouragement to carry on research and unless it enables intellectual power whenever detected, to exercise its highest functions."

To-day these words will sound quite commonplace but twenty-five years ago some of our prominent educationists really apprehended that research was hardly compatible with efficient teaching, and even if sufficient funds were available to create all the necessary facilities, a sufficient number of young men with the necessary intellectual equipment would not be forthcoming to take advantage of them. With an unflinching resolution and a robust optimism Sir Asutosh proceeded with his work and in the second Convocation Address he had the satisfaction of announcing notable progress. The Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga made a princely donation and the Library building that bears his name was constructed. Mr. Guruprasanna Ghosh made a munificent gift of Rs. 2,50,000 to train Indian students in the Arts and Industries of Europe, America and Japan. Three distinguished savants, Dr. Thibaut, Prof. Schuster, and Dr. Holland were appointed University Readers, and Dhammananda Kosambi, Satyabrata Samasrami and Pandey Ramavatara Sarma were appointed to impart instructions in Pali, Vedic literature and Vedanta Philosophy to our advanced students.

Such was the humble beginning of the huge Post-Graduate department of to-day that has on its roll no less than 1,200 students and nearly two hundred teachers. The next year (1909) saw the appointment of the Minto Professor of Economics and the foundation of the Law College. The munificence of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar and the Maharaja Tagore made the equipment of a splendid Law library an accomplished fact.

It is common knowledge how year after year erudite scholars from all over the world visited Calcutta at the invitation of Sir Asutosh to stimulate with their discourses the intellectual aspirations of our young graduates. Fresh University Chairs were created, in Philosophy and Mathematics, in Ancient Indian History and International Law, University lecturers were recruited to impart instructions to post-graduate students who eagerly flocked to the University and it became their *Alma Mater* not merely in name but in reality as well.

The public and the Government were infected by Sir Asutosh's enthusiasm and adequate grants were made from public funds to finance

these new ventures of the University. It is well known how the late Sir Taraknath Palit donated his life's savings, how his gift was munificently supplemented by the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose and how the University College of Science and Technology was founded. Not a year passed but something great was achieved. Neither the Vice-Chancellor, nor his colleagues spared themselves in the service of the University, and when Sir Asutosh vacated office he had the satisfaction of perceiving that though the great ideals he had set before him eight years earlier had not been fully realised, they were accepted, by all who counted, as the legitimate goal of the University.

The year 1916 marked another stage in the progressive realisation of these ideals. The Government appointed a representative Committee, over which Sir Asutosh was necessarily called upon to preside, to suggest the best methods of early consolidation of the Post-Graduate studies in Calcutta. A unanimous report was submitted and the Post-Graduate department in its present shape and constitution was the result. It is within public recollection that the scheme was criticised as over-ambitious, but it is a matter of great satisfaction to the disciples and successors of Sir Asutosh to note that many of the young recruits selected by him occupy to-day the professorial chairs at Dacca and Patna, Allahabad and Lucknow, that the present Vice-Chancellors of Andhra and Agra and the Director of the Bangalore Institute were University teachers at Calcutta.

Lord Ronaldshay has rightly observed that "the greatest land-mark in the history of the University in recent years was undoubtedly the creation of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies," and he had "visions of a modern Nalanda at which were congregated 10,000 students, growing up in this the greatest and most populous city of the Indian Empire. Those who counselled economy and raised the slogan of cutting one's coat according to one's cloth, now admit that Calcutta has not yet tried to impart instruction in all "conceivable branches of learning." The University is not a business concern ; it is not its function to board and a surplus in the balance sheet is not its best nor its greatest asset. We must judge it by the quantum of its research work, by its original contribution to the sum total of human knowledge. Judged by this test, Calcutta under the inspiring lead of Sir Asutosh has done much, though it is always recognised that much still remains to be done. Sir Asutosh stands to-day amply vindicated: the new Universities all over India are inspired by his principles.

The noble example of Sir Taraknath and Sir Rashbehary was followed by Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira while Sir Asutosh was still alive. Out of the endowment made by him are maintained five University Chairs

in the departments of Arts and Science. In recent years the magnificent bequest of Viharilal Mitra for the development of female education in Bengal and the noble gift of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee prove that the University will not lack in funds so long as it pursues its glorious course. Dr. Mookerjee is a teacher and he has denied himself even the barest needs in order to save every farthing he could for the good of his community and country.

Such, in broad outline, is the history of the development and expansion of the University of Calcutta from its foundation on the 24th January, 1857, to the present day. The Calcutta University can certainly look back with feeling of legitimate pride and satisfaction upon a brilliant and glorious record of unbroken progress extending over three quarters of a century. It is indeed very gratifying to note that the present Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, worthy son of the illustrious Sir Asutosh, took upon himself the duty of organising the first celebration of the Foundation Day of the University, and posterity will remember with gratitude the lead which he has given to the fostering of "University Spirit" by providing such a handsome opportunity for the closer association of students with the *Alma Mater*.

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### III. THE UNIVERSITY CREST.

Though seventy-eight years old, the University, it is a pity, has had no banner of her own. The necessity of a flag was never so keenly felt as when the Foundation Day Celebrations Committee were sketching plans for the celebrations, specially in connection with the Route March through the streets of the city that was proposed. The Committee had several designs of a crest prepared and recommended the best of them for acceptance by the Syndicate. The design was adopted and it was approved both for the University Banner and the Seal. It is in the form and shape of a lotus-rosette containing the University motto of "Advancement of Learning" wrought in silver-thread and inset with a lotus-bud design. The whole pattern is woven in appropriate colours on a background of deep blue. The old design of the University seal will now be replaced by the new.

The new banner was carried through the streets of Calcutta in front of the long and impressive Route March on the day of the celebrations and was saluted by the marchers. It was displayed for the first time at the Annual Meeting of the Senate held on 26th January last.

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## IV. ELECTION OF FELLOWS BY REGISTERED GRADUATES

Recently there have been some changes in the Calcutta University Regulations relating to election of Fellows by Registered Graduates. Section 3 of the rules governing such election entitled each Registered Graduate to propose the name of one person for appointment as a Fellow. Such proposal was to be accompanied by a brief statement of the special qualifications and reach the Registrar twenty-one clear days before the date fixed for election. The Registrar, according to the old procedure, drew up a list of the nominees along with statements of their qualifications and forwarded it to the Registered Graduates, seventeen clear days before the date fixed for election.

According to the new procedure all proposals for appointment must not only be accompanied by statements of qualifications but also by a declaration signed by the candidate himself as assenting to the nomination. Moreover,

Any candidate may withdraw his candidature by notice in writing subscribed by him which must reach the Registrar seventeen clear days before the date fixed for election.

If the number of candidates who are duly nominated and who have not withdrawn their candidature in the manner and within the time specified above exceeds that of the vacancies, the Registrar shall cause a list of the nominees and of the statements to be printed and forwarded to the Registered Graduates fifteen clear days before the date fixed for election.

If the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, the candidatee shall be declared duly elected subject to the approval of the Chancellor.

The above elaboration of the procedure resulted evidently from difficulties experienced in recent elections, and it is hoped that in future the election of Fellows will be a more smooth affair. The Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have given their sanction to the changes which has been given effect to from 1935.

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## V. NEW FELLOWS

It gives us great pleasure to announce that His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Professor Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), B.LITT., and Mr. A. F. Rahaman, M.A. (OXON.), M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, to be Ordinary Fellows of the University *vice* Prof. Ganesh Prasad and Rai Bahadur Lalitmohan Chatterjee. Both the new Fellows have been attached to the Faculty of Arts. We offer a cordial welcome to Professor Sen and Mr. Rahaman.

The Chancellor has also re-nominated the following gentlemen to be Ordinary Fellows of the University :—

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter.
- (2) Sir Z. R. Zahid Suhrawardy, KT.
- (3) The Hon'ble Rai Pramodechandra Dutt, Bahadur, C.I.E.
- (4) Mrs. P. K. Ray.

As a result of the election of two Ordinary Fellows by the Registered Graduates of the University the undermentioned gentlemen have been declared duly elected as Ordinary Fellows, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor :—

Sir Nilratan Sircar, KT, M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., M.L.C., etc.

Harendra Coomer Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., PH.D.

We offer our cordial welcome to Sir Nilratan and Dr. Mookerjee.

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#### UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.C., has, by a resolution of the Syndicate, been appointed representative of our University on the Inter-University Board. He will hold office for three years, till 1st April, 1938.

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#### VII. OUR NEW MINTO PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS

Few appointments in the University in recent years have given so universal satisfaction as the appointment of Dr. Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.), to the chair of Minto Professor of Economics, on the retirement of Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.SC., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

The choice of the Selection Committee composed of eminent economists has been unquestionably the best and the Syndicate and the Senate have unanimously accepted their recommendation. Those who know anything about Dr. Niyogi, or about his learning and scholarship, his sober and scholarly habits, and his brilliant record of teaching and research, cannot but feel that the selection has been happy. Simple and unostentatious, deeply loved and held in esteem by his students, equally popular with his colleagues, Dr. Niyogi comes now to occupy a position, one of the most exalted in the University. He will now be able to gain greater strength and find better scope for a display of his abilities and scholarship.

His reputation has travelled outside the bounds of this province, and we are confident that he will make his position as the Professor and Head of the Department of Economics of the premier University of India felt in the wider economic life of the country. We offer to Dr. Niyogi our warmest congratulations.

In accordance with the terms governing the appointment, Dr. Niyogi will, during his period of appointment, which is at present for five years, prepare a work on the Co-operative Movement in Bengal.

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#### VIII. SIR RASHBEHARY GHOSE PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS

Equally satisfying to all has been the appointment of Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra, D. Sc., as Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Physics, in the place of Dr. Devendramohan Bose, since appointed to the chair of Palit Professor of Physics. Dr. Mitra has long been connected with the University as Khaira Professor of Physics, and has to his credit a satisfactory record of work. His contributions to the particular branch of science he belongs to, are too well-known, and the fact that the Selection Committee, composed among others of such eminent scientists as Sir Jagadischandra Bose, Prof. Meghnad Saha and Prof. Satyendranath Bose, singled him out for the chair is sufficient guarantee for the soundness of the choice. We offer our hearty congratulations to Dr. Mitra.

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#### IX. MADAME HALIDE EDIB ADNAN

Calcutta will soon have an opportunity of listening to the famous woman novelist, historian and educationist, and also one of the leaders of the modern renaissance movement of Turkey, Madame Halide Edib Adnan. She has just finished a most brilliant series of lectures at Delhi. The University, at the suggestion of Sir S. Ross Masood, has invited her to deliver a course of three lectures. The exact dates on which the lectures will be delivered will be notified later on.

Madame Halide Edib Adnan is an international figure and one in whom the East can take justifiable pride. The Vice-Chancellor in putting the proposal before the last Annual Meeting of the Senate characterised her as "a distinguished representative of modern Turkey." It is in the fitness of things that the University, true to her traditions, has not missed the opportunity of letting the people of Calcutta see and hear a most remarkable personality of modern times.

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## X. SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL IN SCIENCE, 1933

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Science for the year 1933 has been awarded to Mr. Purnachandra Mahanti, M.Sc., for his thesis on *Spectra*.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Mahanti.

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## XI. INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS, 1935

It will be welcome news to many, besides students, teachers, scholars and people interested in Philosophy, that the next Indian Philosophical Congress will be held in Calcutta in December, 1935, under the auspices of our University. The University extended a cordial invitation to the Congress at its last session at Waltair through Professor Dr. W. S. Urquhart, and the invitation was gratefully accepted. The exact dates for the holding of the session will be notified later on. Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.), and Mr. Umeshchandra Bhattacharyya have been appointed Local Secretaries. This is for the second time that the Congress will be held in Calcutta, the first occasion having been in 1925 when the Congress was presided over by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. It was, by the bye, the inaugural session of the Congress.

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## XII. ANNUAL CONVOCATION, 1935

The next Annual Convocation of the University will be held at the Senate Hall on 2nd March, 1935, at 3 P. M.

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## XIII. ANNUAL GRANT TO NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES

In a letter to the University on the subject of distribution of the customary annual grant of Rs. 1,29,000 to non-Government colleges, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has invited attention of the University to the orders of the Government of India on the subject. According to these orders which were promulgated as early as 1905, the grant should be devoted to improving the efficiency of the Non-Government Arts Colleges in those respects in which the instruction reports showed them to be defective, and to the encouragement of the growth of the residential or hostel system. To the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education), however, it has appeared that latterly the grant was used almost exclusively



for the improvement of college laboratories and libraries ; they therefore desire that other aspects emphasised by the Government of India should also be kept in view and that a part of the grant should be spent upon improving college hostels. The Syndicate have assured the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, that the suggestions of the Government of Bengal will be kept in view in making recommendation for distribution of this grant when Government sanctions the usual grant of Rs. 1,29,000.

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#### XIV. CO-EDUCATION AND THE ASSAM GOVERNMENT

It is perhaps in the recollection of our readers that the Syndicate, some time ago, adopted a resolution discouraging co-education in the secondary stage, and issued a circular to that effect to all institutions within the jurisdiction of this University. Recently, however, the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, wrote to request the Syndicate to reconsider their decision and to persuade the Senate to exempt the schools in Assam from this order of the University. He pointed out that in many small towns and villages in Assam there were no high Schools for girls and the University's decision practically meant that a good number of girls would have to give up their education. Guardians of girls, he stated, also did not like the new regulation ; and so long as they were satisfied with the conditions under which the girls were reading there was no cause for discontinuing the old established practice. The Syndicate, however, did not find sufficient reason to reverse their decision, but they thought that in giving effect to it, local circumstances should be taken into consideration. It was, therefore, decided, and the Director of Public Instruction was informed accordingly, that individual cases would be considered in relation to local circumstances by the Syndicate, if, of course, such cases were recommended by the Director.

The problem of co-education is a delicate one and involves a consideration of many important moral, social and educational problems that face us to-day. The University's caution in this respect is therefore perfectly understandable, and will be appreciated, it is hoped, by the general public.

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#### XV. CALCUTTA STUDENTS' MESS SCHEME

The subject of Government grant towards the maintenance of Students' Messes in Calcutta has recently engaged the attention of the Government of Bengal. They have addressed the Registrar, referring to the fact that the grant to the University in aid of the Calcutta Mess Scheme was

reduced from Rs. 13,128 to Rs. 8,700 with effect from the year 1932-33, and proposing to reduce further the present grant of Rs. 5,000 on account of house rent to Rs. 3,350.

Any decrease in the number of messes as a result of further cut in the Government grant will be extremely undesirable as it would aggravate the present unsatisfactory condition of the residence of students in Calcutta. Moreover, the University, we understand, does not like to take upon itself the grave responsibility of compelling students now living in the messes under proper discipline to resort to places of residence which are undesirable from more points of view than one. The reminiscences of the controversy thirty-years ago, when the late Professor Charles Russel sounded a note of warning against the rot that had set in among the students, have not yet faded from our recollection. This is a very serious matter and requires careful consideration by both University and Government.

The University finds itself in an embarrassing position especially by reason of the fact that the decision has been made without considering its views as to the possible result of such reduction on the scheme in general and on the University finances in particular and against the assurances repeatedly given by Government to meet the expenses in connection with the salary and conveyance of the Inspector and establishment and contingency charges of his office. We understand that the University has requested the Government to review their decision and suggested that a small committee consisting of representatives of Government and the University should be appointed to investigate the situation thoroughly.

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## XVI. THE UNIVERSITY AND THE NEXT ELECTION TO PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

Enlargement of the University electorate for purpose of election to the Provincial Legislative Assembly from the Calcutta University constituency is one of the recommendations the Bengal Government have decided to make to His Majesty's Government. The recommendation is of course based on the assumption that the latter will give representation to the Calcutta University in the Provincial Legislature under the proposed reformed constitution. The recommendation is to the effect that the electorate should be composed, in the first place, of the members of the Senate, of all registered graduates who have paid their fees for life, and lastly, of all registered graduates who have paid their fees for two academic years immediately preceding the academic year in which the election is held. In this connection the Local Government enquired some time ago if the University were willing to prepare and

maintain their electoral roll and conduct the election at their own cost. The University has replied in the affirmative.

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# XVII. SIR. P. C. RAY FELLOWSHIP IN CHEMISTRY

It may interest our readers to know that the rules governing the award of Sir. P. C. Ray Fellowship in Chemistry have recently been revised according to the suggestions of the donor, Sir P. C. Ray. The revised rules are as follows:—

(i) The appointment to this Fellowship, which is open only to the graduates of the Calcutta University, shall be made after inviting applications by advertisement. The candidate for the Fellowship should ordinarily have been either a Premchand Raychand Student or holder of the Doctor's Degree and he must have already furnished positive proofs of his capacity for research by some strikingly original work.

(ii) He must submit along with his application a full statement of his research work previously carried out and also a list of his papers already published together with any such references to his work as may have been made by other distinguished workers in his subject. He should state in his application an outline of the work that he intends to do if appointed to the Fellowship.

(iii) The Fellow must be a whole-time worker and shall devote himself wholeheartedly to his research work. He shall not carry out any work on behalf of outsiders in the laboratory allotted to him for any consideration and must not be in receipt of any salary or emolument for serving in any other capacity.

(iv) The University shall from its own funds make such recurring and periodical grants or contributions as it may consider necessary, ordinarily not less than Rs. 750 and not more than Rs. 1,000 for each Fellow for each year, in order to enable the Fellow to carry on his researches.

(v) The Fellow should be appointed for a period of two years for the first time. The Fellowship will thereafter be renewable every year up to a maximum of five years (including the first term of two years).

In applying for renewal of the Fellowship the candidate must submit a detailed report of the work he has done and he intends to do in the next year, which shall be duly considered by the Committee before renewal.

(vi) A Committee constituted as follows will award and renew Fellowships:—

The Vice-Chancellor.

The Palit Professor of Chemistry.

The Ghose Professor of Pure Chemistry.

The Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry.

The Khaira Professor of Chemistry.

The Senior Professor of Chemistry, Dacca University.

One nominee or derived nominee of the Donor.

In making the award the Committee should consider the initiative and originality shown by the candidate and should definitely recommend that the candidate is of sufficient merit to justify the award.

No award should be made unless candidates fulfilling the above conditions be forthcoming and any savings on this score should be added to the corpus of the fund.

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## XVIII. DOCTOR BIRENDRANATH DATTA MEMORIAL MEDAL

The Secretary to the Doctor Birendranath Datta Memorial Committee has recently forwarded to the University a sum of Rs. 600 only in cash for the annual award of a silver medal to be called the " Doctor Birendranath Datta Memorial Medal " to the successful candidate who secures the highest marks in Medicine at both the examinations held each year for the Final M.B. The award is intended to perpetuate the memory of the late revered doctor.

The University has accepted the offer with thanks.

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## APPENDIX

## FOUNDATION DAY CELEBRATIONS

*Chancellor's Address.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY,

Seventy-eight years ago the Act which established and incorporated the Calcutta University was passed. In the life of a University three-quarters of a century is a short period but from the small beginnings of 1857 the Calcutta University has gone from strength to strength and has developed into one of the most important Universities in the East, while its achievements in scientific and historical research have won for it a reputation beyond the limits of the East. Its contributions also to the development of secondary education throughout the Province have been far-reaching. Mistakes and shortcomings there have undoubtedly been. These, it may be said, are common to all human institutions and this is primarily an occasion for contemplating the positive achievements of the University. I am encouraged to believe that in the future the University will steadfastly pursue its ideal, the advancement of learning.

It is an invidious task, when there are so many deserving of mention, to name individuals, but among the benefactors to whom the University is indebted for its steady progress, there spring to the mind immediately the names of such men as Tarak Nath Palit, Rash Behari Ghose and the greatest of the Vice-Chancellors, Asutosh Mookerjee.

The Universities of a country are the natural leaders of its thought ; and so we find that the social, political and cultural history of Bengal during the last half century has been profoundly influenced by the Calcutta University and that men and women intimately connected with it have taken a very important part in the initiation and organization of new movements for the improvement of the conditions and the raising of the standards of life. To illustrate this it is only necessary to mention such names as Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Mahendra Lal Sircar, Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Sir Jagadis Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal and Dr. Meghnad Saha. These are but a few of the illustrious sons of the University who for their high achievements in different walks of life are honoured far beyond the confines of their mother country.

The observance of Foundation Day by a University, College, or School gives an opportunity to successive generations of paying their homage, and publicly manifesting their gratitude to its founders and to those who in their various ways have contributed to its healthy growth and development. It rightly focusses attention upon the ideals and example of those from whose efforts spring the privileges enjoyed through membership of the body be it University, College, or School.

This is the first occasion on which the Foundation Day of the Calcutta University has been commemorated, and, as your Chancellor, I am glad that I was able to accept the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to join with past and present members of the University in its celebration. It is fitting that on this day we should concentrate our thoughts upon men such as those I have already mentioned, who have shown themselves true benefactors and true sons of the University in various ways. 'Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us.'

A University is judged not only by its success in equipping its students for the crafts and professions, not only by its contributions to scholarship and science, but also by the influence which it exerts, upon the imagination and the character, by the ideals which it fosters, by the extent to which it had helped to enrich and fulfil the lives of its alumni and through them the corporate life of the community. It is towards these ends that members of the University now and in the future may direct their energies.

They have received a godly heritage; let them see to it that it is ever handed on undiminished. Let them strive to do all that is necessary to maintain themselves in fitness of body and vigour of mind. Let them uphold the traditions of service which the great benefactors of the past have handed down, but, not content with merely maintaining these, let them make their own individual contribution to the enlargement of the spheres which a University can serve; let them ensure that by their corporate efforts the University may become a yet more powerful instrument for leading and directing public opinion and the life of the country along sound and healthy channels.

A great task of national regeneration lies before Bengal, and the University can, if it will, play a vital part in it. I would ask each one of you to see that, so far as in you lies, it does so. Seldom before have we stood in greater need of discipline, organization and courage than we do to-day,—discipline to order our lives towards desirable goals, undeterred by partisan counsel and unmoved by insidious influences that are working to warp immature minds; organization to pool our resources in every sphere of life and direct them for purposes of national regeneration; courage to face squarely the problems that confront us and take the course that reason and reflection recommend without flinching or fear or caring for the plaudits of the hour.

It was such qualities as these which assured success to the efforts of those who built this great University up from small beginnings in a space of time which is small compared to that which has attended the growth of the older Universities in England and we owe it to them to prove ourselves worthy of their example. By so doing we can give practical proof of our gratitude for their benefactions, the fruits of which we now enjoy and to commemorate which we are to-day assembled.

*Vice-Chancellor's Address.*

It is my proud privilege to extend to you all a most cordial welcome to this unique gathering where we have assembled for the first time in the history of the University to celebrate its Foundation Day. To the members of the University, its teachers and students, its alumni, friends and well-wishers, let me offer my good wishes, and to those who are here I also tender my sincere thanks for the response they have given and the co-operation they have extended to make to-day's function worthy of the occasion. To Your Excellency I desire to convey my deep gratitude for your inspiring presence amidst us this morning and for the sympathy and encouragement you have shown from the very moment the proposal for to-day's celebration was brought to your notice.

Time will not permit me to review in detail the activities of our University, to dwell on its achievements as also its failures during the last three quarters of a century. Broadly speaking, however, the University has passed through two main stages. Brought into existence during a period when India was passing through a great political upheaval, the first University established under British rule in this country aimed merely at conducting examinations and affiliating institutions, which in their turn prepared candidates for examinations. The University was started not mainly for promotion of teaching and research or for the conservation of Indian traditions and culture, but chiefly to test the fitness of Indian youths to enter the learned professions and hold appointments in the various services. The steady pursuit of this policy has left a deep impress on our national growth and has not been entirely satisfactory in its consequences.

The second period which commenced in an active form after the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 marks the growth of a new ideal—the ideal of a great Teaching and Research University. During the last thirty years we have witnessed remarkable progress in various departments of study and thought, and in spite of our limitations and difficulties we are still attempting to follow that policy of advancement of learning which will bring glory to our *Alma Mater* and our motherland.

We cannot also shut our eyes to some of the lasting benefits which have accrued to us through the agency of the University. This University has stood for the spread of education, has thrown open its gates to one and all irrespective of caste, creed and community. It has brought the East and the West together, opened new visions and awakened in us new ambitions. It has roused the political consciousness of the people and has contributed to the growth of national solidarity. It has called into its service distinguished representatives of all communities who have steadfastly worked together for its general welfare.

While we can legitimately take pride in our past achievements, we must not be lulled into inactivity or allow ourselves to remain satisfied with what has been done. Inspired by the progress we have attained, we must be as anxious to conserve the best traditions of our University as we are eager and fearless to remove its inherent weaknesses. Ours has been the first University in India to sound the clarion call of progress at the beginning of this century. Since then other provinces in this vast country have been making rapid advance in various fields of activity. We have to march ahead, in full remembrance of the fact that Bengal's great men have in the past stimulated work and thought in all parts of India, and in social, educational, religious and political spheres. Bengal has led the way ; but if we are to hold in future a position of pre-eminence, we must never be forgetful of the imperative necessity of re-shaping our policy, of increasing our efficiency in all directions and maintaining a standard of work which will be second to none in any part of this country.

When we first thought of celebrating the Foundation Day, I was anxious that we should concern ourselves mainly with the activities of our students and bring them into closer touch with the University. It is a matter of disappointment to me that we have not been able to associate with to-day's function the students of the University outside the metropolis. To you who are assembled here to-day I express my personal gratitude for the splendid way in which you have responded to the call of your *Alma Mater*. You have proved to-day that if you are given proper training and facilities, you can give as fine a display of organising ability and disciplined action as any band of University students can be expected to achieve. True as you are and as you must be to your own college, you have carried to-day through the streets of the city the new banner of your University, thus proclaiming your loyal adherence to the University to which we all belong and of which your colleges are vital and component parts.

One of the great needs of the hour is to build up a healthy corporate life in this University, to provide for our students the amplest facilities for the full exercise of their powers, so that the great qualities which lie dormant in them may shine forth in perfection ; to help in the establishment of students' organisations with a view to equip them to face the battle of life ; to develop them into men, strong and self-reliant, hard-working and fearless, proud of their national culture, but not narrow in their outlook, anxious to promote peace and happiness, filled with a lofty idealism, but not swayed by class hatred or unthinking emotion—men who will be the worthy leaders of a new Bengal, who will carry the torch of learning and freedom to the lasting glory of their beloved motherland.

From every corner of this great province there rises to-day the anxious question, shall we live or shall we die, shall we rise or shall we fall, shall



we unite or shall we divide, shall we strive to reconstruct or shall we follow the barren path of destruction. Let me gather in my own the voices of you all who are assembled here to-day and of those whom you represent and send back the response, we shall live, we shall rise, we shall unite and shall accept truth and service as the motto of our lives.

## NOTIFICATION.

## CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The Director of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has announced the decision of that institution to award five Fellowships in International Law for the academic year 1935-36. The Fellowships are open to teachers of International Law and to qualified candidates engaged in research in that subject. The first day of April, 1935, has been fixed as the last date for receiving applications which are to be made in printed blanks to be obtained from the authorities on request. The important points in the notification are as follows :

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, announces that five fellowships in international law will be awarded for the academic year 1935-36. They will be open to (1) teachers of international law who desire to pursue advanced studies in that subject, and (2) qualified candidates engaged in research in international law who wish to use the fellowship to complete a definite project already organized or started. Applicants should indicate the class of fellowship for which application is made.

*Teacher Fellows* will be required to register at a university or college and devote their entire time to study under the fellowship ; *Research Fellows* will be required to devote their entire time to the research work for which the fellowship may be granted, under academic or other acceptable supervision. No other employment may be engaged in during the period covered by the fellowship.

Each application must be accompanied with

(a) A statement of the plan of study or research for which the fellowship is desired ;

(b) recommendations from persons competent to testify as to the applicant's qualifications, and copies of publications or any other documentary evidence of fitness ;

(c) a signed photograph showing the date when it was taken.

Applicants for study or research in a foreign country must have an adequate knowledge of the language of the country in which it is proposed to work under the fellowship.

A stipend of two thousand dollars will be paid to each fellow, in quarterly instalments, upon compliance with the regulations governing the submission of reports and evidence of work which will be communicated with the award.

Applications will be received up to April 1, 1935, upon printed blanks, which will be furnished upon request. No application will be considered which are not made upon the prescribed form.

Requests for application blanks or for further information should be addressed to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 700 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D.C.

## CARNEGIE CORPORATION GRANTS, 1935-36

The Secretary of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire has addressed the following to the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

In my letter of the 13th October, 1931, I intimated that provision had been made for twelve Carnegie Corporation Grants of £320 each to be spread over the years 1932-33, 1933-34, 1934-35, and 1935-36. These Grants are awarded to members of University staffs, whether administrative or teaching, to enable them to visit Great Britain for such research work or special investigation as may approve itself to the Executive Council of the Bureau. That Council consider that the arrangements which were made for the distribution of these Grants for the years 1932-33, 1933-34, and 1934-35 may suitably be repeated for the Grants for the year 1935-36.

They have again invited the co-operation of Regional Conferences and Committees and in Canada, Australia, South Africa and India the nominations made by any University, as well as by the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, should, if the Regional bodies are agreeable, be sent by the academic head—The Vice-Chancellor or other official of similar standing—to the National Conference of Canadian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of Australian Universities, the Vice-Chancellors' Committee of South Africa and the Inter-University Board of India, as the case may be, in time to allow of their proper consideration by these bodies and to permit of their reaching this country not later than the end of March, 1935. From the nominations received they have been asked to forward to the Bureau the names of two, in order of preference, to whom they consider the Grants may most suitably be awarded. Universities of the Empire in regions other than these mentioned should, if they desire to make nominations, forward them direct to this Bureau before the end of March, 1935. On a consideration of all the nominations received, the Executive Council of the Bureau will again select the three to whom these Grants are to be made.

In submitting recommendations, either to Regional Conferences and Committee or to the Bureau, applications should contain

- (a) A 'Curriculum vitae' of the applicant.
- (b) The purposes for which he proposes to utilise the grant, and his proposals for study or investigation.
- (c) Copies of two testimonials and, if possible, the names of two referees resident in Great Britain or Ireland.
- (d) A statement to the effect that the candidate will, if he obtains the Grant, pledge himself to return to the region from which he has come.

W. B. BRANDER,  
*Secretary.*

#### IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF TROPICAL AGRICULTURE, TRINIDAD

The authorities of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad, recently called the attention of the High Commissioner to the fact that certain Indian students who had been admitted to the college for a course leading to the Associateship in Sugar Technology did not, in their opinion, possess the necessary preliminary qualifications for undergoing training in this branch. As Sir Geoffrey Evans, the Principal of the College, and Mr. Davies, the Sugar Technologist, happened to be on leave in London, the opportunity was taken of discussing the matter fully with them, and as a result of this discussion it was agreed that the essential preliminary requirements for an Indian student, seeking admission to the Imperial College for training in Sugar Technology might be summed up as follows:—

1. A sound, fundamental chemical training (Organic and Inorganic) together with Physics, not below the standard of, say, the London Inter. B.Sc.
2. He should also possess a bent for machinery; in other words, to be in some degree, at least, mechanically minded. This does not in the least imply any definite technical training in Engineering.
3. There is no such thing as a pure Chemist in the Sugar Industry. The Sugar Technologist should be both a Chemist and an Engineer.
4. It is essential that the selected candidate should have the necessary personality to enable him to handle and command the respect of workmen.

In this connection it is to be added that the matter has also been discussed with the Technical Editor of the International Sugar Journal who is a leading authority on the subject and a copy of the memorandum which he was good enough to prepare is attached.

The High Commissioner will be glad if the above suggestions may be borne in mind if it is proposed at any time to send men for training in Sugar Technology.

*Training of the Sugar Technologist.*

It is too frequently the case that the Sugar Factory Manager has had a one-sided training, that is, that he has been educated *either* as a chemist (which is most frequently the case) *or* as an engineer.

This, from the nature of the process of sugar manufacture (whether from the cane or from the beet), is a mistake. In sugar manufacture chemical process and chemical operations are both of great importance.

A chemist who is manager of a factory must necessarily rely too much upon his subordinate engineer. On the other hand, an engineer in command is hardly likely properly to appreciate important matters concerned with milling and clarification, with boiling and with the crystallization of the sugar. He may not be able fully to appreciate also some of the important bearings of his chemist's reports on the chemical control of the factory.

There can be no question that the man best qualified to direct the technical side of sugar manufacture (or of refining) is one who has been trained both as a chemist and as an engineer specializing in the manufacture of sugar. At the same time he should have some knowledge of the agriculture of the sugar-cane, its cultivation and harvesting.

*College or University Course.*

At the College or University the student should take, in addition to elementary chemistry and physics, also mechanics and mechanical drawing, botany and the principles of agriculture.

*Technical Training.*

At the sugar school this dual training should be followed throughout, so that when his training is finished he will be qualified to take a post in a sugar factory, either as an assistant chemist, or as an assistant engineer. His subjects should also have included the agriculture of the cane with some practical work in planting, cultivation and harvesting.

*Practical Factory Experience.*

Having in view later the management of a factory, he would therefore be well advised to work for a crop in an up-to-date factory as an assistant shift engineer, so as to acquire a practical knowledge of the supervision of the boilers and engines, of milling control, and of the efficiency of the evaporators and pans.

Following this, he should next season take a post as a chemist in a well conducted factory, working for a period in the laboratory in following an efficient system of chemical control and also for another period in the factory in obtaining an insight into the duties of the factory shift chemist.

He should in this way have become very well qualified as a *complete* Sugar Technologist, later to acquire further experience in other factories, either as a chemist or as an engineer and ultimately to obtain a post as a factory manager.

## CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

## BASANTA GOLD MEDAL FOR THE YEAR 1934

The Basanta Gold Medal for the year 1934 will be awarded to the author of the best essay on the following subject:—

*Village Sanitary Improvement in Bengal.*

Competition for the essay is limited to those *under graduate students* of this University who are *not medical students*. Every candidate for this competition shall be required to submit not later than 31st May, 1935, an essay on the subject specified above to the Controller of Examinations through the Principal of the College where he has been prosecuting his studies at present. The following particulars are required to be stated by

each of the candidates in a separate application countersigned by the Principal :—

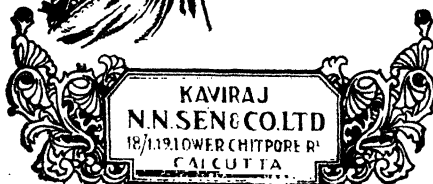
- (i) Registration No.;
- (ii) Year of passing the Matriculation Examination;
- (iii) Name of the school from which he appeared at the above Examination;
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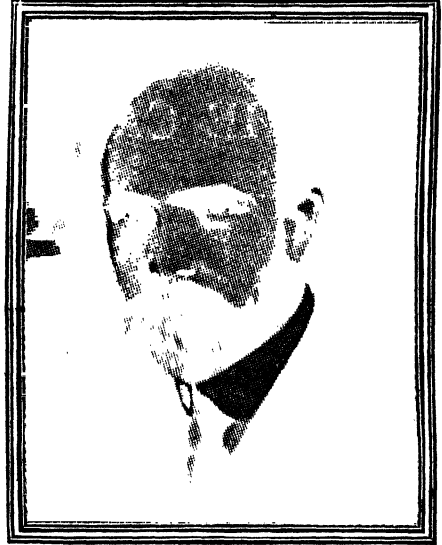
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MARCH, 1935

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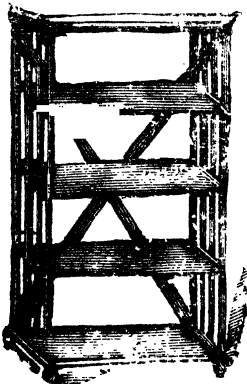
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NALINI RANJAN SARKER

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THE external trade of India is of such immense importance to her national economy that no explanation is necessary for undertaking a study devoted to its varied problems. I shall, however, confine my attention this afternoon to an investigation into our trade with Empire countries, with special reference to trade agreements. Even in these times of depression India sends out yearly about Rs. 145 crores worth of exports in merchandise to all countries and receives about Rs. 121 crores worth of imports in merchandise estimated on the average of last three years, while the average figures of India's exports and imports for the five years ending 1928-29 are Rs. 342 crores and Rs. 239 crores respectively. A predominantly agricultural country with undeveloped industries and, at the same time, vast potential resources, India cannot dispense with her imports of machinery and millwork and certain other manufactures which will be required for yet some years to come, nor can she possibly neglect her export trade which absorbs her surplus commercial crops like jute, rice, oil-seeds,

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cotton, tea, etc., which incidentally account for about 80 per cent. of India's total exports to all countries. The prosperity of Indian peasantry is to such an extent dependent on the export trade that the abnormal fall in the export prices of these commodities during the depression has created a tragic situation in the country. In manufactures also India's export trade is gradually expanding and if adequate steps are taken to foster its growth, there is no reason why India's jute manufactures, cotton manufactures and other semi-manufactured goods will not have potential markets in certain countries. The necessity of an expanding export trade, again, hinges upon another important consideration. Internationally India is a debtor country and has to make large payments abroad annually. She must, therefore, develop a prosperous export trade in order to produce a favourable trade balance year after year.

If India's national economy is so much interrelated with her foreign trade, it is imperative that a constant and careful watch should be kept over the trends of international trade, the new developments in commerce and industry of other countries and their possible repercussions on India's trade and industries. In the present times such radical changes have been and are being introduced in international exchange of goods and services that from India's standpoint, an elaborate investigation into the varied aspects of India's trade relations with all countries is essential. The world has outgrown the old competitive system of international commerce, and in its place, the ideal of economic self-sufficiency under the urge of economic nationalism is driving every country to adopt measures to restrict imports as far as possible by the imposition of tariff barriers, quota restrictions and exchange control. At the same time, most countries are anxiously on the lookout for enlarged markets for their exports, and to this end they are negotiating mutually advantageous bilateral trade treaties on the basis of real reciprocity, but not as defined by the British Government in regulating Indo-British commercial relations, either by offering tariff preferences or quota concessions, or by entering into exchange clearing agreement on a barter basis. Under these conditions of world trade, commercial agreements as a means to preserve and expand trade have become almost a necessity, while the general trend of international commerce is towards regional grouping of countries, knit together by mutual understandings relating to customs tariff, and other mutually advantageous commercial concessions. An evidence of this

tendency was provided, *e.g.*, in the economic union of Belgium and other Belgian Colonies and Luxemburg. The urge of the ideal of economic nationalism on a more extended scale is no doubt the motive force behind this movement for regional trade understandings. An appreciation of this new tendency in world trade relations is essential for India, for, the time has come when we have to embark upon a definite and planned programme of commercial expansion in a world of unbalanced economic forces. India has already accepted the principle of Imperial Preference and has entered into trade agreements with the U. K. and certain other colonies. In extending preferential treatment to any part of the Empire, it will be necessary to see whether India is likely to reap any reciprocal benefit from the act of granting such preference, due regard being had to the fact that it does not thereby prejudice the prospects of her foreign trade with non-Empire countries. This consideration should be kept in view, for, while India may be tempted to give an undue weightage to her political affiliation with the U.K., the pivot of economic relations within the Empire in the matter of according preference to Empire countries, she may thereby commit a serious blunder in not adequately appraising the significance of her foreign trade with non-Empire countries for her national economy. It is for this consideration that an enquiry into the possibilities of markets for India's goods in the Empire countries requires to be undertaken, with a view to reveal not only the potentialities but also the limitations of Empire markets for India. In this connection the results of the Ottawa Agreements, which were claimed to be of immense economic advance to India, require careful examination. It is my opinion that our concern with Imperial trade should not exercise any serious prejudicial effect on that portion of India's foreign trade shared by non-Empire countries, *viz.*, about 53 per cent. of her total export trade. At the same time, I am fully aware that India's trade with the British Empire which constitutes on the average about 47 per cent. of her entire foreign trade, is also important and that all possibilities of India's trade expansion within the Empire by mutual trade agreements or tariff agreements should be explored and fully utilised.

#### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The question of trade agreements with the Empire, I may point out, did not arise for the first time on the occasion of the Imperial

Economic Conference held at Ottawa in July, 1932; but it was latent in the movement for Imperial Preference while its urgency grew as the new developments in trade and commerce, both in the Empire and outside it, ushered in a situation in which a closer economic co-operation within the Empire became an imperative necessity from the standpoint of Britain. The Colonial Conference which met in 1902 for the first time adumbrated the policy of Imperial Preference as one of general application to the different countries of the Empire, which were invited to follow the example of Canada which had lowered her customs tariff in favour of British goods in 1897. Accordingly New Zealand and then Australia fell into line with Canada, and Great Britain also, on her part, had to reciprocate certain preferences, following the Tariff Reform movement of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. It was, however, in 1903 that India was first asked to consider this question of Imperial Preference, but Lord Curzon's Government turned down the proposal urging (a) that as India's major exports were raw materials, India already enjoyed a large measure of the advantages of the free exchange of imports and exports; (b) that India had not much to offer to the Empire countries and (c) that the Government would not be justified in embarking on a new policy which might involve reprisals by foreign nations, "unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which at that time presented themselves." Again, after the War, the question was resumed and the Fiscal Commission in 1921 reported that the desirability or otherwise of granting a preference to the U.K. on any commodities would be determinable by the Tariff Board after necessary investigation and further that no preference should be granted if it in any way (i) diminished the protection required by Indian industries and (ii) involved on balance any appreciable economic loss to India.

The question of granting preferences to other parts of the Empire in return for like preferences from them, was not seriously considered by the Fiscal Commission. During the period 1923-31, three Imperial Conferences in 1923, 1926 and 1930 respectively sought to mobilise the opinion of the different countries of the Empire for the adoption of a policy of Imperial Preference; but India accorded but a partial recognition to the principle in the Steel Industry Act of 1927 and the Cotton Industry Act of 1930 (both enacted, however, for protecting Indian industries), inasmuch as a preference for British goods in the form of lower duties than those applicable to non-British goods of the same

kinds was introduced in the Acts. But in respect of the question of the adoption of a general scheme of Tariff Preferences within the Empire, the attitude of the Indian Government remained almost the same as recommended by the Fiscal Commission until their decision to participate in the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, in 1932. In fact, until then the conditions of world trade were not so changed as to deprive India of the large measure of advantage in the form of free entry that India's raw exports were enjoying in most countries. But as England became more and more inclined towards a general protective policy and a scheme of tariff preferences within the Empire in order to encourage Empire Trade, and as the principles of economic nationalism began to sway the counsels of every Government, it became increasingly difficult for India to preserve an attitude of indifference to the question of Imperial Preference. And when the Economic Conference at Ottawa was convened and the Indian Government sent out a delegation to participate in it, it was clear that the principal subject of discussion in the Conference would be "the possibility of concluding Preferential Trade Agreements within the Empire" and in fact this proved to be the case. But as is wellknown, although the deliberations at the Conference resulted in a series of bilateral trade agreements between the United Kingdom, on the one hand, and the dominions and India individually, on the other, the labours of the Conference did not produce any agreements between India and the Dominions or a multilateral agreement among the various countries of the Empire for the purpose of a better organised economic co-operation within the Empire.

#### SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

From India's standpoint, a consideration of the possibilities of trade agreements within the Empire involves a treatment of India's trade relations with the various countries of the Empire in three separate sections namely, (i) the U.K., (ii) the Colonial Empire and (iii) the Dominions, for, the importance of India's economic as well as political relations with these three groups varies considerably and as such requires separate treatment in each case.

It is, however, necessary that in exploring the possibilities of India's trade agreements on advantageous terms with any of these

countries, certain considerations should be kept in view. They may be summarised as follows:—

(1) It should be investigated first of all as to what extent the U.K., the Colonies or the Dominions offer possibilities of enlarged market for India's exports. If it is found that a particular country of the Empire is not in a position to offer any advantages to Indian goods, then the question of concluding an agreement with that country does not arise at all.

(2) It should also be enquired as to what extent other countries, both within the Empire and outside it, offer effective competition to India's products in the market of the particular country of the Empire with which India would like to enter into some preferential agreement.

(3) Thirdly, it is necessary to investigate as to what extent and in which commodities the particular country is competitive, if at all, with India in the markets both within the Empire and outside it. For it may so happen that the particular country with which India desires an agreement may be India's rival in other markets in respect of one or more commodities. In that event, an agreement with that country should be so shaped that it may provide for an extenuation of competition in any third market.

In concluding any commercial agreement with any Empire country, these considerations should be carefully weighed so that it may not prejudicially affect any part of our national economy, at least to an extent greater than the advantages accruing from the agreement. These are, no doubt, general principles. But very often they do not receive adequate consideration at the time of the conclusion of particular agreements, as, *e.g.*, in respect of the Ottawa Trade Agreement between India and the United Kingdom.

#### INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

India's trade with the Empire consists mainly of her trade with the United Kingdom ; for, of all countries of the Empire, the U.K. is responsible for a predominant share in the total foreign trade of India. The latest trade figures show that the share of the U.K. is 32·2 per cent. of India's total foreign trade, the export share being 31·8 per cent. and the import share 41·2 per cent. Indo-British trade relations have had a chequered history while India's political connexion with

England has played an important rôle in its development. On the strength of this connexion, a number of concessions have been secured to promote trade between the two countries, and gradually these concessions, favourable as they are to British industry and trade, are being organized into trade agreements. The preferential duties granted to British industries in connexion with the Steel Industry Act of 1927 and the Cotton Industry Act of 1930, constituted, for all practical purposes, a recognition of the principle of Imperial preference and also of industrial co-operation within the Empire. A clearer application of the principle of industrial co-operation was provided again in the Supplementary Steel Agreement concluded after the Ottawa Conference in 1932, whereby an arrangement was made to the effect that the Tatas were to send steel bars manufactured by them to the U. K. to be manufactured there into galvanised sheets and exported again to India for disposal. The idea underlying the principle of industrial co-operation is that the less advanced countries of the Empire should produce raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, which would be exported to the more industrialised countries of the Empire, fashioned there into finished commodities, and then re-exported to the other parts of the Empire. The acceptance of such a principle would undoubtedly affect our industrial aspirations. Unfortunately, this principle has so far guided our trade relations with England, and Indian opinion has but recently awakened to its implications.

The Ottawa Trade Agreement of 1932 marked, in fact, the beginning of a definite policy on the part of the Government of India to conclude regular commercial agreements with the U.K. with a view to promote reciprocal trade. It was followed by the Bombay-Lancashire Textile Agreement in 1933, better known as Mody-Lees Pact, which though negotiated by private associations has later been accorded Governmental recognition. The latest is the Indo-British Trade Agreement which was announced a few weeks ago. These three trade agreements regulate in the main the Indo-British trade relations.

I shall here make brief references to the broad aspects of these three agreements.

#### THE OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT.

The Ottawa Agreement, in principle, did not constitute a new departure in the commercial relations between India and England



but it only provided for an extension of the tariff concessions hitherto enjoyed by Britain. But at the same time it embodied an important difference, *viz.*, that what was formerly implicit has now become a matter of contract and as such its reactions on the remaining portion of India's foreign trade are bound to be more pronounced.

An important feature of this agreement is that India's stake in it is quite considerable, for the volume of India's export trade which it directly and indirectly affects, is worth about Rs. 123 crores out of a total of about Rs. 145 crores which means that about 85 per cent. of India's entire export trade is affected by this agreement, of which the U.K.'s share is more than Rs. 36 crores. Perhaps very few countries have committed themselves to this ruinous policy of placing too many eggs in a single basket. With a view to protect about Rs. 36 crores worth of exports, India has exposed her exports to the extent of Rs. 87 crores to the risks of being discriminated against by foreign countries, for the preferences granted to imports of the British goods have not been extended to imports from them. The volume of India's import trade which enjoys such preferences is worth about Rs. 39 crores, which means that about 30 per cent. of India's import trade is affected by the preferences. The magnitude of the implication may easily be gauged by the large number of commodities coming within the purview of the Ottawa Agreement. According to the terms of the agreement the U.K. grants preference to wheat, rice, vegetable oils, oilseeds, coffee, tea, coir yarn, coir mats and mattings, cotton yarns, cotton manufactures, hides and skins tanned, jute manufactures, oil-seed cake, paraffin wax, spices, woolen carpets and rugs, tobacco unmanufactured, lead, etc., at varying rates, most of the preferences being 10 per cent. in the U.K. market. India in return grants preference to apparel, arms and ammunition, asbestos manufactures, boots and shoes of leather, building materials, chemicals and chemical preparations, instruments and apparatus, leather, liquors, machinery and millwork, iron and steel metals and ores, oils, paints and painters' materials, paper and pasteboard, wool manufactures, vehicles, provisions, cotton piecegoods, etc., at varying rates in the Indian market. Of the total imports from the U.K. into India, amounting to about Rs. 48 crores, all these commodities account for about Rs. 36 crores, which means that 75 per cent. of British exports to India have obtained a preferential treatment in India, while only 29 per cent. of India's total export trade has obtained preference in the U.K. market. This

is an indication of the relative importance of the Ottawa Trade Agreement to the U.K. and India.

#### THE BOMBAY-LANCASHIRE TEXTILE AGREEMENT, 1933.

This agreement is not purely a regular commercial treaty inasmuch as it was negotiated and concluded between two non-official agencies like the Bombay Mill-owners' Association and the British Textile Mission. Yet its main conclusions have been given recognition in the Tariff Amendment Act (1934) and so it can be regarded in the nature of a trade agreement. Its main purpose was to ensure a steady market in the U.K. for India's raw cotton and also a preference to British goods consistent with a reasonable margin of protection to Indian industries. It has also been provided in the agreement that "in so far as the Empire and other overseas markets for piece-goods and yarns are concerned it is agreed that any advantages which might be arranged for British goods should be extended to Indian goods, and that India, in markets in which she has no independent quota, should participate in any quota which might be allocated to the United Kingdom."

#### THE INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT, 1934.

This agreement has, in fact, come as a surprise to the Indian commercial community, for unlike the Ottawa Agreement it was planned and concluded without consulting Indian commercial opinion. While the signatories to the Ottawa Agreement were India's delegates who, in spite of being nominated by the Government, would have some claim at least to represent Indian commercial opinion inasmuch as the principle of consulting India's authoritative opinion was thereby recognised, no matter however inadequately, the present agreement was signed by the High Commissioner in London on India's behalf and the President of the Board of Trade on behalf of the British Government. Besides, the fact that the agreement automatically becomes legally enforceable, militates against the principles of fiscal autonomy enjoyed by India, for while the Ottawa Agreement was subject to the approval of the Legislative Assembly, the present agreement has dispensed with this necessity.

The main purpose embodied in the agreement is to ensure a preferential advantage for British industries in the Indian market,

against the competition of other countries. It has been maintained that this is a necessary supplement to the Ottawa pact. But it may, on the contrary, be said that the pact in question is complete by itself, and that although it left such matters as cotton, and iron and steel for settlement after necessary enquiries, these matters have since been dealt with in the Cotton Tariff Amendment Act (1934), and the Iron and Steel Protection Act (1934). And the principles enunciated in the Indo-British Trade Agreement purporting to grant certain concessions to British industries are not also new, for those mentioned in the agreement were already latent either in the Ottawa Agreement or the Bombay-Lancashire Textile Agreement. Obviously, therefore, the new agreement provides no *quid pro quo* as regards the fresh concessions granted to the U. K. The most important of them refers to the right accorded to any British industry, whenever the question of the grant of a substantive protection to Indian industry is preferred for enquiry to the Tariff Board, to state before the Board its case and answer the cases presented by other interested parties. "On the face of it," as I pointed out in a recent statement to the Press, "no objection can possibly be taken to such a concession when it is admitted that the industry concerned should satisfy the Tariff Board of the fairness of its demands, and when, further, it is borne in mind that even the Canadian Government have accorded this right to British commercial interests. The important difference, however, lies in the fact that while Canada is fully self-governing and is not amenable to undue pressure exerted by the British Government in the interest of their own commercial interests, in India, on the other hand, the probabilities of such an apprehension materializing are very great." The British woolen industry brought up a case before the Canadian Tariff Board for a reduction of Canadian duties but the Board, though admitting that sufficient material was not available for a decision either way, could not see its way to accept the proposal. In India, however, as Article IV of the pact stands, possibilities for the exercise of an undue influence by British commercial interests through their Governments are large and real.

Another feature of the agreement deserves mention. The provision that the measure of protection afforded to an Indian industry "shall only be so much as, and no more than, will equate the prices of imported goods to fair selling prices for similar goods produced in India," will prejudicially affect India's industries. If adequate care

is not taken to determine the necessary measure of protection for India's industries and also provision made for the differences in the quality of goods which appear similar, this will amount to a real protection to British imports.

It would be evident from the above considerations that these agreements have not been framed after a thorough investigation of their probable effects on our foreign trade as a whole as well as on our internal economic structure. On the contrary, they have often been concluded under the compelling urge of certain immediate considerations and in general are of great importance to British interests. It is, therefore, imperative that as soon as the terms of these agreements are over, they should be critically examined in the light of results obtained and any other fresh developments since then.

It is interesting to enquire as to how far there are possibilities for the expansion of the British demand for Indian goods. In view of the fact that she has already concluded several trade agreements with various countries, and is likely to conclude many more, and the further fact that the scope of expansion of British industries is being increasingly limited by the nationalistic economic tendencies of every Government, it is extremely problematical if Britain would be able to offer much wider prospect for the absorption of Indian goods. When, therefore, occasions would arise for renewing the present agreements, adequate attention should be paid to these considerations. The repercussions of any agreement with the U. K. on the rest of our foreign trade should be carefully analysed. We should also avoid the error we have committed in connexion with the Ottawa Agreement of bringing within the purview of one agreement a very large number of commodities. Further, care should be taken to amend the terms in such a way that within the Empire no undesirable competition may exist. One method of avoiding such competition would be the fixation of quotas to the different sources of supply. Quota arrangements are of almost universal application now-a-days and even in the Bombay-Lancashire Textile Agreement, the principle of permitting India to share in the quotas which may be allotted to the U. K. in the colonial or other overseas markets has been recognised.

#### INDIA AND THE COLONIAL EMPIRE.

India's trade with the Colonial Empire covering a number of territories spread over the different parts of the world, is not quite

inconsiderable. It forms in a normal year about 10 per cent. of India's total external trade and is valued at about Rs. 25 crores a year. India's export trade exceeds her import trade by Rs. 6 crores on the average. So it is necessary for India not only to preserve the existing volume of trade with the Colonial countries but also to seek ways and means to promote further trade connexions. This necessity was well realised by the Indian Delegation to the Ottawa Conference and discussions were held as to the practicability of arranging mutual preferential trade relations between India and the Colonies. Accordingly it was provided in Article 9 of the Ottawa Agreement between the U.K. and India that His Majesty's Government in the U.K. would invite the Governments of the non-self-governing Colonies and Protectorates to accord to India any preference which may for the time being be accorded to any other part of the British Empire, and it was provided in Article 12 that the Government of India would ask the Legislature to pass the necessary legislation to secure reciprocal preferential treatment to the Colonies and Protectorates and certain mandated territories under the British Government. In accordance with this article India received preferences from the following countries: Ceylon, Federated Malay States, Strait Settlements, Fiji, Seychelles, Somaliland Protectorate, Mauritius and dependencies, British West India Islands (Jamaica), British Guiana, Cyprus and Sierra Leone.

But on account of difficulties arising out of certain international agreements or understandings it was not possible to arrange preferential trading relations with Kenya, Zanzibar and the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika. But India granted preferences to these territories as well as to the Colonies mentioned above. As explained in the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Ottawa Conference, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and part of Northern Rhodesia are debarred by the convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1919, from entering into preferential trading terms with India, for the convention provided that "there should be no discrimination in favour of any country" on the part of any of the signatories. A consideration of revising the convention was due in 1929 but the revision was postponed till 1935. It is now expected that when this revision is undertaken all these Colonies will be in a position to reciprocate certain preferences for India's goods. Tanganyika, again, being a mandated territory could not grant any preference to India for that

would involve a violation of the Treaty of Versailles which has created these mandatory systems.

Though these colonies and the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika have given no preference to any of India's goods, India has already offered concessions with regard to fruits and vegetables, ivory, unmanufactured sodium carbonate, apparel and unground spices. The total imports from the Kenya Colony, Zanzibar and Pemba and Tanganyika, as affected by the preferences, were worth about Rs. 42.5 lakhs during 1933-34. The total exports of the first three Colonies to India amounted to Rs. 2.48 crores, while India's exports to them amounted to only Rs. 69 lakhs during the same year. This indicates that in relation to these colonies India suffers from an adverse balance of trade to the extent of about Rs. 1.8 crores and even in 1931-32 the adverse balance amounted up to more than Rs. 2.8 crores. It may be pointed out that this state of things cannot continue for long. As India has already shown sufficient good-will in offering the preferences, it is quite meet that these colonies also should reciprocate the same treatment towards India. In this matter, the Government of Great Britain have a clear duty to perform, *viz.*, to expedite the revision of the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, and thereby clear the way to granting preferences to India's goods like cotton manufactures, jute manufactures and rice. In jute bags and sacks India's position in Kenya is almost monopolistic as will be evident from the fact that in 1932 Kenya's total imports of jute manufactures were from India. But in cotton manufactures India's most serious competitors are the U.K., Japan, and the U.S.A.

Kenya herself, again, competes with India in the U.K. market as regards coffee, as has been revealed by the working of the Ottawa Trade Agreement during 1933-34.

The Gold Coast and Nigeria also are precluded by the Anglo-French Convention of 1898 from offering preferential treatment to India's commodities. But this can be facilitated by introducing necessary modification in the convention, after one year has elapsed since the formal notification of this desired modification. Gold Coast offers a good market for India's rice, jute bags and sacks. In 1932 India's exports of rice to this territory amounted to about Rs. 4 lakhs and those of jute goods to about Rs. 9.5 lakhs. In Nigeria again India's total exports were worth about Rs. 18.2 lakhs in 1932, of which cotton piece-goods accounted for about Rs. 8.5 lakhs and jute goods about

Rs. 9 lakhs and the remaining portion was accounted for by rice. The one year's trade figures clearly point out that Nigeria has a good market to offer for India's jute goods and cotton piece-goods. In respect of jute goods, India has a serious competitor in the U.K. and in the piece-goods the U.K. and Japan are India's formidable rivals. In Gold Coast, India's rice has a small market but her cotton piece-goods have obtained hardly any footing there, chiefly on account of the competition of the U.K., Nigeria and Japan. It is likely that if a modification of the Anglo-French Convention is effected to facilitate the grant of preferential tariff to India's goods in these territories, in return for the concessions that India has already accorded them, India's jute goods and cotton piece-goods may be assured an enlarged market in these territories.

In most of the West Indian islands, Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Somaliland Protectorate, Gibraltar and Cyprus, India's exports of rice and jute manufactures (amounting to about Rs. 40 lakhs a year) enjoyed preference even before the Ottawa Agreement was concluded. Thereafter certain varieties of apparel, drugs and medicines, pulses, metals, vegetable oils, oilseeds, tea, provisions and oilman's stores, and manufactured tobacco received preference also. In Cyprus particularly cotton twist and yarn and piece-goods were granted preference. The value of the exports affected by these preferences exceeds hardly Rs. 17 lakhs. The total exports of India to the West Indies are worth Rs. 1.25 crores on the average of last three years. Jute and gunny bags and rice (not in the husk) are the principal items in these exports. Preferential trade relations with this group of islands are likely to provide larger market for India's jute manufactures.

India enjoys a preferential tariff in Fiji along with other Empire countries but Fiji has granted special preferences to the U.K., Canada and New Zealand. The commodities of India which enjoy preference are fruits, vegetables, rice not in the husk, metals, mustard oil, provisions and oilman's stores, spices, tea, cotton manufactures, jute, gunny bags and apparel. Mauritius also has granted preferences on certain goods of the U. K. and Canada in return for a special preference on sugar. With Mauritius, it was difficult for India to come to terms for she was not prepared to grant a preference on sugar. This was due to the fact that India's sugar industry is a protected industry and also the question of revenue was involved in the case. Yet India succeeded in obtaining preferences in Mauritius and Dependencies

on apparel, certain varieties of vegetable oils, perfumery, provisions and cotton manufactures, the total exports amounting to about Rs. 2 lakhs.

Of the remaining countries of the Colonial Empire, Malaya and Ceylon are by far the most important customers of Indian goods. With regard to Malay complete statistics are not available, but Straits Settlements proper together with the States both Federated and non-Federated accounted for Rs. 2.64 crores worth of India's imports and Rs. 3.29 crores worth of India's exports in 1933-34. The figures for previous years were much higher, specially during the pre-War period, India's imports from and exports to these territories amounting on the average to Rs. 3.08 crores and Rs. 7.54 crores respectively. The main items of India's imports are spices, betelnuts, provisions and oilman's stores, gums and resins, fish and fruits and vegetables, while those of India's exports to these territories are cotton manufactures, rice, jute manufactures, tin ore and tobacco. It is thus evident that India's cotton manufactures, jute manufactures, tin ore and sundry other articles have a potential market in these territories, while India offers a market for fish, betelnuts, and spices particularly. The Federated Malay States have granted preferences on groundnut, tea, cotton manufactures and piece-goods, silk and wool manufactures and tobacco manufactured. India has gained concession from the Straits Settlements only in the last-named article. In return, India has granted preference to the Federated Malay States only on gums, cocoanut oil and non-essential oils. There remains, therefore, much yet to be done to facilitate India's trading relations with the rest of Malay.

Ceylon lying in close proximity to India is admittedly the largest purchaser of India's commodities in the Colonial Empire. Its off-take of India's exports is more than Rs. 6 crores on the average of last three years while its exports to India amount hardly to Rs. 1.5 crores on the same average. In accordance with Articles 9 and 12, Ceylon has been granted preferences on fish, fruits and vegetables, gums, non-essential oilseeds, apparel, chemicals, drugs and medicines, coir, manufactured and unmanufactured, coir yarn and coir mattings, unground spices, tea, cocoanut oil and betelnuts, in the Indian market. The total amount of imports affected by the preference is worth about Rs. 1 crore which means that about 66 per cent. of Ceylon's imports into India enjoy preferences. Ceylon, in return, has given preferences to India on boots and shoes, earthenware and porcelain, grain, pulse,



etc., leather, metals, paints and painter's materials, perfumery, soap, cotton and silk manufactures, tobacco manufactured and unmanufactured, woolen carpets and bags, fruits and vegetables, etc., the total value of which hardly exceeds Rs. 75 lakhs—which means that only 12·5 per cent. of India's total exports to Ceylon has received preference. It is a matter of regret that the Ceylon Legislature has not as yet ratified the terms of preferences. As regards the preferences received by India, it should be pointed out that the omission of cotton piece-goods and rice from the list of preferences is significant indeed. A revenue duty of Re. 1 a cwt. on rice still exists in Ceylon and when the question of preference on this commodity was raised, the Government of Ceylon could not accept the proposal on the ground that the revenue accruing from the revenue duty could not be foregone. With regard to India's cotton piece-goods the Indian Delegation should have pressed for preference in the Ceylon market in consistence with their observation that "India's exports of manufactured articles to the countries abutting on the Indian ocean should steadily increase and the existence of a preference in certain colonies should do much to promote the growth of this trade." In fact, Ceylon offers good market facilities for India's cotton manufactures as will be evident from the fact that Ceylon took Rs. 70·9 lakhs worth of cotton manufactures in 1931-32, and 51·8 lakhs in 1932-33 and Rs. 51·0 lakhs in 1933-34. The most serious competitor of India, as much as of the U. K. in Ceylon in respect of cotton piece-goods is Japan. If along with the U. K. India receives a preference, India's exports of cotton piece goods to Ceylon may be considerably widened.

A reference may also be made here to the fact that in the U. K. market Ceylon is a serious competitor of India in respect of cocoanut oil, in which commodity India enjoys a preference in the U. K. market. Some measure of the competition will be evident from the export figures for 1933. While Ceylon succeeded in raising her exports of cocoanut oil to the U. K. by 43,187 cwts., India's exports declined by 130 tons during the same period. Further, by virtue of the preference that cocoanut oil enjoys in the Indian market, India's cocoanut oil industry at the Malabar coasts has been seriously hit by the influx of cheap Ceylonese cocoanut oils. It is imperative that this anomalous situation should end as early as possible, for it is extremely unwise for India to grant a preference on a commodity which is calculated to jeopardise the interests of the same industry in India.

The foregoing considerations of India's trade connexions with most of the important colonies will, I hope, convince you that though the Colonial Empire hardly accounts for 10 per cent. of the entire foreign trade of India, closer trade relations with the different territories are likely to be of positive advantage to India. Any single territory may not be of considerable importance to India's export trade, but the sumtotal of the trade carried with the colonies taken together is not insignificant. In consequence of the Ottawa Economic Conference, many of the colonies have reciprocated preferential treatment to India's goods in return for the concessions that India has extended to them, but the total value of India's exports which enjoy such preferences amounts barely to Rs. 115 lakhs, while the total value of the exports from the Colonial Empire enjoying preferences is more than Rs. 140 lakhs, as will be evident from the trade figures for 1933-34. In a total trade amounting to about Rs. 25 crores, the small portion enjoying mutual preferential treatment is no doubt significant, but this may to some extent be explained by the difficulties that a number of colonies is confronted with, on account of certain international agreements, *viz.*, the Convention of St. Germain-en-Laye, and the Anglo-French Convention of 1898. But, as I have already said, these difficulties may be removed. It is expected, therefore, that an early removal of the disabilities thus imposed on a number of Colonies to grant preferences to other countries, will be followed by closer and enlarged trade connexions between India and the colonial Empire.

#### THE DOMINIONS AND INDIA

The total volume of India's external trade with the Dominions is much less than with the Colonial Empire. India's exports to and imports from the Dominions taken together have not exceeded Rs. 8.8 crores in any year. The pre-war average was nearly Rs. 6 crores and the total trade during 1933-34 has amounted to about Rs. 8.5 crores. India's export surplus over imports during the last few years has been to the extent of Rs. 4.5 crores on the average. But since 1932-33 India's exports have shown a tendency to decline while imports from the Dominions are on the increase. India's exports to the Dominions have registered a decline to the extent of about Rs. 60 lakhs in 1933-34 while her share of imports from the Dominions has advanced by about Rs. 35 lakhs. This diminution in India's trade balance with

the Dominions cannot certainly be viewed with equanimity, for during the year 1933-34 India's exports to all countries have registered an advance.

At the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, the Committee on promotion of trade within the Commonwealth seriously considered the question whether "a series of bilateral trade agreements should be negotiated or whether, if the negotiations proved generally successful, they should be incorporated into a single multilateral agreement." The final result, however, was only a series of bilateral agreements. The Indian Delegation to the Conference carried on discussions with the Delegations of the various Dominions but they "could not, owing to lack of time, bring any of these discussions to the stage at which agreements could be drafted." India enjoys, however, British Tariff Preference in New Zealand, Canada and the Free State of Ireland, which have granted the concessions of their own accord. But so far Australia and the Union of South Africa have accorded no preference whatsoever. India's import trade with these two Dominions in 1933-34 amounted to Rs. 1.28 lakhs out of her total import trade with the Dominions worth about Rs. 2 crores, while India's export trade with the two Dominions amounted in the same year to Rs. 4.19 lakhs out of her total export trade with all the Dominions amounting to about Rs. 7 crores. From this the relative importance of India's trade with Australia and South Africa will be evident. India, therefore, should cultivate closer trade relations with these two Dominions. In the same way, the possibilities for a further expansion of the market for Indian goods in the other Dominions should be carefully explored. I should also like to suggest that we may with advantage conclude good-will agreements with various Dominion countries on the basis of "no discrimination and the grant of most-favoured-nation treatment," although, I quite appreciate that care will have to be taken so that such agreements may not have undue prejudicial effect on the rest of our foreign trade.

#### AUSTRALIA

On the average of last three years, India received Rs. 122.5 lakhs worth of imports from Australia and sent Rs. 327.0 lakhs worth of exports to Australia. So India's favourable trade balance annually has amounted on the average to Rs. 204.5 lakhs. The chief imports from

Australia are animals (horses), provisions and oilman's stores, tallow and searine, wheat and raw wool. India's chief exports thereto, on the other hand, are hides and skins, raw jute, jute manufactures, rice, seeds and tea. Both India and Australia are primarily agricultural countries and as such there may not be much scope for mutual exchange of commodities on advantageous terms ; yet as the list of exchanged goods indicates, India may accord a preferential treatment to certain goods of Australian origin, in return for preferences on India's jute manufactures, rice, seeds and tea. Of the total exports of India to Australia, jute and jute goods alone constitute more than 80 per cent. The latest trade figures show a disquieting feature that India's exports of jute and jute goods to Australia have registered a decline in 1933-34 to the extent of Rs. 89·4 lakhs.

Australia has already concluded trade agreements with the U. K., Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and a few British colonies on the basis of preferential tariff concessions. According to the Australia-Canada Trade Agreement of 1931 certain classes of Canadian goods imported into Australia were subject to customs duty under the intermediate Tariff. But this Intermediate Tariff was abolished in October 1932, and later a new " Customs Tariff " (Canadian preferences) has been evolved and operates since July 12, 1934. With New Zealand and the U. K. again, agreements have been entered into on the same principle of reciprocity.

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

India's exports to the Union amounted to Rs. 121 lakhs in 1933-34 and India's imports therefrom to Rs. 26 lakhs during the same period. The chief articles of imports from the Union are coal and coke and sundry other goods while India's main exports thereto consist of rice, jute, gunny bags and cloth and paraffin wax. It is doubtful whether India can afford to grant an unqualified preference on the South African coal, for her own coal supply is already faced with effective competition from South African coal.

With New Zealand the Union has already entered into preferential terms of trading in respect of certain specified goods.

#### CANADA.

Canada's annual off-take of India's goods during the last three years has amounted on the average to Rs. 165·9 lakhs, while imports

from Canada to India have amounted to Rs. 47·8 lakhs. The latest trade figures for 1933-34 show that imports from Canada have increased by Rs. 35 lakhs while India's exports thereto have advanced by 24·7 lakhs. This would tend to show that the preferences enjoyed by India from Canada have to some extent accelerated India's exports to that Dominion. The chief imports into India are motor vehicles and parts, paper and paste-board. India's main exports to Canada are jute, gunny cloth and tea. With regard to jute goods, India's competitor in the Canadian market is the U. K. which normally shares about 40 per cent. of Canada's total imports of jute bags, etc., while India's share is about 59 per cent. The commodities of mutual interest are not many but even the exchange of these few commodities may be greatly facilitated by mutual agreements. If India extends to Canada the same preference as is enjoyed by the United Kingdom, on motor vehicles and parts, etc., there is no reason why Canada should not further increase her off-take of India's jute manufactures, tea and other commodities. The United Kingdom also, consistent with the spirit of the Ottawa Economic Conference, should have no objection to the grant of such preferences.

Canada is already in special trading terms with Australia and New Zealand.

#### NEW ZEALAND AND IRISH FREE STATE.

New Zealand and the Irish Free State share comparatively a small portion of India's foreign trade. The off-take of India's exports by New Zealand hardly exceeds Rs. 53 lakhs. The pre-War average was Rs. 56 lakhs while it declined to less than Rs. 40 lakhs during the depression. In 1933-34, however, the total exports amounted to Rs. 52·9 lakhs. India's imports from the Dominion are worth only Rs. 3·02 lakhs on the average of last three years. The pre-War average was only Rs. 26 thousand. This shows that though India's import trade with New Zealand has developed to some extent since the pre-War stage, her export trade is entirely stagnant and even declining. Besides India receives miscellaneous articles of small importance. while she exports to New Zealand mainly jute manufactures.

Adequate statistics are not available relating to India's trade with Irish Free State ; but the Indo-Irish trade is not of large dimensions. It has been reported in the Press that in pursuance of the conclusions of the Ottawa Conference, 1932, negotiations for an Indo-Irish Trade

treaty have reached its final stage. However small may be the existing volume of trade between the two countries, it may be hoped that the proposed treaty will help our reciprocal trade to grow.

#### CONCLUSION.

I have tried to present to you this afternoon a picture in broad outlines of some important aspects of our inter-Imperial trade, with special emphasis on trade agreements and the many issues involved in them. In exploring the scope for trade agreements and in the negotiation thereof, I am conscious that very complicated details have to be settled and divergent interests harmonized which is necessarily not possible in a study of this nature, unless specific cases arise. I have, therefore, remained satisfied only with presenting to you the relevant facts and data which indicate the way in which appropriate trade connexions may be built up with the various Empire countries.

In the study that I have undertaken this afternoon, it has been my principal object to enquire as to what extent India is to gain or to lose by embarking upon a definite policy of promoting trade with the Empire countries by way of preferential trade treaties. In a supplement to the "Economist" of November 3, 1934, Sir George Schuster, the ex-Finance Member of India, made a detailed and interesting study on "Empire Trade before and after Ottawa." While I do not subscribe to many of his conclusions, I quite agree that under the existing conditions of world trade, closer economic co-operation with the Empire is to be sought and, from India's standpoint, I think it will not be unwise to promote her inter-Imperial Trade by the exchange of mutual preferences, provided the preferences thus accorded do not in any way prejudice India's trade and her prospects of concluding advantageous trade treaties with the non-Empire countries.

Although the present study has been mainly confined to trade agreements with Empire countries, I should make it clear that I consider our trade with non-Empire countries as equally important. The fact that the non-Empire countries share about 53 per cent. of India's total foreign trade, constitutes the most cogent argument that trade connexions with this group of India's large customers should be preserved and promoted by all possible means. I have already invited your attention to certain difficulties that India's existing trade agreements with the United Kingdom have introduced in the way of her

entering into advantageous trade treaties with the foreign countries. Even the expedient of granting any concessions in the form of an intermediate tariff as has been adopted by Australia, New Zealand and Canada is for all practical purposes closed to India. The omnibus character of the Ottawa Pact and the latest Indo-British Trade Agreement has imposed such a rigidity on the tariff system of India that the possibilities of offering concession to non-Empire goods in the form of intermediate tariff have been seriously circumscribed. Thus in making any agreement with other countries, we have to rely more on commodities which are not covered by the existing agreements with the United Kingdom. As the two years' working of the Ottawa Agreement reveals, India's exports to many of the non-Empire countries have had to meet with discrimination. The fact cannot be denied that the Ottawa Agreement has antagonised many foreign customers of India and the consequence is being slowly manifested in the diminishing volume of India's export trade with those countries, as revealed by India's trade figures for the last three quarters of 1934. Besides, the decision of countries like Germany, France and Poland to receive goods only from those countries which take their commodities, has produced very harmful effects on India's exports of rice, cotton, jute, jute manufactures, hides and skins, etc., to these countries. The principles of reciprocity and barter are evidently gaining universal recognition as will be evident from the increasing number of exchange clearing and quota arrangements between various countries.

Under these circumstances India cannot afford to stand aloof confined in the orbit of Imperial Preference. It will be an unwise policy for India to preserve her inter-Imperial trade at the cost of her trade with the non-Empire countries—which in fact constitutes a very large portion of her external trade. It is, therefore, imperative for India to adopt a policy calculated to harmonise the interests of both sides of her foreign trade. What she needs is essentially a systematic programme of watching, guiding and promoting her external trade which is of such vital importance to her national economy.

Before I close, I would like to impress upon you the fact that lack of adequate statistics relating to India's foreign trade in all its aspects has rendered my task considerably difficult. I am only too conscious that my brief study of the subject suffers from certain limitations, on account of the inadequacy of appropriate statistics. And I feel that for a fuller study of India's foreign trade and the competition

that India's exports have to meet from the various countries in respect of individual commodities, the Government of India will do well to compile the requisite statistics in a convenient volume at regular intervals. The need for compiling such statistics was impressed by the Committee of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce on the Indian Trade Commissioner at Hamburg when he met the Committee of the Chamber in 1933, and I am glad to note that statistics on the lines suggested have been compiled by the Trade Commissioner and published in his latest report in respect of articles which compete with Indian exports to Germany. It is necessary that similar statistics should be compiled in respect of other important countries with which India has extensive trade relations. In this context, I would further stress the desirability of sending out trade missions, to the different important countries of the Empire and also to the non-Empire countries, to explore trade possibilities by expert local investigation.

*Calcutta.*



# A NEW EXPERIMENT IN UNIVERSITY ORGANISATION

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THE eighteen universities which are functioning at the present day in India and Burma, represent mainly two types of university organisation, *viz.*, the affiliating and the unitary. The history of their introduction and development in this country may be briefly told.

The first and the older type, modelled on the University of London as then constituted, was introduced in 1857 by three Acts of Incorporation of that year, *viz.*, Acts II, XXII and XXVII, by which universities were started in the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. These Acts have the same preamble which states their object to be the 'encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects..... in pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education,' and defines the purpose of the universities to be the 'ascertaining by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in the different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by academical degrees, etc.' To these universities in the presidency towns were added later on the Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad. By Act XIX of 1882, the Punjab University was created out of the old Lahore University College which dated back to 1869, and Allahabad University was incorporated by Act XVIII of 1887. During the three decades following the incorporation of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the old London type had become a sort of stereotype for university organisation in India, and in 1887 no preamble was felt to be necessary for the Allahabad University Act. Since then, the University of Allahabad has changed to a unitary type and a further addition to Indian universities of the older type has been made by the incorporation of the affiliating University of Agra.

By the original Acts of Incorporation mentioned above, all these universities were constituted as mere administrative bodies. Their

principal functions were delimited to affiliation of institutions and examination of candidates sent up from the affiliated schools and colleges. These functions implied of course such concomitant activities as inspection, settlement of syllabuses, general academic guidance, etc. The character of the universities was necessarily regional, regulating the educational activities and catering for the educational needs of a particular region covering one political province of the country or more. In fact, it was in the interest of the efficiency of regional control in matters of education that the affiliating universities of Nagpur, Patna and Rangoon were subsequently created.

By the end of the last century, however, the deficiencies and limitations of the purely affiliating university became all too apparent. The most outstanding of these was the exclusion of the university from the actual work of instruction. It is obvious that education, specially in its higher stages, has to keep abreast of the march of knowledge and research in the arts and sciences. New subjects of study are evolved ; fresh advances are made in the extant subjects through historical or scientific research ; new schools of thought arise to revolutionise old ideas ; and theories, initiated by a Freud or an Einstein, invade and modify our whole intellectual outlook. It becomes the imperative duty of a university to keep its education, as far as possible, in a fresh and full-blooded condition, and this duty can hardly be discharged unless the university itself assumes teaching functions. This was fully realised, during his viceroyalty in India, by Lord Curzon who was trained in the traditions of Oxford, the chancellorship of which was the crown and completion of his remarkable career. It was through Lord Curzon's inspiration that the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed and Section 3 of this Act provides that "the University shall be, and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for the instruction of students, with power to appoint university professors and lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain university libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of Incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research." In accordance with the intention of this section of the Act of 1904, the older universities in India have considerably modified their character, specially the University of Calcutta where

instruction after the graduate (B.A. or B.Sc.) stage is concentrated in the Post-Graduate Department of the university.

The other type of Indian university, which is the normal type in Germany and America, was introduced in this country as the aftermath of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917. The Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, had been appointed originally for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of the development and re-organisation of the University of Calcutta. But, taking a larger view of its somewhat wide terms of reference, the Commission went on to recommend for the future universities of India the 'teaching, unitary and residential' type of organisation which had proved so successful in America and Germany. The criticism passed by the Commission on the existing Indian universities of the London type was trenchant. "According to the view of all progressive societies," says the Report, "a university ought to be a place of learning, where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. On this definition, Indian universities, in their first form, were no true universities. They were not corporations of scholars, but of administrators" (*Report*, Vol. I, p. 47). In the opinion of the Commission, the Indian Universities Act of 1904 aimed only 'at a rehabilitation and strengthening of the existing system' (*Report*, Vol. I, p. 66). The incorporation of the University of Dacca in 1921 on strictly unitary lines was the first immediate result of the recommendations of the Commission. The University of Allahabad was reconstituted in the same year as a unitary university, necessitating the starting in 1927 of an affiliating university at Agra. The other universities of the teaching, residential and unitary type in India are those of Lucknow, Aligarh and Annamalai.

Both the older affiliating and the newer unitary types of university have been functioning in India for a number of years now. As the conditions of existence, as well as of inception, of each university in India vary considerably from province to province, it is a task of delicate difficulty to make an absolute preference between the two existing types. But it is evident that the high expectations which used to be entertained during the last 'twenties about the efficacy of unitary universities have scarcely been realised. In the recently published Tenth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, Sir George Anderson, the present Educational Commissioner

with the Government of India, draws attention to some of the drawbacks of unitary universities in this country. They may be briefly summarised as (i) the abrogation of collegiate traditions, (ii) the tendency of control passing under certain circumstances into the hands of a clique, (iii) overmuch centralisation leading to denial of initiative in and possible mechanisation of educational work, and lastly, (iv) comparative costliness. The existence, in any event, of the two extant types of university in India does not rule out the case for further exploration of the possibilities of university organisation. The problem of devising a type which should obviate the defects of the affiliating university on one hand and be free from the drawbacks of the unitary university on the other, is by no means insoluble, and the key lies perhaps in the relation between the university and the college. The unitary university, where it is superimposed on an educational centre, merges and annihilates existing colleges; the affiliating university on the other hand allows them in the vital matter of instruction a sort of semi-independent existence. But it is possible to envisage a scheme in which the colleges should be united in a federation on which the university constitution could be based.

In fact, the so-called 'Hall' of a unitary university is a 'mighty bloodless substitute' for a college. A college in our country, which is not run by the soulless machinery of an official department, does not usually lack in vitality. It quickly develops an atmosphere and acquires in time traditions of its own. The Christian missionary colleges, as we know, are extremely jealous of their traditions. When the University of Rangoon was projected several years back on strictly unitary lines, Judson College, a missionary institution, put up such a strong resistance that its integrity had to be maintained by modifying the original proposals in such a way as to preserve it in the university, somewhat anomalously, as an incorporated institution. The Report of the Lindsay Commission on Christian Higher Education comments adversely on the policy of annihilating colleges for the foundation of unitary universities (*Lindsay Commission's Report*, pp. 73-74). The case is similar with many non-Christian colleges, scattered all over northern India, which owe their inception to and are associated with the Arya Samaj or Sanatan Dharam movements or the special interests of advanced minority communities like the Muslim or the Sikh. The existence of such colleges deserves to be guaranteed for the sake of their special traditions and corporate

character. The argument applies also to many other colleges all over the country where what is called a 'college atmosphere' has developed itself. In fact, the college atmosphere is so precious and delicate a factor in education, particularly in a country like India, where the values of life are perhaps less utilitarian than in the west, that the student should not, if possible, be denied its benefit. That it is possible to retain the college atmosphere even within the organisation of a university is amply proved by the examples of Oxford and Cambridge. In Book Third of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth tells us how, during his university days, he used to be affected by the very atmosphere of the college he belonged to at Cambridge, even though he derived but little benefit from the instruction itself ; and many, who do not claim to have the poet's fine and delicate susceptibilities, will bear testimony, like Wordsworth, to the reality of the effect of the college atmosphere on the student. In an old college, with an atmosphere and traditions of its own, the alumnus feels, more than in the Hall of a unitary and residential university, the sense of personal relationship, the stimulation from examples of lives silently dedicated to knowledge, the joys of comradeship and companionship, and, perhaps above all, the zest and freedom without which youth can hardly grow. This vital problem of the retention of the 'college atmosphere' in a university has to be attacked in any future scheme of university organisation in India.

A scheme, recently adopted by the University of London, although on wholly other considerations, meets this problem as well. The Hilton-Young Committee, which sat in London in 1925 to consider the future development of the University of London, had to deal with a plurality of colleges at a single educational centre, functioning independently of one another, though within a common administrative bond. The Committee suggested for the university, with which it was concerned, a new scheme of re-organisation. "The ideal conception of the University of London on its teaching side," says the Report, "is an organic association of institutions, all actively engaged in university work and each foregoing some measure of full autonomy in order to share in and contribute to the life and government of the university as a whole" (*Hilton-Young Committee's Report*, p. 30). The idea is that of a Federal University in which each college retains its integrity and individuality, while supplementing one another and working in close association in

instruction and other academic concerns. In Calcutta, Bombay and other Indian cities, there is the same problem of the plurality of colleges, each trying to be self-contained and complete and thus encouraging unnecessary reduplication of efforts in instruction. In the circumstances, it might prove to be a better plan for each college to aim at specialisation in a subject or a group of subjects and to partake in a scheme of co-operative teaching. The London scheme solves in any case the problem of the retention of 'college atmosphere' in university organisation.

In the Quinquennial Review we have already referred to, Sir George Anderson expresses himself in favour of the federal idea of university organisation in India (*Review*, pp. 80-82). Assuming the need for the undertaking of teaching functions by a university, the Educational Commissioner bases his argument mainly on the ground of economy. But there are advantages less tangible, but none the less real, which must appeal also to pure educationists who are not concerned with the vexed questions of pound, shilling and pence.

This idea of a Federal University, initiated by the Report of the Hilton-Young Committee on the University of London, has recently been adopted by the educational authorities in Delhi. The Delhi University Act of 1922 had contemplated the incorporation of a university of the strictly unitary type as represented by Dacca and Lucknow. But in Delhi there were already functioning three first-grade colleges, one of them an old Christian missionary institution, which refused absolutely to merge themselves and forego their integrity. The circumstances which faced those who had to implement the Delhi University Act, were entirely different from what the organisers of Dacca and Lucknow universities had to deal with. The result was that, although the University of Delhi easily developed the usual organs of administration of a unitary university,—the Executive Council, the Academic Council and the Committees,—the colleges were kept up, very anomalously and in the teeth of the Act, as so-called 'constituent colleges' of the university. During the whole of the last decade, several committees, appointed by the Government of India, have cudgelled their brains in vain to devise a constitution in accordance with the Act for the University of Delhi. It is only recently, in May last year, that the University has taken the decision to convert itself into a university of the federal type. The two leading features of the proposed scheme of re-organisation

are, first, the congregation of the constituent colleges on a common site, and, secondly, the organisation of teaching, specially in the higher stages, on a co-operative basis. The Government of India has provided a site for the University in the premises and adjoining lands of the abandoned Viceregal Lodge on the Ridge at Delhi to which the offices, the Law Hall and the science classes along with the laboratories have already been shifted. But the scheme cannot be put in full operation until all the first-grade colleges are brought together on the site, and for this purpose grants for building out of the exchequer of the Government of India will be needed.

The federal idea of university organisation is a recent development. Much in it is nebulous yet. It has, above all, not been tested in the crucible of time and experience. The idea is going to be applied for the first time in India to the University of Delhi of which the Viceroy is the chancellor. It is, however, an experiment which deserves to be watched by the public with keen and critical interest. Perhaps the solution of some of our vexed educational problems like, for instance, the organisation of technical and technological education, will be found to lie in a scheme of federation in the field of university education in India. When the proposals for the re-organisation of the University of Delhi finally materialise, there will be added to the two existing types of university in India, *viz.*, the affiliating and the unitary, a third one, *viz.*, the federal. But all educationists of our country, who keep an open mind and are not 'perplexed with fear of change,' must agree that our ideas of university organisation need not be circumscribed by our experience of affiliating and unitary universities only.

*Delhi.*

# NATIONALITY AND RIGHTS

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THERE is one important aspect of the problem bearing on safeguards against commercial and shipping discrimination proposed to be incorporated in the new Government of India Bill which seems to have been ignored in the critical analysis to which the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report has been subjected in the country. It is a well-known doctrine of Municipal Law that citizens and aliens are not treated on terms of perfect equality in all matters. Generally speaking, however, in civil and criminal law no discrimination is observed as between an alien and a citizen. There is a tendency to assimilate, in the sphere of the so-called public law, the position of aliens to that of citizens, particularly in regard to personal and religious liberty. But in many States certain trades and professions are open to citizens only, and in almost all States political or organic rights are exclusively reserved for citizens. The problem of safeguarding the interests of the British European community in India raises amongst others the following important issues, namely, (1) whether European British subjects doing business in India and having their permanent residence in England are, and should be in law, Indian citizens and, in the light of this issue, whether they can and should, if necessary, be treated differently in law from His Majesty's natural-born Indian subjects and (2) whether the law and usage in the Empire recognise discriminatory treatment as between one class of citizens and another. These issues have not received adequate treatment either in the White Paper or in the Report of the Select Committee or in the four years' incessant palaver in which the Indian delegates took part at the successive sessions of the Round Table Conference.

Certain rights, as has been indicated above, flow from citizenship and in dealing with those rights it was the duty of the Round Table delegates to raise the question of nationality and seek to define its range and extent in connection with those rights. It may be noted that the issue was taken up by the Nehru Committee of which the



Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was a distinguished member. It is regrettable that the Right Honourable gentleman should have failed to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to this important problem.

There is a considerable amount of confusion regarding the position of European British subjects in India. There is a belief widely held in the country that persons other than natural-born Indians are not India's nationals. As far back as February, 1932, Sir Hari Sing Gour was reported to have expressed the view in the course of his speech on the proposal in the Assembly to accord protection to bamboo paper and pulp that "He does not regard the *British* as citizens unless they take out naturalisation papers and disclaim citizenship elsewhere." Only recently in an article in the January number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Naliniranjan Sarker wrote: "On the plea of eliminating racial discrimination the J. P. C. have completely overlooked the legitimate distinction between "national" and "non-national," and consequently even such rights of discrimination in favour of "nationals" as are recognised by international practices and are inherent in nationhood itself, have been denied to India." The confusion seems to have arisen from the different connotations which the expression "nationality" bears. In one sense, as the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929, points out, it is used to indicate the common consciousness based upon race, language, traditions or other analogous ties and interests and is not necessarily limited to the geographic bounds of any particular State. In another and more technical sense it implies a definite connection with a definite State and Government, and the use of the term in the latter sense has, in the case of the British Empire, been attended by some ambiguity, due in part to its use for the purpose of denoting also the concept of allegiance to the sovereign. In this sense nationality means citizenship, although barring the Irish Free State and the Dominion of Canada no part of the Empire recognises in constitutional law the use of the term "citizenship." In the Empire generally a citizen is known as a subject. What is important, however, is to secure an answer to the question whether or not European British subjects are citizens or nationals of this country. Strange as it may appear, Indians are "nationals" of their country not simply by their birth or by their residence

but by an Act of Parliament known as The Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, which has defined in Part I British subjects for all parts of the Empire. In terms of that Act all persons within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance are nationals of India. There is no Indian Act defining Indian citizenship. But there is a law (Act VII of February 26, 1926, recently amended) which has sought to consolidate and amend the law relating to the naturalisation in British India of aliens resident therein. This Act which is a local measure is a naturalisation Act and, as the name implies, is intended for foreigners. In this Act also a "British subject" means a "British subject" as defined in section 27 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, thereby accepting the supremacy of an Imperial Act over Indian legislation. In law and in fact the British at present are nationals in this country and are not required to take out naturalisation papers. In dealing with them India cannot be presumed to be dealing with aliens as is contemplated in Mr. Sarker's thesis.

It is perfectly true that it is a common practice in commercial, shipping and other matters to discriminate citizens as against foreigners. A very interesting account of how the coasting trade of certain States is reserved to their nationals is given in a League document (C 195. M. 78, 1931). It is also to be noted that the British Empire recognises the principle of discriminatory treatment in the matter of shipping, for it is laid down in the draft agreement as to British Commonwealth merchant shipping adopted by the Dominions that:

1. "No ship shall be registered in any port within the British Commonwealth so as to acquire the status and recognition mentioned in paragraph 2 of this article unless it is owned wholly by persons of the following description, *viz.*

(a) Persons recognised by law throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations as having the status of natural-born British subjects ;

(b) Persons naturalised by or in pursuance of the law of some part of the British Commonwealth ;

(c) Persons made denizens by letters of denization and

(d) Bodies corporate established under and subject to the law of some part of the British Commonwealth and having their principal place of business within the British Commonwealth.

2. Every ship so owned and duly registered within the British Commonwealth shall possess a common status for all purposes and shall be entitled to the recognition usually accorded to British ships."

These safeguarding clauses in the agreement are not for any part of the Empire against another but for the Empire as a unit against foreign States or Powers. They are mentioned here only to reinforce the argument that the principle of discrimination is accepted and upheld by almost all nations including the British Empire.

That point is admitted and is not open to any doubt whatsoever. But the point at issue is whether in the British Commonwealth there is in law and in practice discrimination of one class of citizens against another. When British shipping has been specially sought to be protected in the Select Committee's Report (paragraph 354), it is well to bear in mind that the Commonwealth shipping agreement referred to above gives each part of the Commonwealth power "to regulate its own coasting trade" and further provides that nothing in the agreement shall be deemed to derogate from the right of every part of the Commonwealth to impose customs tariff duties on ships built outside that part or to restrict the right of the Government of each part of the Commonwealth to give financial assistance to ships registered in that part or its right to regulate the sea fisheries of that part. The case for discrimination by one part of the Commonwealth against another has thus clearly been acknowledged in the agreement, although an attempt has been made to secure common status for all ships of those parts of the Empire which are parties to the agreement.

We have already referred to the definition of a "British subject" incorporated in the Imperial Act of 1914, which is applicable to all parts of the Empire. But it is interesting to remember that the Imperial Act of 1914 was passed with full Dominion consent and approval and it was not contemplated then that the Dominions would be called upon to vary the definition of the British subject by local legislation; and hence no power to do so was inserted in the Act. But there have been since some important and far-reaching developments in inter-Imperial relations. In 1921, the Dominion of Canada decided to accept membership on the Permanent Court of International Justice. If, however, Canadians were treated as British nationals only two British subjects could under the Statute of the Court be nominated as candidates.

The Statute further provided that if two members were elected, both subjects of one member of the League, the senior was alone to be allowed to sit, thereby ruling out the chance of a Dominion judge ever serving the Court. In order to remove this disability the Dominion passed a Nationals Act in 1921, which was purely a local measure. The Canadian precedent was followed in 1927 by the Union of South Africa. Of course no one of the Dominion constitutions contains any law relating to nationality or citizenship. But the Irish Free State has made a departure, apparently with the approval of the British Government, from the recognised procedure of Empire Jurisprudence. The Irish constitution (article 3) gives citizenship to every person domiciled within the State area when the constitution took effect, if he or either parent were born in Ireland or if he had been resident for seven years in the State area. It may be that most of the persons coming under the purview of this clause would be British subjects as defined in the Act of 1914, but it shows convincingly that British subjects are not by virtue of the fact that they are British subjects citizens of the Irish Free State.

The question of the common Crown, however, brings in the question of common allegiance and on that common allegiance the entire conception of British citizenship has been allowed to rest as is evidenced by the well-known decision in Calvin's case. It was decided in that case that persons born in Scotland after the union of the Crowns of England and Scotland were natural-born British subjects "despite the absolutely distinct character of the two kingdoms." The same view was taken in the case of the union of the Crown of England with the Electorate of Hanover. From this it follows that even if different parts of the Empire were treated as separate kingdoms their inhabitants would be subjects of the Crown in the United Kingdom so long as they owed allegiance to the Crown. This is of course stretching the legal aspect rather too far. Historically and for centuries the concept of nationality has been determined by the English Common Law which had been carried to the Dominions or to other British possessions whether acquired by settlement or by conquest, but the development of the nationality idea and law has kept pace with the development of Dominion sovereignty and we find to-day definite attempts to distinguish by local legislation from among the wide category of British subjects specific types of Dominion nationals. A formula was sought to be evolved

in the Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929, for the purpose of providing security against confusion. The Report states:

“ The status of the Dominions in international relations, the fact that the King on the advice of his several Governments assumes obligations and acquires right by treaty on behalf of individual members of the Commonwealth, and the position of the members of the Commonwealth in the League of Nations and in relation to the Permanent Court of Justice, do not merely involve the recognition of these communities as distinct juristic entities, but also compel recognition of a particular status of membership of those communities for legal and political purposes. These exigencies have already become apparent; and two of the Dominions have passed Acts defining their “ nationals ” *both for national and international purposes.*”

But stress was at the same time laid on the unity of members of the Commonwealth supposed to arise out of a common allegiance to the Crown which was taken in the Report as the basis of common status possessed by all subjects of the King. It was further claimed that this common status was given statutory recognition and force through the operation of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914. It was however made clear that although this status could not be conferred on any person to be operative throughout the Empire save in pursuance of legislation based upon common agreement, it was in no way inconsistent with the recognition *within and without the Commonwealth* of the distinct nationality possessed by the citizens of individual members of the British Commonwealth. The Imperial Conference of 1930 re-affirmed those principles in clear words. It recognised once again the existence of a common status possessed by all subjects of the King based upon allegiance and made statutory by the Act of 1914. It recognised further the right on the part of every Dominion to create a particular status for political and legal purposes and to define by local legislation its own nationals for *national and international purposes*. It also laid down that if any changes were desired in the existing requirements for the common status, provisions should be made for the maintenance of the common status and that the changes should only be introduced after consultation and agreement among several members of the Commonwealth. It was agreed at the Conference that each Dominion should, as far as possible, confer its nationality only on those possessing the common

status and that the possession of that status should be recognised by the Commonwealth. It was, however, stipulated that although Dominion nationals should be persons possessing the common status, local conditions or other special circumstances might from time to time necessitate divergences from that general principle. Two points seem to emerge both from the Report of the Conference on Dominion Legislation, 1929, and from the Imperial Conference, 1930. These are: (1) that each Dominion is free to act in defining its nationals both for internal and extra-territorial purposes, and (2) that there must be recognition by each Dominion of the common status of British subjects based on a common allegiance to the Crown despite its power to act.

This agreement is rather defective and lacking in precision and is liable to misinterpretation in different parts of the British Commonwealth. Speaking in the Dail on July 16, 1931, Mr. McGilligan observed as follows:

“The essential point is that you have not a single Commonwealth nationality based upon a single law. It is not a single Commonwealth nationality at all, or even a dual nationality. The Irish Free State national will be that and nothing else so far as his nationality is concerned. His own nationality law will rule him and his own State, through its representatives abroad, will protect him. . . . And the recognition of his Irish nationality will be Commonwealth-wide and world-wide.”

There was no mention in his speech to the so-called common status, far less any recognition of it. That Mr. McGilligan's speech was not a pleasing oration on a festive occasion is clear by the introduction recently by Mr. de Valera of a Bill known as the Irish Citizenship Bill. This measure has led to an acute triangular controversy in England, in the Free State and in Scotland. Clause 28 of the Bill repeals for the State the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, and the subsequent amending legislation of 1918. Mr. de Valera claims that it would be an impertinence if the British Government were to claim as citizens of their country persons owing allegiance to the Free State should the Bill be passed into law. Mr. Thomas, on the contrary, while admitting the right of the Free State to define its citizens, challenges its power to deprive any British subject of the status he possesses presumably in terms of the resolution of the Imperial Conference, 1930. In the course of an

article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the subject Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith observes that Mr. Thomas' dictum is in one sense beyond question. "If the United Kingdom," he writes, "were internationally distinct from the Free State, it is clear that as far as international law was concerned, the State could not by legislation affect the international status of a British subject." But he thinks that that is not Mr. Thomas' point. The Dominion Secretary's thesis is interpreted to mean that even if the Bill be passed into law, the vast majority of Irish citizens will remain British subjects. Dr. Keith then proceeds to point out that the Bill is certainly effective to deprive of British nationality in the State territory all persons whose status is as such merely statutory and does not rest on Common Law. He admits, however, that the case of persons whose allegiance is natural by Common Law is undoubtedly open to argument.

Three points seem to have been emphasized by Dr. Keith in connection with the Irish Citizenship Bill. First, it is doubtful whether the Irish Free State can by legislation destroy the common status of Irish men and women as British subjects in places outside the Irish territory. Secondly, if the common status is based on the English Common Law in respect of Irish citizens, it is doubtful whether the Irish Free State can pass a measure effective to affect or to destroy that status. Thirdly, within the Irish territory the Free State is competent to act in defining its nationals in defiance of the provisions contained in the Imperial Act of 1914 as amended in 1918. It is now for us to examine these three propositions. So far as the third proposition is concerned, I am on common ground with Dr. Keith and I am definitely of opinion that the Imperial Government cannot in law stand in the way of the Irish Free State defining its nationals and determining their status within the State territory. Any interference by the former would be not only against the law but against the usage that has been established in the Dominions, and is bound to provoke hostility from all the Dominions. It is with regard to the other two propositions that doubts have arisen. But it is recognised in clause 78 of the Report of the Conference on Dominion Legislation that each Dominion will have power to evolve its distinct nationality both "within and without the Commonwealth." Dr. Keith does not refer to that clause, but he admits in his letter to the *Guardian* with reference to the Imperial Conference of 1930, which adopts the nationality clauses of the Report

submitted a year before, that a Dominion is within its rights to define its nationals both for "national and international purposes." It is true that the Canadian Nationals Act was necessitated by the Dominion's anxiety to have a seat on the International Court of Justice. But there is nothing in the Act or in any Imperial legislation suggesting that the distinct type of Canadian nationality would be internationally valid only in regard to the composition or personnel of the International Court. There is, in other words, absolutely no restriction on the extra-territorial effect of any Dominion legislation pertaining to nationality. All doubt in this matter has been removed by section 3 of the Statute of Westminster which lays down: "It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation." Dr. Keith is apparently aware of the force of this argument as is indicated by his remark that the responsibility for the situation belongs to the British Parliament which passed the Statute of Westminster without realising the effect of their own action and which deliberately refrained from safeguarding from elimination by a Dominion Act the doctrine of common allegiance to the Crown. But it is difficult to reconcile this statement to the suggestion made in his letter that outside the Irish territory an Irish Act defining the status of its own citizens for national and international purposes may not be held valid. Of course the Statute of Westminster gives the Irish legislature no right to repeal or amend any British legislation save in so far as it is part of the law of the Free State. But it is clear that Mr. de Valera's Citizenship Bill purports to repeal British legislation in so far as it affects Free State citizens and I cannot see how the Free State can be prevented by the Imperial Government from replacing for its citizens the status of British subjects for international purposes by its own status created by its own law. Nor is Dr. Keith's reference to the English Common Law free from ambiguity. There is no difficulty in the doctrine that the Common Law in regard to nationality is in force only to the extent that it is not modified by statute, and Dr. Keith is perfectly right when he argues that the Common Law regarding British nationality was superseded by Acts of Parliament and is not revived by their repeal wherever that repeal might take place. But there is a suggestion in his letter that if the law of British nationality were part of the Common Law of England, the Free State could not affect it by



legislation. It means, in short, that the English Common Law is binding upon a Dominion Government. Such a view is clearly wrong. It appears that Dr. Keith contradicts in his letter the very sensible opinion he has expressed in his book entitled *The Constitutional Law of the British Dominions*. The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 contemplated that Colonial legislation should be in accord with the principles of English law. Difficulties were experienced in enforcing that doctrine and it was finally decided that the restrictions on the law-making powers of the Colonial legislatures would apply only to statutory enactments and the rules made thereunder which were, expressly or by necessary intendment, applicable to the Colonies. "Colonial legislatures," observes Dr. Keith, "were thus rendered free to enact measures which contravened the principles of the Common Law of England or of statutory law when such statutory law had merely been introduced in that Colony on its foundation as part of the inheritance of the English law." Matters in which the Colonial legislatures were, according to him, not free to act were those providing for the treatment of fugitive offenders, for extradition, for foreign enlistment and certain other international issues such as prize jurisdiction and admiralty jurisdiction. There is no reservation in the case of the law on nationality. The authority of the Dominions in this behalf is, under the Statute of Westminster, open to no doubt whatsoever. Section 2 of that Act expressly provides that the Colonial Laws Validity Act shall no longer apply to any law enacted by the Parliament of a Dominion. In order to put the matter beyond challenge in any quarter the Statute further lays down that "no law and no provision of any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the *law of England* or to the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Parliament of a Dominion shall include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as the same is part of the law of the Dominion." Where then is the force in the argument that the Irish Free State, or for that matter, any Dominion, could not modify or alter the status of its own citizens which might have been based on the English Common Law? We note, however, that Dr. Keith in his letter to the *Guardian* does not state his proposition very clearly, but there is a clear hint which

appears to me to be inconsistent with the development and incidence of Dominion sovereignty. "If the United Kingdom," says Dr. Keith, "were internationally distinct from the Free State, it is clear that as far as international law was concerned, the State could not by legislation affect the international status of a British subject." It is a hypothetical conclusion based upon a hypothetical premise. What Mr. de Valera claims is not the right to affect the international status of a British subject but the power to prevent the United Kingdom from defining the national and international status of an Irish citizen. What the status of an Irish national is and should be in international law is the concern now not of the United Kingdom but of the Free State. It is a matter of negotiations between that State and foreign Powers. The Statute of Westminster has made that position unassailable. At best Dr. Keith's argument cuts both ways.

Now, common status does not carry with it common rights. Those parts of the Empire where the definition of a British subject as incorporated in the Imperial Act of 1914 is applicable have established the doctrine in a convincing manner that they have power to discriminate between one type of British citizens and another. That doctrine is an essential part of the Dominion law. The British Government are powerless to insist on similarity or simultaneity in the law-making of the self-governing parts of the Empire. Common allegiance to the Crown is of no practical use in the matter of equality of treatment to British citizens in each and every part of the British Empire. I am in complete agreement with Dr. Pittius when he says that "it must not for one moment be thought that a natural-born British subject enjoys by virtue of his nationality any social and political rights in all the Dominions. He does not. All legislation discriminating between British subjects has been carefully safeguarded." In one sense the protection of the Imperial Government for a British subject is far more effective in foreign countries than it is in the Dominions. It is also to be remembered that in certain Dominions a foreigner naturalised by them enjoys within their territories greater political, economic and even civil rights than a natural-born British subject. In 1923, in a memorandum submitted to the Imperial Conference General Smuts observed as follows:

"There is no equality of British citizenship throughout the Empire. On the contrary, there is every imaginable difference

.....British citizenship has been variable in the past ; it is bound to be even more in the future.....The composition and character and rights of its people will be the concern of each free and equal State of the Empire. It will not only regulate immigration from other parts of the Empire as well as from the outside world, but it will also settle the rights of its citizens as a matter of domestic concern."

To us in India whose fellow countrymen domiciled in the Union of South Africa keep India regularly informed of their sufferings on grounds of their colour and race, General Smuts' dictum may appear to be repulsive and even reactionary, but I think that no one has stated the law relating to Empire citizenship and its implications more clearly and more forcibly than the gallant General. It may be recalled that one of our greatest constitutional lawyers who was present at that Conference did not refrain from holding out to him a thinly-veiled threat. But some time later he himself proved in a speech in the Benares Hindu University that he was a convert to that dictum. "The principle" (Commonwealth nationality), said Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, "however, we are told by constitutional lawyers, should not be pressed too far, for it is maintained by them that the fact does not prevent any part of the Empire limiting the rights, political and civil, of any British subject. This is the inevitable consequence of responsible self-government." But it appears to me that Sir Tej has not taken due note of a very important point. The right to treat differently different classes of British subjects is not confined merely to the self-governing Dominions ; that right has been accorded to all British *possessions* irrespective of their status and functions in the delicate political system known as the British Commonwealth of Nations, for it is laid down in Section 26 (1) of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 that "nothing in this Act shall take away or abridge any power vested in, or exercisable by, the Legislature or Government of any British possession, or affect the operation of any law at present in force which has been passed in exercise of such a power, or prevent any such Legislature or Government from treating differently different classes of British subjects." From the legal and constitutional standpoint there can therefore be no objection to anti-Indian laws and regulations which have been adopted not only in the Dominions but in some of the Crown Colonies. The legal or constitutional propriety of their action, that is, is not open to any

challenge. The actual method of discrimination followed is by restricting immigration and by exclusively reserving rights for nationals in the terms of local legislation.

The Irish Free State has introduced the principle that citizenship must be the basis of political rights. The same principle has been followed in the Union of South Africa in connection with a law passed in 1931 extending adult franchise to non-natives. It is not, however, necessary for the purposes of this article to discuss in detail laws of discrimination adopted in different parts of the Empire from time to time. The whole chapter on commercial and other forms of discrimination in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is not only a departure from the usage which has been evolved in Empire Jurisprudence establishing the right to discriminate, on the part of a Dominion, between one type of citizens and another, but is also an attempt to reduce the future Government of India, as contemplated in the Linlithgow scheme, to a position worse than and inferior to that of a British possession or a Crown Colony. Even the status and powers proposed to be accorded to separated Burma *vis-a-vis* His Majesty's Indian subjects are far better. *Apropos* of the memorandum dealing with the right of entry of Indian subjects into Burma submitted to them the Joint Select Committee state that "it is clear that in these circumstances it would be unreasonable to include in a new constitution for Burma provisions which would in effect give to all persons domiciled in India an unrestricted right of entry into Burma; and it is accordingly proposed that it should be competent for the Burma legislature to enact legislation restricting or imposing conditions of entry into Burma in respect of all persons other than British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom. We think that this is right." While the right of the Burma legislature to regulate and control immigration from India is clearly admitted, provision is made that the introduction of any Bill regulating immigration should be subject to the Governor's prior consent. But that safeguard is in time bound to prove illusory under the pressure of public opinion and in accordance with the usage established in the self-governing States of the Commonwealth. Whether it proves illusory or not, the fact is clear that Federal India or any part thereof will have no such power. It is also clear that Burma will have the right to discriminate against Indians and not European British subjects, a remarkable phenomenon indeed in the

constitutional development of Indo-Burmese relations under the aegis of the British Raj ! It is doubtful whether under the projected constitution India will have power to retaliate.

What we deplore is not the White Paper, nor its offspring, the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, but the fact that Indian statesmen who ought to know better have discovered in the scheme the " seeds of growth and development " *face* clause 110 (b) of the Government of India Bill which keeps outside the purview of the Indian legislatures, Federal and Provincial, the law of British nationality, and those mystic " essentials " which will lead the country to our cherished goal ! Of course the constitution will grow and develop not because of the " seeds " that Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues have sown in the sight of an old and clever bird like the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, not because of the " essentials " which seem to have appeased His Highness the Aga Khan, but because public opinion and nationalist forces will assert themselves and sweep onward and carry India to her political destiny. It is in man's nature to revolt against and fight the forces that resist and retard. Where is the guarantee in the constitutional reservations and restraints that fortune is going to be kinder and more accommodating to those, who like ostriches refuse to see, than the waves were to King Canute ?

*Calcutta.*

# PESHWA BAJEE RAO II, THE GAIKWAD AND THE ENGLISH

MR. PRATULCHANDRA GUPTA, M.A.

THE year 1814 was the dividing line of the reign of Bajee Rao II. The current of events which had so long flowed more or less on uniform soil entered a cataract ending with the final disaster of 1818. Before the year the coming events could not be anticipated. The Peshwa maintained friendly relations with the English, the fire in other Maratha houses gradually died out and the only troubles which faced the British Government in Western India were the disturbances created by Rani Durga Bai of Wari and the depredations of the Pindarees.

But from the beginning of 1814 or possibly from some time earlier, dissatisfaction with the British policy and antagonism of the English lurked in the background of the activities of the Maratha statesmen. In the beginning of that year Jenkins, the Resident at Nagpore, scented secret negotiations between the Courts of Nagpore and Poona through one Narayan Rao who was formerly the Peshwa's vakeel.<sup>1</sup> The English Resident at first attributed them to the desire of the Bhonsla to recover some of his lost territories and did not ascribe any great political significance to the fact. The traditional jealousy among other Maratha chiefs were temporarily subdued and the Peshwa maintained cordiality with the powerful feudatories of the empire. He was still the traditional leader of the Maratha powers. Jenkins clearly illustrated his position in relation to other chiefs when he wrote to the Governor-General that "there is a considerable and perhaps a natural bias in the mind of all Maratha chiefs still to look up to the Poona State as their head and to attribute to it a degree of weight and authority and even independence in its connection with the British Government, which enables them to consider it as their rallying point in case of a future arrival of better prospects."<sup>2</sup>

The head of the Poona Government was of course the Peshwa. Elphinstone found him<sup>3</sup> to be wanting in courage with which he

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, II, Feb., 1814 (15).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*.

would have been "ambitious, imperious, inflexible and persevering;" he was "eager for power" though he wanted the "boldness necessary to acquire it." Though the Peshwa had a fair education and was "courteous and dignified" in his personal bearing and had wonderful charm of manners, he lacked the fundamental attributes of a ruler. He was absolutely wanting in political insight and he mistook intrigue for statesmanship. He passed his time in dissipation drugged in fumes of wine and debauchery, and surrounded by people of the worst sort. It was a disease that gradually sapped his mental faculties and made him unfit to govern. A word may be said of the circle of the Peshwa's ministers which saw a significant change about the period. The old hereditary class was supplanted by a new set of people who often rose to a position of honour and importance from stations low in life. The chief adviser of the Peshwa was Trimbakji Dangle who was originally an attendant of the Peshwa. About this time it was Trimbakji who practically ruled the empire. But he was no exception to the low ebb of political life which prevailed at the time. He might have been an able lieutenant but he had not the ability to direct the government of an empire and at a time when it did not mean sailing in smooth waters. A pigmy substitute of Nana Fadnavis, he provided the unusual sight of a tragical farce and what he did looked like "playing the rôle of a statesman on a home-made stage." Trimbakjee's rise corresponded to the downfall of the old minister Sadashiv Bhau Mankeshvar. Though he was still in office he did not enjoy his master's confidence and was relied on only in negotiations with the English with whom he enjoyed some amount of popularity. Perhaps the only capable man among Bajee Rao's associates was his general Bapu Gokhale. A portrait of his has come down to us <sup>1</sup> which represents him with the handle of the sword in the right hand. He had no pretensions to be a politician, but he was a true soldier all his life and he passed out of life as such. In the war with the English he was the only general to offer any effective resistance to the Company's troops and when he died he died literally with sword in hand. He owed to the English his rise in Peshwa's power but he shook off his gratitude and soon became a sworn enemy of the British Government.

With such a state, where the ruler had little love for the English and his advisers still less, hostilities were bound to ensue. And even if the members of the Poona ministry were as docile and meek as Sadhasiv Mankeshvar, it does not seem the war could have been

<sup>1</sup> Gupte, *Historical Records of Baroda*.

averted. The British Government was not satisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Bassein which gave it only a shadow of what it sought. Long before the First Maratha War, the attention of the East India Company was directed towards the Maratha State. During the administration of Bajee Rao the First, a letter was written by Stephen Low to Captain William Gordon in which great anxiety was shown for information of "the great and powerful enemies" of the Peshwa at the Court of Poona, who might be "depended upon."<sup>1</sup> A more interesting despatch was that dated the 18th November, 1767, containing the President and the Council's instructions to the Governor of Bombay relating to the attitude of the East India Company to the Maratha State.<sup>2</sup> "The growing power of the Marathas," it runs, "is a subject much to be lamented and has not failed to attract our attention, as well as that of Presidencies of Madras and Bengal, in so much that nothing either in their power nor ours would be omitted to check the same as far as possible...Both Madhav Rao and Ragoba have sent persons to the President with a present and assurances of friendship and regard. We know not whether either of them has any particular point in view, but we are inclined to believe that they have, particularly Ragoba. You will therefore encourage any advances which may be made to you by him."

This despatch needs no comment. It clearly shows the attitude of the East India Company towards the Maratha State. But that the last phase of the Anglo-Maratha hostilities would take place in 1815 when the Marathas were not prepared for it and the English had no anticipation of the war was due to some unforeseen events in the State of Baroda. It hastened the conflict between the English and the Marathas and what might have been an all-India rising against the supremacy of the British Government turned out to be the solitary attempts at war with the English by each of the Maratha States in isolation.

The State of Baroda was established in the beginning of the 18th century by Pilajee Gaikwad who was a servant of the Peshwa. Within a hundred years the newly founded kingdom was seized with different kinds of maladies from financial difficulties and internecine strifes. Before the beginning of the 19th century it was in the abyss of financial ruin ; in 1802 Anand Rao Gaikwad entered the Subsidiary

<sup>1</sup> Forrest, *Selection from State Papers : Maratha Series*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



Alliance and for a cessation of territories yielding a revenue of Rs. 7,80,000 (which however increased to 13 lacs and a half of rupees about 1813), the English took upon them the burden of freeing the Gaikwad from his debts.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether the Gaikwad had any good reason to be grateful to the English, for what the British Government really aimed at was not so much the increase of the Gaikwad's power as the "complete ascendancy" of the East India Company in Guzerat. This object the English readily achieved and the cover under which the British Government entered in the politics of Gujerat was gradually cast off as unnecessary. The help to the Baroda State was the part of a design and as Wallace who was a Resident at Baroda says:—

"no one was deceived into the idea that it had been disinterested or gratuitous. The Guicowar State had been the utensil of the Honourable Company; it had been embraced as an ally when required, and dismissed when no longer wanted; treaties had been made respecting it in which it was not consulted; treaties had been made with it which has been abrogated when it suited the Company's convenience; sometimes it had been induced to wage war with the Peshwa as an independent State, and then again on the return of peace it had been acknowledged as a vassal of the Maratha empire;

But not only the external policy but even the internal affairs of the State were similarly dictated by the British Government. As regards the choice of the Dewan the Gaikwad was completely in the hands of the English. Raoji Apaji the Gaikwad's minister was a great friend of the English and he practically ruled the State with the advice of the British Government while Gaikwad was a ruler in name. In a document under the seal of the English Government and the signature of Jonathan Duncan, dated the 8th June, 1802, it was explicitly stated that

"It is the wish of the Bombay Government, that the Dewanship of the Baroda State should remain always in the family of Ravjee Appajee from generation to generation and that his son, brother, nephew or relatives always be well taken care of by and receive assistance in every respect from the Government. Should His Highness the Gaikwad or anybody else raising false calumny against Ravjee Appajee do him harm while he is conducting his duties with justice, the Company's Government will personally enquire into and decide the matter....."<sup>3</sup>

Ravji Appaji died in July, 1802, after being in office for about nine years in the course of which he rendered valuable services to the

<sup>1</sup> Princep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions*.

<sup>2</sup> Wallace, *The Gaikowar and his relations with British Government*.

<sup>3</sup> Gupte, *Historical Records of Baroda*.

Company. The members of his family were assured the same assistance by the Bombay Government as was rendered to the deceased, and according to the terms of the letter quoted above the Dewanship was offered to Seetaram, the adopted son of Ravjee Appajee. In a letter written by the Governor to Seetaram the latter was formally installed in his father's place and was asked to perform his duties in the manner as "his father did by ensuring friendship with the English Bahadur" and "demolish all enemies of the State by ensuring the perpetual observance of the mutual agreements between the State and the English Bahadur."<sup>1</sup> In the same letter Seetaram was also given the power jointly with the Government to select from his family any one to rule the State in case any of his descendants disturb the "friendly relations" with the English and "behave unjustly." The rise of the Prabhu Minister and this usurpation of political power were not favoured by a large section of the Baroda Court, who to their dismay found the power of the Gaikwad gradually usurped by the Bombay Government through the minister as their instrument. The death of Ravji Appaji and the appointment of Seetaram to the post of the Dewan excited this faction into a conspiracy for the driving away of the English from Baroda and the destruction of Seetaram. The plot was favoured by the relations of the Gaikwad and included among the prominent conspirators Tuckutbai, the wife of the Gaikwad and probably the Gaikwad himself.<sup>2</sup> The rebellion was hurriedly put down and some of the ringleaders were imprisoned. But the destruction of Seetaram's power was imminent. He possessed neither the talent nor the cleverness of his father and for a period of three years he carried on his work with such incompetency that proposals were made to call his uncle Babajee to the administration of the State. This idea was naturally detested by Seetaram and in vain he sent deputations to Bombay and alternately appealed to and upbraided the British Government charging them with breach of faith.<sup>3</sup> He called upon the neighbouring states to his assistance and in December 1812 when he was shorn of his power he joined in the anti-British agitation in Baroda and became one of the prominent members of this party.

The reason why the Dewan lost his popularity with the English was no doubt his incompetency but also on account of the emergence of a new

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Malet, *Baroda Estate*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

figure in the tangled web of Maratha politics. This man was Gangadhur Shastree Putwurdhan who came from the South and ultimately secured the office of the Prime Minister in that State with the help of the English. Gangadhur was born about 1775 when Nana Fadnavis was at the height of his power. In his early days, he entered the service of the Phadke family at Poona. After some time he incurred the displeasure of Nana Fadnavis and escaped to Baroda. He became a favourite of Ravji Appaji who was then the Dewan of the Gaikwad and was introduced to the English. The Bombay Government found him "to be of the greatest value" and from this time he basked in the sunshine of the Company's favour. In the February of 1803, he was appointed an agent of the British Government to carry on negotiations with the Gaikwad's Court on a pay of hundred rupees per month.<sup>1</sup> His services highly pleased the Bombay Government who in 1805 presented him with Rupees four thousand on the occasion of his daughter's marriage and the next year a palanquin was given to him with a suitable allowance.<sup>2</sup> In 1813, he became the Dewan on a salary of sixty thousand rupees and obtained the title of Mutalique. He was highly favoured by Elphinstone who in a private letter described him as

"A person of great shrewdness and talent who keeps the whole State of Baroda in the highest order and here lavishes his money and marshals his *suwary* in such style as to draw the attention of the whole place. Though a very learned Shastree he affects to be quite an Englishman, walks fast, talks fast, interrupts and contradicts, and calls the Peshwa and his ministers 'old fools' and 'damned rascals' or rather 'dam rascal'....." <sup>3</sup>

The capability and talent of the Shastree cannot be doubted but the main reason for which he was hated by his countrymen and valued by the English was his popularity with the heir-apparent Futeh Singh over whom he "exercised a severe control."<sup>4</sup> Had Gangadhur Shastree been allowed to carry on the administration the economical position of the Gaikwad's state would have been improved but before he settled down to his work important financial transactions called him to Poona.

For more than sixty years the Gaikwad owed large sums of money to the Peshwa on various grounds and about this time the amount was more than three crores and a half. The beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> *Rulers of Baroda* (anonymous).

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Review*, "The Last of the Peshwas."

<sup>3</sup> Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone* (quoted in Grant Duff).

<sup>4</sup> Wallace, *The Gaikwar and his relations with British Government*.

Peshwa's claim is to be traced as early as 1751 when Damaji Gaikwad, after an unsuccessful insurrection against the Peshwa Balaji Bajee Rao, was imprisoned and compelled to buy his liberty by entering into certain conditions. In the first place he had to give up half of Gujarat and held the other half as a vassal to the Peshwa. Secondly, he had to promise to help the Peshwa actively for the reduction of Ahmedabad. The Gaikwad had a temporary set-back to his power but later on taking advantage of a quarrel between Madhav Rao and Raghoba, he sided with the latter. Unfortunately for him Madhav Rao came out successful from the strife and inflicted on him an annual tribute of five lacs and seventy-five thousands of rupees as a penal measure. In 1768 there was a dispute as to succession between the Gaikwad's sons and one of the sons, Sayaji, who was an imbecile, succeeded owing to the support of his younger brother Futeh Singh.<sup>1</sup> Futeh Singh appealed to the Poona Court and received for his brother the recognition of the Peshwa and for himself the title of Mutalique to the Gaikwad. The price they had to pay was enormous. An agreement was made for the payment of 17 lacs and 80 thousands of rupees annually to the Peshwa and the Gaikwad received the permission to withdraw his cavalry from Poona agreeing to pay a sum of Rs. 6,75,000 per year as penalty for non-attendance. The sums promised in all these transactions were such as Baroda could ill afford to pay and it was not unoften that no payment was made. The result was that in 1813 the debt amounted to two crores as arrears of the tribute and one crore and a half for other claims. The Gaikwad who had hardly recovered from insolvency was not in a position to pay and tried to make out a case for himself. In the first place he argued that transfer of the city of Broach from the Gaikwad's possession to the English by Peshwa was a clear violation of his rights and he was entitled to compensation; and secondly the Gaikwad put down a rebellion in the Gujarat suba of the Peshwa on his instructions and thereby incurred heavy expenses. It was urged that both these acts caused heavy losses to the Gaikwad and they were to be taken as a set-off to the Peshwa's claims.

Besides these claims and counter-claims, the other point which called for immediate attention was the renewal of the farm of Ahmedabad which had been leased to the Gaikwad by the Peshwa.

<sup>1</sup> Princep, *Political and Military Transactions*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

On the expiry of the lease the Peshwa was determined not to renew it. Not only did it mean serious loss to the Gaikwad but also difficulties for the English, for the State of Baroda and the East India Company were tied to each other by financial agreements. Moreover since the expiry of the lease, trouble was fomenting in Kathiawad and small insurrections broke out headed by Khawas chiefs in Ionia, Balumba, Amrun and other parts of Western India.<sup>1</sup> The Gaikwad was urged by the Peshwa and prevailed upon by the English to come to a settlement, and Gangadhur Shastree was chosen as the vakeel to carry on the transaction and close it with an agreement that would satisfy both the parties. The Shastree was reluctant to visit the scene of his early life where his relations with the Government were once anything but friendly, but the English gave him a guarantee of safe return and he left for Poona.

## II

The Shastree's coming to Poona in the month of February 1814 was the fatal blunder of his life. Up till now he had been always favoured by fortune, but the height had been reached ; the moment he placed his foot on the dominion of the Peshwa he was a dead man, and true to the prophecy of a member of the Baroda Court he was not destined to return by the way he came. Gangadhur Shastree however did not trust the Peshwa and before he set out he made arrangements for his protection against the Poona Court. But the precautions were useless ; undoubtedly, there was danger but he misunderstood its source. While he directed his attention to the Peshwa, he hardly knew that the hand that would strike him was at his back and the danger lurked not in the Peshwa's dominion but in the State he served. The contempt with which he was looked upon by the majority in the Court of Baroda has been already mentioned and his temporary absence gave his political rivals ample scope and opportunity to plan his destruction. The party at Baroda, headed by Ranis Tuckutbai, Gahina Bai and the disgraced Dewan Seetaram, took upon themselves the undoing of the Shastree. Money was provided by Rani Gahina Bai and Bhagawant Rao, the illegitimate son of Anand Rao Gaikwad, and Govinda Rao Bandoji were sent to Poona to keep watch over the Shastree.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *The Gaikwar and his relations with the British Government*.

<sup>2</sup> Sardesai, *Marathi Riasat*.

At Poona, the reception of the Shastree was anything but cordial. Before Gangadhar Shastree came to Poona, Baji Rao showed his reluctance to recognise him as the vakeel of the Gaikwad and requested the Resident to see that some other person might be sent instead.<sup>1</sup> The Peshwa's objection was twofold. He pointed out to Elphinstone the dishonour he would incur by receiving one who was formerly a servant of the Phadkes, the deadly enemies of the Peshwa. In the second place, he argued that the right of investiture of the dewanship of Baroda belonged to the Peshwa and as the appointment of Gangadhar was not sanctioned by him he could not be accepted as Dewan. The first objection was tided over by Elphinstone but the other could not be removed. He agreed to receive the Shastree but protested against his acceptance of Gangadhar "being construed into an acknowledgment of his appointment as Dewan." This point was not discussed and was allowed to be kept open for it did not appear prudent to Elphinstone to "exasperate the Peshwa by any contest on a subject" which, as Elphinstone thought, "had so little connection with the real object of the mission."<sup>2</sup>

Baji Rao at first refused to see Gangadhar; later on as the Peshwa gradually cooled down, Gangadhar Shastree took up the chance of urging the Peshwa to the new settlement. The measures with which he hoped to induce the Peshwa to the new settlement were the payment of fifty lacs of rupees and the renewal of the lease of Ahmedabad for five years at the enhanced rate of eight lacs of rupees per annum.<sup>3</sup> But for one year the Shastree stayed at Poona and no settlement was arrived at. The Peshwa's pecuniary claims and the counter-claims of the Gaikwad were not seriously looked into and the lease of Ahmedabad was granted to Trimbakji Dangle. The Bombay Government found it useless for the Shastree to wait any longer and he was asked to leave for Baroda. But about this time there grew up apparently friendship between the Peshwa and Gangadhar and the latter's departure was postponed. A new arrangement was put forward by Gangadhar Shastree who suggested the extinction of all claims of the Peshwa on the cessation of a territory "yielding a revenue of seven lacs of rupees" and hoped to carry it through. About this time he was offered the post of the Prime Minister of

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 4th Feb., 1814 (29).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rulers of Baroda* (anonymous).

the Peshwa and a marriage was arranged between the Shastree's son and the Peshwa's sister-in-law. These measures overwhelmed the Shastree with gratitude and in May, 1815, if a contemporary account is believed, he prepared the draft of a new treaty between Poona and Baroda which to say the least did not properly serve his master's interest.<sup>1</sup> By this new treaty the Gaikwad was to pay 39 lacs of rupees as arrears with interest and agree to an annual payment of one crore and ten lacs of rupees which would dissolve all claims of the Peshwa. But the proposed arrangements were not to take place. Gangadhur Shastree perceived that to enter into matrimonial relations with the Peshwa when he was sent to watch his master's interest would be the last thing expected of him, and he was nervous at the Gaikwad's continued silence on this point. The result was that the whole proceedings fell through and the preparations of the marriage were cancelled.

In the month of June or July the Peshwa and Trimbakji proceeded on pilgrimage to Punderpore and were accompanied by the Shastree. At Punderpore, in the middle of July, Gangadhur Shastree attended an entertainment given by one Ram Chunder Gosain; on his return he complained of fever. In the evening he was asked by a messenger from Trimbakji to join him in the temple of Vithova. Gangadhur Shastree at first had no intention to go but on repeated requests he started for the temple accompanied by a few of his attendants. Then, as his personal assistant Bapu Mairal tells us the story,<sup>2</sup>

"As he passed among the streets one of his attendants overheard a man in the crowd ask 'which is the Shastry' and another reply 'he who wears the necklace,' but he did not think of observing these people. The Shastry entered the temple, performed his devotions, chatted a few minutes with Trimbakji Dangle, and then proceeded towards his house. He desired three of his people to stay behind.....and he advanced himself accompanied by Trimbakji Dangle's sepoy.....When the party walked some little way from the temple three men came running behind them.....their left hands were folded up in a cloth, probably intended as a shield and in each of their right hands there seemed to be a twisted cloth.....one of the assassins struck the Shastry a very violent blow, apparently with the cloth when it was discovered that he had a sword also in his hand; another seized him by the lock of hair on the crown of his head to throw him down, and when he was falling the third assassin cut him over the head. Two more men at this juncture rushed from the front of the party, and three of the attendants who attempted to stay by the Shastry were wounded.....this was about half past eight at night."

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Forrest, Official Writings on Elphinstone.*

Next day the Shastree's attendant saw Trimbakji and sought for an enquiry. Trimbakji was full of professions but said that he had no idea on whom to fix the guilt. Regarding it useless to delay any longer the Shastree's men obtained permission from the Peshwa to leave for Baroda and make preparations for the departure.

### III

The news of the death of Gangadhur Shastree caused a stir in the outwardly placid state of affairs in the country. The air became thick with wild rumours and reports, and unusual scenes of activity were witnessed in the Residency of Poona, half of which would during the Shastree's lifetime have prevented his death. Henry Pottinger, the officer in the charge of the city of Poona, sent news to Elphinstone who was at Ellore and also wrote to the Bombay Government and the Governor-General. Elphinstone sent the preliminary report to the Governor-General from Ellora and started for Poona which he reached on the 6th of August and took charge of the situation. The next day Trimbakji returned to Poona and on the 9th the Peshwa came back privately and all the ceremonies relating to his arrival were put off. The death of the Shastree had already cast its shadow over the populace of Poona, and the Peshwa's conduct and the cancellation of the Dakshina festival on that day did not help to improve the situation. The Resident sought for an interview with the Peshwa which could not be arranged on account of the death of Peshwa's daughter. On the 15th of August he prepared a long letter to the Peshwa expressing his surprise at the want of enquiry regarding the Shastree's murder and calling upon the Peshwa to take proper steps against Trimbakji who, as Elphinstone thought, was condemned as guilty by "the universal voice of His Highness's subjects."<sup>1</sup> The purport of this letter was to bring home to the Peshwa's mind the suspicious conduct of Trimbakji, which left no doubt to Elphinstone that "Trimbakji was the principal instigator of that atrocity."

"I declare," he wrote, "my conviction of Trimbakji's guilt and I call upon Your Highness to apprehend him as well as Bundojee and Bhugwant Rao, and to deposit them in such custody as may be considered perfectly safe and trustworthy." Towards the closing portion of the same letter he stated that though it was not the

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, *Political and Military Transactions*.



intention of the British Government to interfere with the internal affairs of the Poona State, yet he had no other option but to point out that "our ambassador whose safety was guaranteed by the British Government having been murdered by one of your servants that Government must insist on the apprehension of the offender." The reference to Gangadhar Shastree as "our ambassador" can hardly escape notice. On the next day a more conciliatory note was despatched<sup>1</sup> and on the 19th another letter was sent through Sadashiv Mankeshvar which assured the Peshwa of the good faith of the English and the desire to preserve the "well cemented friendship with His Highness," but at the same time it expressed the uneasiness at the assembling of troops at Poona.<sup>2</sup> The Resident had a visit from Sadashiv Mankeshvar, the minister of the Peshwa, who argued that the appearance of troops at Poona was only due to the coming Dakshina festival and had no political reasons behind it.<sup>3</sup> Elphinstone however was not at all impressed by this assurance and he guessed that the real object of the communication was nothing but to gain time, and on the 16th events had already happened which further complicated the situation. As the feelings between the English and the Poona Government ran high the Resident asked Bapu Mairal, the assistant to the Shastree, to leave the city with his party and encamp near the Residency. As he left the city and made way towards the English station, the greater portion of the Gaikwad's cavalry in his service mutinied and encircled him with threats.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the night of the 16th the confusion continued while the Resident sat powerless to interfere. Any help coming from the British would have been fatal to Bapu Mairal's life and the first shot fired from the English artillery might have been taken as an act of war and scared the Peshwa out of the city. The only course that remained was attempted and silver succeeded where other instruments failed. A sum of one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees passed from Elphinstone to the mutineers, and the turmoil subsided. Bapuji Mairal made good his escape at the first chance and took shelter near the Residency. The mutiny took place on the pretext of arrears of pay, but it was not difficult to see in it the designing hand of the Baroda agent, Bandoji, and the arrest of one

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Sept., 1815 (136).

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Sept., 1815 (137).

<sup>3</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Sept., 1815 (135).

<sup>4</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Sept., 1815 (133).

of his emissaries exposed the whole story.<sup>1</sup> Next day, Anund Rao, an agent of Sadashiv Mankeshvar, saw the Resident and was profuse in the declaration of the Peshwa's sincerity and good faith. He also gave information that the Peshwa had issued orders for the arrest of Bhugwant Rao Gaikwad and Govind Rao Bundoji. These professions did very little to assure Elphinstone but he counted more on the coming of the subsidiary force to Poona, the first division of which arrived on the morning of the 17th and others were expected in a day or two. On the evening of the 20th the Peshwa had an interview with Major Ford when he again spoke of his sincerity and his belief in the good faith of the English and, in the presence of his ministers Sadashiv Mankeshvar and Dhoonda Raj Bhow, expressed his willingness to punish Trimbakji only if his participation in the crime could be proved.<sup>2</sup> This was accepted by Elphinstone who on the 22nd sent a message to the minister through Kisher Rao, offering to prove Trimbakji's solicitude for the coming of the Shastree to the temple on the evening of his murder.<sup>3</sup> The Resident was waited upon by a deputation of the Maratha chiefs consisting of Balloba Vinchurkur, Moro Dixit, Chinnaji Narayan, Gopal Rao and Anand Rao and Major Ford was also present at the desire of the Peshwa. The Resident laid before them the propriety of arresting Trimbakji and repeated his offer to prove Trimbakji's guilt.<sup>4</sup> The deputation promised to report what Elphinstone said to the Peshwa, but the Resident understood that nothing could be expected of it. On the 29th he forwarded a despatch to the Governor-General in which he dwelt at length on the unfortunate consequence of the policy the Peshwa followed, and pointed out that though the Peshwa was not particularly eager to give up the alliance with the English yet he was quite under the spell of his favourite "who was bringing him blindfold into a course that must lead to the ruin of his government."<sup>5</sup> On the same date he received information that both Appa Dessye at Dharwar and Bapu Gokhla in the South had raised an army and were preparing to move. The army came up to Alundi within 12 miles of Poona but then retired to the river Paira and there was joined by other forces making a body of about 3,000 men.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (139).

<sup>3</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (140).

<sup>4</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (142).

<sup>5</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (144).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

So passed the month of August without any tangible result. The number of letters and messages passed between the parties raised only the dust of controversy but did nothing to change the Peshwa's attitude. Elphinstone did his best to persuade the Peshwa to meet the demands of the English, with practically no result; and the only course left to him he was reluctant to follow without being backed by the authority of the Government. September brought a change. On the first day of the month Elphinstone received the despatch from the Governor-General from Futehgurh, dated the 15th August, 1815, which contained full approval of the conduct of the Resident and suggested certain means for dealing with the situation but practically gave him a 'carte blanche' at any turn of events.<sup>1</sup> The Governor-General also wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay<sup>2</sup> and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George<sup>3</sup> to supply the Resident with any military aid that might be necessary. The Resident at Hyderabad was also instructed to co operate with Elphinstone<sup>4</sup> and Colonel Doveton was directed to hold in readiness the force under his command and to conform to any instructions that might be received from Poona.<sup>5</sup> A note addressed to the Peshwa was sent to Elphinstone to be properly delivered, calling upon the Peshwa for exertions "for the discovery and punishment of the perpetrator" of the crime, and requesting him to treat any statement coming from Elphinstone as directly proceeding from the Governor-General.<sup>6</sup> With such support from the Government, Elphinstone decided to take a bolder step. He prepared another letter to the Peshwa and submitted it on the 4th with the letter from the Governor-General.<sup>7</sup> In that letter Elphinstone acquainted the Peshwa with the summary of the instructions received by him from Lord Moira; he then referred to the negligence of the Maratha Government to deal with the murderers of the Shastree and expressed his 'surprise and affliction' at the conduct the Peshwa had adopted. He stated that the vague suspicion he had formerly of Trimbakji's guilt had become almost a certainty in the light of later events, so he would ask the Peshwa to make him over to the British Government

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (26).

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (28).

<sup>3</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (29).

<sup>4</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (30).

<sup>5</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (31).

<sup>6</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Sept., 1815 (27).

<sup>7</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 7th Oct., 1815 (71).

to be detained in prison. A refusal to do it would be construed as taking recourse to hostilities and in that case the Peshwa was to be prepared for the worst. The Peshwa and his sardars sat all night pondering over the course to be adopted and on the morning of the 5th, Sadashiv Mankesvar was sent to conciliate Elphinstone, but the latter refused to hear anything until Trimbakji was arrested.<sup>1</sup> The day passed in deliberation and in the night Trimbakjee was sent to Wusuntgarh to keep up the show of arrest. But the stratagem had no effect on Elphinstone and on the morning of the next day when Sadashiv saw him with the news, he pointed out that it rested with the Peshwa to provide means for preventing his escape, but the situation was beyond his control, for the Governor-General had been acquainted with the previous conduct of the Peshwa and it rested on the latter to regard the episode as closed or not.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th Sadashiv again made an attempt to conciliate Elphinstone and asked him not to exceed the demands. It was, he said, on account of his pledge to the Peshwa that no further demands would be made that the latter consented to the imprisonment of Trimbakji and if the demands were to be continued he had no other means of escape from the difficulties but to take poison.<sup>3</sup> The threat of the suicide however did not move Elphinstone and the minister's appeal lost its weight when next day three persons from the Peshwa, Moro Dixit, Dhoondu Punt Nagarkur and Neelkunt Rao came to the Residency to report that the imprisonment of Trimbakji took place at the Peshwa's desire and the minister had very little to do with it.<sup>4</sup> On the morning of the 9th Elphinstone had a note from Sadashiv, in which he protested against the arrival of Colonel Smith's force at Poona and expressed the doubts of the Peshwa "regarding the ultimate designs of the British Government." To this Elphinstone gave an assuring reply, but asked the Peshwa not to order his troops to Poona and not to quit the city. In fact, the Peshwa was for some time wavering between war and peace and there was a rumour afloat that he intended to fly to Wai where he was to be joined by his troops and Appa Dessai. But before the last message of Elphinstone was on its way the Peshwa had been frightened into submission. He sent for Major Ford who visited his palace and had

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, *Political and Military Transactions*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Oct., 1815 (26).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

a consultation with Chimnaji Narayan and Moro Dixit as to the means of re-establishing harmony and good faith between the two governments. Finding no other alternative the Peshwa at last consented to give up Trimbakji. It was arranged that a party of Major Ford's Brigade would take charge of him at Wusuntgarh and make him over to a British detachment.<sup>1</sup> According to the Peshwa's wish Gopaul Punt, the Vokeel of Major Ford's Brigade, visited the Residency and informed the Peshwa of Elphinstone's approval of the whole scheme. Accordingly a body of English troops under Captain Hick set out for Wusuntgarh on the 11th September and took charge of Trimbakji on the 19th.<sup>2</sup> The Resident at Poona had already written to the Bombay Government to imprison him in the Fort of Bombay or in the Fort of Thannah.<sup>3</sup> In the latter fort Trimbakji was kept under close confinement and it was more than one year before he managed to escape from the prison.

The confinement of Trimbakji was followed by the arrests of Sitaram, Bhagwant Rao Gaikwad and Govind Rao Bundoji but it did not prove an easy task as could be anticipated. While events of particular significance were happening at Poona in the month of August, Sitaram placed himself at the head of an army at Dhur and was hovering around Baroda.<sup>4</sup> He was joined by Bapu Raghunath a Maratha Sardar, and had encouragements from Bundoji to "repair to the place.....and commence the duties of Dewan..."<sup>5</sup>...The Gaikwad's Government, it appeared, was not particularly anxious to check the criminality of its ex-Dewan and still less prone to punish Govinda Rao Bundoji between whom and the Gaikwad passed interesting correspondence. When the Resident found that neither the murder of a Brahmin nor the insult offered to the State of Baroda was sufficient to make the Gaikwad act with vigour, he decided to take the initiative. He communicated to Futteh Singh the attitude of the Government towards Sitaram and asked him to have him arrested, and confined in the fort of Surat.<sup>6</sup> The request caused no little sensation at Baroda. Futteh Singh was visited by the ladies of the palace who protested against the demand of

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Oct., 1815 (26).

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, *Political and Military Transactions*.

<sup>3</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Oct., 1815 (28).

<sup>4</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20th Oct., 1815 (13).

<sup>5</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 13 Oct., 1815 (2).

<sup>6</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 3 Nov., 1815 (2).

the English and warned him against the calumny he would incur by giving up Sitaram who was only a few years ago the Chief Minister of Baroda. Futteh Singh tried to elude the demands as long as he could but at last agreed to put Sitaram under arrest. The agreement produced the greatest discontent in the State and on the night of the 16th September when the arrest was to be effected, an insurrection took place and armed men guarded the streets of Baroda and kept watch over the residence of Sitaram.<sup>1</sup> The next day Carnack, the Resident with the Gaikwad, sought for an explanation who protested his innocence. But Sitaram could not hold out successfully and before any harm could be done he was seized and placed under English custody. Govinda Rao Bundoji and Bhagwant Rao Gaikwad were also arrested.

#### IV

With the arrest of Sitaram and his associates the present episode may be regarded as closed. The question that remains to be discussed is, who murdered Gangadhar Shastree. The criminality of Baji Rao and Trimbakji is generally taken for granted and any attempt to reopen the question may be viewed with disfavour. Still if the chain of evidence is analysed it would not appear so strong as some writers would make us believe. The idea of fixing the guilt on the Peshwa and his favourite originated with Elphinstone and was popularised by Grant Duff and Prinsep. Neither the Peshwa nor Trimbakji lacked in the art of duplicity, but if the plot to murder the Shastree is ascribed to them we have to admit that this was the worst blunder of their life. The authors of the plot which we are told "astonished even Maratha diplomacy" should have the sense to see that by drawing the Shastree to a place outside the city they attracted the attention of the English and that injury done to one who is under the guarantee of the English would have to be paid for dearly. And what could the Peshwa hope for by the murder of the Shastree? He had no desire to enter into a fresh agreement with the Gaikwad the failure of which surely had nothing to do with the fate of the Shastree. The failure of the proposal of marriage between the Shastree's son and the Peshwa's sister-in-law is sometimes believed to have offended the Peshwa and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

to have brought about the Shastree's death. But no trace of ill feelings can be detected from the Peshwa's subsequent conduct and it would not be proper to ascribe to it the fate of the Shastree. That the Peshwa was on cordial terms with Bhagwant Rao Gaikwad and Govind Rao Bundoji is an accepted fact but it was because they were agents of the anti-British party at Baroda from which he expected support in his projected war against the English. His reluctance to seize Trimbakji and hand him over to the English is to be ascribed to the same cause. Rightly or wrongly he counted on him as his chief lieutenant in his contemplated hostilities with the English and he was reluctant to have him arrested. Grant Duff tells us that at the time of the Shastree's visit to the temple the Peshwa was present there. It does not appear where he got the information. No other contemporary writers substantiate the story and it is unlikely that such an incident, had it taken place, would not have been mentioned in Bapu Mairal's narrative. It seems that while writing the history of the period Grant Duff relied more than was proper for him on Balaji Punt Natoo's account of his own times. Balaji Punt Natoo was a notorious character in his days and it is not safe to place any reliance on the uncorroborated testimony of such a man. A letter written by Govinda Rao Bundoji from Poona to Ranee Tuckut Bai at Baroda was taken by Elphinstone as a piece of evidence against the Peshwa and his Court but apart from the fact that the Court of Baroda took great interest in the fate of its agent it proves nothing.<sup>1</sup> Such lines as "Sreemunt has scattered sugar, the result will be known hereafter" are to be read with the context which says that since the arrival of the Shastree and Bapu Mairal "lacs of rupees have been and still continue to be spent in pleasure and enjoyment, but people say it has been to no purpose and that nothing has been gained by it." On the authority of Elphinstone, this letter was written some time before Gangadhur Shastree went to Punderpore<sup>2</sup> and if it refers to anything it refers to the festivities which followed the arrival of the Shastree at Poona and the failure to come to any settlement with the Peshwa's Government. The Resident himself was not convinced of the guilt of the Peshwa and what he wrote to the Governor-General during his enquiry was that though there were circumstances unfavourable to the

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 7 Oct., 1815 (86).

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 7 Oct., 1815 (85).

Peshwa, there was no direct proof and that the murder of a Brahmin and of a person whose death was likely to be revenged was so inconsistent with the Peshwa's character that he could not believe him guilty.<sup>1</sup>

But the case of Trimbakji is different. He may be innocent of the actual crime but in all probability he knew of the existence of the plot. He enjoyed the confidence of the agents of Baroda and even after the event, from his suspicious character it was evident he had private interviews with them. When after the Shastree's murder the English were demanding the imprisonment of the Baroda agents Trimbakji maintained great cordiality with Bhagwant Rao and Bundoji and placed his own guards over the streets inhabited by them.<sup>2</sup> In this respect he was no doubt a criminal—an accessory to the crime if not the principal. At the same time it is certain that the methods adopted by Elphinstone to prove the guilt of Trimbakji ought not to pass unchallenged. The two points against Trimbakji as given by Elphinstone are his 'solicitude so disproportionate on the occasion about the Shastree's coming to the temple and the proof that he was expected by the murderers' <sup>3</sup> and secondly 'the want of enquiry' after the crime was committed. As regards the second point it is sufficient to say that even if it is admitted that Trimbakji purposely avoided the enquiry it does not prove his direct participation in the crime. Like his master he was not willing to give up the agents of the Baroda Court from which he expected support in the near future. The first point requires a more elaborate explanation. If it can be proved that Trimbakji was particularly desirous that the Shastree should visit the temple that night and that the summons came from him, Trimbakji's guilt would be almost proved, and this was what Elphinstone aimed at. He had an enquiry extending for about two months in the course of which he examined seven persons most of whom testified that messages were sent to the Shastree asking him to come to the temple on the night of the murder. An examination of the deposition of the witnesses reveals certain discrepancies in them, for instance one witness, Moro Bhut Gokla, deposed <sup>4</sup> that the second message was delivered by Babaji Carcoon who came some time after the arrival of Raoji Mahratta, which is contradicted by the evidence of Baulka Charee, a servant of

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 27 Sept., 1815 (36).

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Sept., 1815 (133).

<sup>3</sup> Forrest, *Official Writings of Mount Stuart Elphinstone*.

<sup>4</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 7 Oct., 1815 (100).



the Shastree, according to whom the two messages came together and not one after the other. Balaji Punt Natoo who was a witness said that attempts were made for fabricating false evidence in favour of Trimbakji by Ballaba Vinchookar and others by frightening Bapoo Chipunkar and his karkun.<sup>1</sup> If all the witnesses are believed it is certain that Trimbakji had directly a hand in the murder. But the greatest flaw in the enquiry of Elphinstone was that almost all the people examined were in the service of the Gaikwad or the Shastree, and the only other person was the notorious Ballaji Punt Natoo of whom the less said the better. There were no one who may be called an independent witness and the accused person was never given the chance to prove his innocence. In fact what Elphinstone tried to achieve was the removal of Trimbakji from the position he enjoyed. Sitaram of Baroda and his agents were also guilty of the same offence but the English were not so much anxious to punish them as in the case of Trimbakji. Elphinstone was bent upon putting a stop to further activities of Trimbakji and the Shastree's murder provided him with a good pretext. In a despatch to the Governor-General, dated the 16th August, he made it clear that the demand for the punishment of Trimbakji was as 'consistent' with their immediate interest as it was 'essential' to their 'permanent honour and prosperity.'<sup>2</sup> In that paper Elphinstone made a list of attempts of Trimbakji to enhance the power of the Peshwa and commented that it was obvious that their 'alliance with the Peshwa could not long continue while he had such a minister,' 'It follows therefore,' Elphinstone wrote, 'that we must soon have demanded this man's *dismission* (*sic*) and that we could not have entered on any war or any serious enterprize as long as he was in power.'

The hand that struck the Shastree was not of the Poona minister but of one who came from Baroda. The ladies of the royal palace at Baroda furnished the murderers with money, watched over their conduct with interest and were prepared to risk a quarrel when the English demanded the imprisonment of Sitaram. When the two agents were deputed from Baroda they carried with them the goodwill of the more powerful party, and the State and the Gaikwad himself was at heart with them. This explains the rising in the army of Bapu Mairal and

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 7 Oct., 1815 (94).

<sup>2</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 27 Sept., 1815 (86).

the insurrection at Sitaram's arrest. Even Futeh Singh who professed great loyalty to the English and is said to have given up food at the death of the Shastree was not prepared to give up Sitaram when his surrender was demanded. That even Anand Rao Gaikwad was deeply involved in the plot is evident from a letter <sup>1</sup> written by him to Govind Rao Bundoji at Poona, portions of which are quoted below:—“Bundojee,” it runs, “you are faithful to the Sircar, you are acquainted with the state of affairs here and reliance is placed on you.” Referring to the murder of the Shastree<sup>2</sup> it says—“I have heard different kinds of news from Mangol Bhow's party, but you were there in time and did what was very right, of this your heart and mine are witnesses. Write an answer to this very privately.” It seems that Bundoji wanted something more substantial than a mere remembrance of his service and this the Gaikwad was not in a position to comply with. In the same letter he speaks of his inability for his government was ‘very poor at present’ but he assures “when you come everything will be settled .....” Any doubt that may remain as to the identity of the murderers ought to be dispelled by this letter which fixes the guilt unmistakably on the Court of Baroda. It is a curious fact that though this letter was discovered by Carnac, the Resident with the Gaikwad, and was brought to the notice of the Government of Bombay, practically nothing was heard of it afterwards and whenever any question arose as to the guilt of the Court of Baroda, the matter was hurriedly passed over.

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Proceedings*, 20 Oct., 1815 (22).

<sup>2</sup> A word must be said as to the date of Gangadhar Shastree's murder. It is but proper that the date of an event of such magnitude would be precisely ascertained and that there would be no room for controversy. Unfortunately this is not the case and the generally accepted date of the murder of the Shastree is open to serious objection. The date of the murder, as conjectured by Elphinstone, was the 14th of July and the same has been accepted by all writers of Maratha history including Grant-Duff and Prinsep. But the records of the period give a different date and in the light of those papers the date seems to be the 19th of July and not the 14th as generally believed. The first official news of the incident sent to the Governor-General by Henry Pottinger, the officer in charge of the city, gives the date as 19th. The same date was also suggested by the Governor of Bombay in a letter to the Governor-General, who of course based his information on the account by Henry Pottinger. In the translations of the narrative of Bapu Mairal, the assistant of the Shastree, the date that is recorded is 19th of July. Bapu Mairal of course gives the Indian equivalent which is the 14th of Ashar. Sardesai suggests the date as the 20th of July, which nearly agrees with the date found in the records. But Sardesai does not give us the source of his information and nothing more can be ventured unless the date in the English calendar corresponding to the 14th of Ashar is found out. What appears as strange is that the statement of Bapu Mairal and Pottinger's papers were well known to Elphinstone but no reference to the date suggested by them is given in his writings.

The account of the Anglo-Marhatta muddle of the years 1814 and 1815 may now be closed. The affairs at Poona were already in a hotch-potch : when the State of Baroda entered into the politics of the Poona Court, it only caused greater fermentation, and the result was palatable neither to the Peshwa nor to the Gaikwad. With this, the part of the Gaikwad is played out and when the first shot is fired, he would not be on the field of Khadki.

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# THE CONTACT OF CULTURES (III)<sup>1</sup>

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## SELF-DEFENCE IN A PATHOLOGICAL FORM

IN the previous discussion we traced the incomplete history of a cultural conflict in which self-respect and fearlessness proved to be growing forces. But it may so happen that after an initial display, the people accept defeat ; and then the last light of self-respect flickers down into a purely defensive attitude of mind which is almost pathological in character. In biological history, too, it is common experience that a species develops abnormal traits when it is faced by the danger of extinction. Shell-fishes develop spikes before becoming extinct ; and the presence of similar defensive devices in any culture is sure proof of the low vitality of the people professing that culture. Such developments are unfortunate, no doubt ; but they are perhaps necessary to save a culture from absolute extinction.

The history of medieval Hinduism supplies several relevant instances to the point. We have already seen that in the craze for puritanic reform, caste-rules became extremely narrow during medieval times. Through Raghunandan's influence in Bengal, women's life became a string of rites and ceremonies only ; while the widow's life became an unbroken round of fasts and penances. Widow-remarriage was forbidden, and it was perhaps during this time that the custom of *suttee* became popular with the public.

Many of the excesses to which Hinduism degenerated during the darkest days of its history can only be understood in the light of this morbidity of spirit. The cow, for instance, may have been held in high esteem all through the Hindu period ; but the extraordinary feeling against its slaughter by Muslims, without a corresponding feeling against other eaters of beef, is surely the outcome of narrowness of spirit and not of love for the cow as such. The depression of the Sudras, the abolition of mixed marriages and similar other devices were Brahminism's attempts to 'save itself from the mire of post-Mohammedan decadence.

A culture is thus found to withdraw within itself when faced by the prospect of extinction. Like shell-fish it develops spikes so that

<sup>1</sup> Continued from our previous issue.

no foreigner might enter its folds and thus endanger the integrity of its character. The boundaries of thought are marked out rigidly and anyone who dares to think freely is immediately thrown out of the social body as a dangerous element.

It is strange that men should behave in this manner. If they really want to preserve the best elements of a culture, they can do so without taking recourse to such crude steps as described above. But the difficulty with the majority of mankind is that it is not intelligent enough in respect of these affairs of life. Most men allow their emotional reactions to warp their intellectual judgments. They fail to distinguish one part of culture from another on merits ; and when they become emotionally attached to a particular brand of culture, they take the whole thing in a lump. That is why Hinduism goes with vegetarianism and cow-worship ; Mohammedanism with the beard and taboo against pork ; and Christianity with European dress and modern industrialism. The energy of mankind is thus often run to enormous waste in trying to keep up things of no value with those which are really valuable under particular historical conditions.

Mankind will have realised the lesson of history when it will become free from the attachment to particular brands of culture, *i.e.*, when it will learn to look upon the whole of humanity as one. For that alone can save it from so much wastage of effort which attends cultural changes in all lands.

#### SELF-PRESERVATION

Let us now go back to our fundamental question, namely, the relation which subsists between man and his culture. Our business is to find out how far cultural changes are guided by the biological characters of man.

In our study of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, we observed that Hindu cultural traits ceased to be absorbed after the advent of Christian influence in the land. Christianity was attended by economic advantages, while Hinduism rather exerted a disintegrating economic influence. Thus when there was a choice between Munda, Christian and Hindu culture, Christian culture was chosen as it was attended by higher economic value. It was the same in the case of the Juangs who gave up jhoom-cultivation and adopted the Hindu system of agriculture, when they were faced by famine due to Hindu colonisation and reservation of forests. Thus men select such traits readily

as hold the promise of economic advantage. The same truth is borne out by our study of the modern history of Bengal. When men thought that advantage lay in a surrender to British power, they allowed themselves to be biased in favour of European culture. When they thought the other way, they resisted Western influence firstly by orthodoxy, and then by nationalism of the communalistic, as well as of the territorial, type.

Men are thus guided by economic considerations in cultural preferences. And in so far as it is so, it means that cultural operations are guided by the basic instinct of self-preservation which man shares in common with the rest of the animal kingdom.

#### PERSONAL FACTORS

Sometimes this extended self-interest takes the shape of communalism, sometimes that of nationalism, and sometimes of unity between the proletariats of all countries, according as the technical development of the world brings more and more men into active co-operation in the economic sphere of life. But there have always been men who, irrespective of technical considerations, have thought and felt in terms of Humanism ; who have looked upon all human beings as belonging to one large family. They too have been moved by a desire to establish an economic and social order so that all men might be happy, and in that far have been actuated by the same instinct of self-preservation or of happiness with reference to the human species as a whole.

But this instinctive motivation does not explain one thing. It fails to explain why a nationalist should confine his self-interest to his nation ; why a communist should look wider and include proletariats of all nations in his sympathy ; why another man like Gandhi should look upon all human beings as his kin ; and why lastly a man like Ramkrishna should include not only human beings but even plants and animals within his circle of kinship.<sup>1</sup> This range of sympathy seems to have little relation with the degree of economic co-operation between different countries or, the facility of transport between them. The biological and material factors behind these personal moods are not fully understood. So, as long as they are unknown, we must regard

<sup>1</sup> Romain Rolland, *Prophets of New India*, 1930, p. 142, footnote.

this personal factor as an independent variable element along with the instinct of self-preservation in cultural evolution.

Although we do not know exactly why these personal moods come into being, we can, at least, describe how one mood differs from another, and thus try to understand the nature of these moods more fully. Men like Lenin or Gandhi or Ramkrishna, who looked farther than those who were about them, all suffered from a terrible feeling of loneliness and neglect at some period of their history. But when, by inner conversion, they succeeded in overcoming this sense of suffering and of defeat, they acted as leaders of men and brought round other men to their wider point of view. After conversion they served as points of departure in cultural history.

Ordinarily, however, men do not do so. They stick to established habits and to the circle of companionship current at the time. The average man is afraid to leave the company of his fellow-men. He wants to profit by the experience and the co-operation of his neighbours. He thinks that if he leaves them, he would die. And in the last analysis, it is this fear of death, or of uncertainty, which keeps a man bound down to the culture in which he is born. If he were free from that fear, the edifice of culture would break down for him like a house of cards ; and he would be free to give a new direction to culture altogether. So it is the subservience of man's width of vision to fear which gives culture the power to rule over the lives of men ; while it is freedom from that fear which makes possible for a man to look farther, and gives him the power to alter the course of cultural events.

But we must not suppose that absence of fear generates a wider outlook by itself. Absence of fear merely gives a man power to alter cultural evolution one way or the other. Whether he shall have a wider range of sympathies or a narrower one, is not determined by this factor. That still remains a personal accident conditioned partly by education and habit, and partly by inner conversion or the will.

#### ACCIDENTS

So far we have seen that the basic instincts of man are responsible along with personal moods for cultural changes. There is now a third factor involved in the process. We saw in connection with the history of Bengal, that the Russo-Japanese War greatly stimulated the pro-Western movement in the country. Culture had been

following a certain course, but Vivekananda's death in 1902 and Japan's success in war in 1905 added strength to the Westernist movement, which had been comparatively languid before these two events. The two particular events are of course reducible to their own causes ; but so far as cultural movements in Bengal were concerned, they served as accidental happenings. They were organically neither related, nor necessitated by the existing course of events in Bengal. Such accidents are no less operative in cultural history than the accident of personal moods or of personal ranges of sympathy. They thus form the third independent variable in cultural history.

#### THE DETERMINANTS

The Marxian sociologist, Nikolai Bukharin, starts with the assertion that there are no accidents in history, and that all forces are ultimately reducible to material terms.<sup>1</sup> Without being dogmatic, other scientists have tried to find out how far the factors involved in cultural operations are actually reducible to such terms. Huntingdon<sup>2</sup> found that the progressive desiccation of Arabia was responsible for periodic migrations from that area, although certain human factors were also involved in the process. Rivers<sup>3</sup> discovered that cultural changes were greater, the greater the difference in degree between cultures coming into contact. After examining all the evidence, Kroeber<sup>4</sup> came to the conclusion that there is just a shade of possibility that the consistent failure of the Negro race in cultural productivity *may* be due to racial difference ; but, on the whole, he supports the view that ' culture may be independent of race, possibly is wholly so.'

Protagonists of the Nordic race have held that all cultural developments are due to the racial factor. Similarly Marxian sociologists hold that these are principally due to technical developments which antecede growth in other departments of culture. But we have

<sup>1</sup> N. Bukharin, *Historical Materialism*, 1933, Chs. II and III. But Hecker, in his *Moscow Dialogues* (1934), modifies Bukharin's determinism to some extent, and admits the occurrence of accidents.

<sup>2</sup> *The Human Habitat*, 1928, p. 151. Cf. Chs. X and XI.

<sup>3</sup> *Psychology and Ethnology*, 1926, p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> *Anthropology*, 1933, p. 504.



seen that an analysis of cultural changes reveals the operation of not one, but several factors at the same time ; the most important thing about them being that they are not reducible in terms of any single determinant, like Race, Matter or God. These three factors of instinct, personal moods and accidents must therefore be treated as independent variables so long as we fail to reduce them to singular terms.

*Calcutta.*

*(Concluded.)*

# NIETZSCHE'S NINETIETH BIRTHDAY.

BY

A STUDENT OF WORLD CULTURE.

## I

Exactly ninety years have passed since Friedrich Nietzsche, in 1844, first saw the light of day at Roocken, in Saxony, as the last of that "*grande lignée*" of European thinkers in the widest interpretation of both words which includes such names as Goethe and Kant, Darwin and Spencer, Comte and Taine, Bayle-Stendhal and Dostoievsky, Schopenhauer and Tolstoi. The common tie linking up masters of such varied characteristics and divergent aspects is, needless to say, not homogeneity of ideals or interests, but similarity in the vastness of the scope of the influence wielded by them in shaping the thought of the Western world. In this sense they belong to no individual nation, but to that community of European culture which attained its high-water mark in the nineteenth century and which the disruptive developments of the past two decades did fair to destroy altogether.

The extraordinary diversity of the influence exerted by Western culture on highly trained minds necessarily produced an almost boundless dissimilarity in the responsive chords struck by the great thinkers on the keyboard of European literature. And this was an essentially healthy sign, since the criterion of advancing culture is the heterogeneity of its manifestations when the agreement of the ignorant has been succeeded by the disagreement born of increasing knowledge and reflection.

Nietzsche struck the most harshly dissonant note of all on that keyboard. For he proclaimed the revaluation of all values, including all those first principles that humanity has long been accustomed to consider as axiomatic truths, such as the fundamental postulates of the theory of knowledge and of the moral law. Defiantly he flung the gauntlet at Western culture in its entirety, calling in question its most cherished notions, challenging its most sacred convictions, denying the validity of ideas that had been held "*semper, ubique et omnibus*." It is not necessary that anything should be true, he says; it is only necessary that we should believe something to be true. The very foundations of knowledge merely possess, according to him, a utilisation value. Truth is not an entity superior and exterior to humanity, immutable and independent; it is synonymous with what is useful for the maintenance of a species, consequently it is an instrument for ensuring survival in the struggle for existence. Hence Nietzsche abolishes truth as a "thing in itself," and with it all those fundamental concepts on which the whole theory of knowledge is based, that is to say the notions of causality, space, and time.

Similarly, there is no such thing as good or evil in an absolute sense. The so-called categorical imperative of the conscience, Nietzsche affirms, reduces itself on examination to mental habits acquired partly from heredity, partly from education, partly from experience; it is controllable by nothing except itself; hence its claim to infallibility and immutability is absurd. As a matter of fact, so Nietzsche asserts, a Moral Law has never existed.

There are only fundamentally dissimilar systems of morals belonging to the "masters" and to the "slaves" respectively.

Here the essence of Nietzsche's moral and social philosophy is reached, namely, the permanent and irreconcilable inequality of the various "races" of humanity, and their differentiation into two fundamental types, a "superior" and an "inferior" one. The moral system of the "superior races, or "races of masters" exalts the characteristics of such races, such as bravery, love of danger for its own sake, hardness, boldness, daring, skill, ability to appreciate and endure and also to inflict suffering, the taste for conquest and adventure, the lust of domination. The characteristics of feebleness and timidity inherent to the "inferior races" or "races of slaves," on the other hand, are reflected in their system of morals which raises sympathy, love, pity, humility, and kindred mental states to the rank of virtues. Thus the two systems of morals are diametrically opposed to each other. What is meat for the "slaves" is poison for the "masters" and *vice-versa*.

There is no such thing as an immortal soul, but the evolution of the world, according to Nietzsche, brings back an indefinite number of times the same phases and combinations; it is a gigantic wheel revolving in eternal space and eternal time. Everyone has therefore lived this life an indefinite number of times and will continue to live it over and over again, eternally. This doctrine of the "Everlasting Return of all things" is in Nietzsche's mind the supreme affirmation of life and also the sanction of the "Superman" celebrated with lyrical enthusiasm by Zarathustra. The "Superman" is himself the ultimate and most glorious achievement of the "superior" races, whose dauntless intrepidity and unflinching hardness find in him their most exalted embodiment, since he alone is capable of envisaging without anguish the prospect of the Everlasting Return with all that it implies—a prospect no ordinary mortal can contemplate without quailing.

Christianity constitutes the main prop, in Nietzsche's view, of the system of morals devised by the "slaves." In the Christian religion, which is the ultimate and logical outcome of Judaism, he says, everything is denaturalised and "good" becomes synonymous with weak, sickly, poor, ugly, impotent, cowardly, "softy"—the characteristics, precisely, of the "inferior" races who distrust life and seek to console themselves for its attendant sufferings by taking refuge in an illusion. "The Christ on the cross is a curse on life, a warning to us to flee from life." (*Worke*, XV, 290.) Nietzsche's ideal, which is that of the "masters," represents the exact antithesis of the Christian ideal. Nietzsche is a passionate advocate of "life in all its plenitude of strength and beauty," he revels in a Dionysian and Apollinian vision incarnating perfection of form as well as an unrestrained and a moral Will to Power. As against the doctrine of pity he preaches the necessity of becoming hardened and pitiless, "This new Table, O my brethren, I write above you: Become Hard!" (*Worke*, VI, 312.) "To be able to suffer is the least of things; weak women and even slaves can surpass themselves in that. But not to succumb to a feeling of distress and uncertainty when one inflicts great suffering and listens to the shriek of the sufferer—that is great, that is true greatness." (*Worke*, XV, 245.)

The redeemer of the world, in Nietzsche's eyes, is not he who dies for the sins of humanity, but he who affirms life by his glorification of it. Each new creation, each new work of triumphant art, each great example, is a new redemption. Phidias and Praxiteles, Leonardo and Michael Angelo are redeemers in the Nietzschean sense, but such are also

the warrior and the statesman of genius—an Alexander, an Augustus, a Cesare Borgia, a Napoleon.

## II

The question presents itself as to how far Nietzsche has succeeded in his heroic single-handed onslaught on all accepted values of the Western world. In other words, what is his position in that world to-day?

A brilliant French authority on Nietzsche, Prof. Henri Lichtenberger, once defined the creator of Zarathustra as "a classic living in a democratic age." Substitute for "a democratic age" the words "an age of little minds," and the definition is as true to-day as it was some thirty odd years ago. That signifies that Nietzsche belongs as little to the present generation in Europe as he belonged to the generation of his own contemporaries, and can be as little understood by the one as he could be by the other.

True, Nietzsche predicted for the twentieth century an era of great wars, the most terrible and devastating which mankind has witnessed. And he gloated over the prospect, since, the result of those wars would, according to him, be the establishment of a new governing caste to which he looked as to the only possible saviour of humanity from the degeneracy to which the domination of the "slaves" has condemned it. Such a governing caste, he believed, composed of men habituated to command and to rule, would set Europe new and loftier aims and ideals.

One prediction has begun to be amply verified by events, and the present state of the world certainly points to the grim process of verification being carried further to hitherto undreamt-of lengths. But, so far at any rate, the other has not. The world is floundering much more helplessly to-day in the morass of what Nietzsche called "little States and national exclusivism" than ever it did in his time. And the advent of a new caste of supermen is not as yet perceptible.

The plain fact is that Nietzsche's teaching, so nobly idealistic in its inspiration, is not adapted to a world which for all sorts of reasons is radically incapable of assimilating it. The fact may or may not be regrettable. In any case it is incontestable. Homeric wine cannot be digested by European stomachs evolved in the course of a developmental process that has been going on for nineteen centuries.

The deadly foes of a "higher culture," in Nietzsche's eyes, were, besides Christianity, Liberalism, and Socialism. He hated Socialism in the various forms of Collectivism, Communism, Anarchism, Tolstoism, Pacifism, all of which he considered manifestations of an underlying pessimism and distrust of life, themselves resulting from incurable degeneracy. He hated Liberalism, Hedonism, Utilitarianism, all those doctrines associated with the English school of Bentham, Mill, and Spencer which Nietzsche held in profound contempt. He loathed and despised Democracy in any shape. He spoke with the utmost bitterness of "the roaring cataract of nonsense known as parliamentarism" and of "the duty of everyone to read his newspaper at breakfast time." The dogma of "the greater good of the greater number," common to Liberalism and Socialism, was anathema to Nietzsche. For him Liberalism, the doctrine of a rapacious and satiated bourgeoisie, and Socialism, the creed of a proletariat swollen with envy and hate, were equally reprehensible, since neither, in his view, were capable of rising superior to the most sordid materialism.

But does the fact that Nietzsche was the sworn enemy of Liberalism and Socialism justify the assumption that, if he had lived, he would have been a supporter of those autocratic forms of the State which are to-day in favour in some parts of Southern and Central Europe? Certainly no one at all deeply versed in Nietzsche's philosophy would venture to answer by an unconditional affirmative. But there are different brands of contemporary autocracy and it is probable that if Nietzsche who loved all things Italian, had preferred any single one of these brands, it would have been the one labelled Italian Fascism.

It must, however, be borne in mind that Nietzsche was anything but a nationalist and that his superman inevitably—from the superman's point of view—regarded patriotism as appertaining, like Christianity, to the arsenal of worn-out superstitions. If Nietzsche gloated over the prospect of coming wars this was most undoubtedly not attributable to mere vulgar jingoism or, indeed, to any sentiment even remotely akin to nationalism. His spirit soared very far beyond the narrow limits of nationality. For him war was only the means of rescuing humanity from the slough of despond into which it has been cast by the domination of the "slaves," the means of creating anew that caste of national and moral supermen to whom he assigned the task of redeeming the squalor of life by the commanding excellence of their own heroic example.

Nietzsche was a "good European," as he himself expressed it, joining on the common ground of universalism and cosmopolitanism all those free minds and independent thinkers who like himself are outside the pale of modernity. He referred to his own country Germany as "the lowland of Europe," and not a few of his pages are devoted to a scathing criticism of his compatriots and their mentality.

Nietzsche was at the antipodes of antisemitism in the popular acceptance of the term. He abhorred the neo-Christian, pan-Germanic, anti-Semitic Wagner of later years. Still more did he abhor the whole environment of Bayreuth. Of the Jews he wrote that they "are the most remarkable people in the history of the world, because, having been confronted by the question of Being and Not-Being, they have with quite uncanny self-consciousness preferred Being at any price; this price was the radical falsification of nature.....The Jews are on this account the most epoch-making people in the history of the world; through their influence they have falsified humanity to such a degree that the Christian can feel himself an anti-Semite without even being conscious of himself as the final consequence of Judaism." (*Works*, VIII, 243.)

Furthermore Nietzsche was, over and above everything else, in every fibre of his mind and body, an aristocrat who loved "the pathos of distance"—an aristocrat of sentiment, of taste, of thought. Nothing could be more repugnant to him than the mentality of the potato-peeler or the pedlar. There was nothing he denounced more vehemently than the attempt to level down all class differences and set up a theoretical régime of impossible equality. Anti-egalitarianism was a corner-stone of his teaching.

As an aristocrat Nietzsche preached hardness, for only in the school of hardness can the true aristocrat be formed. His ideal he found incorporated in Napoleon, to whom he paid the tribute: "It is thanks to Napoleon—that a couple of warlike centuries are now about to begin..... that we have now entered into the period of classical warfare on a large scale, which coming ages will look back on with envy and veneration as a Great era.....Napoleon has resuscitated for us a complete piece of ancient art, the most important perhaps—a piece of granite. (*Works*, V, 313.)

Hence Nietzsche would undoubtedly have subscribed with undiluted enthusiasm to Signor Mussolini's views concerning the supreme ethical value of war for a nation. Moreover there is every reason to suppose that Mussolini's powerful personality would have immensely appealed to the creator of Zarathustra, who would perhaps have placed his hopes in the Duce as in the only superman which the last Great War produced.

But to each and all who fondly imagine to escape from the fetters of Christianity and Liberalism and Socialism, those pet aversions of Nietzsche, by formulating vague and hazardous theories, Zarathustra's challenge goes out: "*Wherefore free?*" To such as these would-be reformers and revolutionaries in all camps whose ambition is to remodel society by uprooting it from the past, Zarathustra would address the words: "Alas! Many are the great thoughts which produce no more than a breath of wind; they do but swell and become thereby more empty! Thou callest thyself free? But I would fain know the thought which rules thee, and not the nature of the yoke from which thou art released. Art thou of the number of those who have a right to shake off the yoke? For there are many who have thrown aside all that gave them some value in shaking off the yoke of servitude."

# STUDENT LIFE AT THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

DR. ADALBERT EBNER, PH.D.

With the reorganisation of political forms and economic ideas there also arose a new type of citizen in the Third Reich. The type of student and, at the same time, life at the universities have also changed. National Socialism as a view of life has broken with individualistic thought, and replaced it by the idea of the community, of which the great final aim is the nation. The community idea demands good order and discipline; the community involves a leader and a following.

It is the task of the German universities to serve the purpose of realising the National-Socialist cultural idea by research, instruction and education. Science itself will be bound up with the nation in order to draw all inspiration for its questions and thoughts from this connection with the people. The student is to be educated at the University as a National-Socialist German and to receive his scientific professional training there. The vocation of the academic youth is to become the leaders in the formation of the future of the nation and the state, and to carry out the material reconstruction of the Fatherland. The nation wishes the students to be German men with the virtues of honour, honest pride, enthusiasm, readiness to make sacrifices, and faith, so valuable for a community life.

Within this framework three fundamental guiding lines in the life of the German student may be recognised.

Owing to his association with the people, his life has been given an aim which, however, he cannot learn as knowledge, but must acquire through experience of Socialist community life. He thus becomes a national student.

Their own distress and their own fate made politicians of the students. They, the section of the nation with the greatest vitality, were driven to the limit of endurance in the wretched struggle with the idea that there were no prospects of obtaining employment. In their despair they were filled with the glowing enthusiasm of the fighter when National-Socialism once more provided them with faith and hope in the future. They thus became the pioneers and storming parties of the new Reich and are now the guardians of its ideals. Hence the German student is a political soldier.

The students' life is governed by work. In the struggle for vocational training based on genuine scholarly methods, they seek to increase the knowledge and ability necessary for their vocations. This work is marked by academic freedom in the National-Socialist State too. All that it recognizes is the voluntary pressure born of inner moral strength which is a wonderful idea in student life. Hence the German student-worker.

The realization of these lines of guidance indicated in general terms is provided for by newly created institutions:

Before the young student enters the university he must have gone through a period of labour service. The fundamental forms of this labour service is the camp. Students, peasants and workers are to live alongside of each other in these camps, do the same work, and get to know and understand each other for the general good. In this comradeship the student gains experience of Socialism. He is not to find regular employment in the

labour camp, but a task and a serious duty. The camp is to provide him with the idea of work as "service to the nation as a whole." Here he will gain experience of the sufferings and the longings of the people.

In order not to let the impressions received during this period evaporate when the young student comes to the university, the "Kamaradschaftsaus" or students' hostel was created. Community is the means that is to be used to educate the young people, and consequently it must also be their form of life. The purpose of the hostels is political education which will be achieved by means of schooling, political reports on the events of the day and suitable books. They pursue a course of physical training by means of games and discipline, but their real task is the educational work which is systematically included in the whole programme of the day's work. Besides this, social work for students will also be done in the "Kamaradschaftseim" or student's home, which therefore maintains exchange relations with instructors drawn from the nation. The "Kamaradschaftsbaus" is managed by a leader, and the student stays here for his first year.

As a political soldier the student is a member of one of the Storm Troops or Defence Squads. In these formations he is the guardian of his ideals, practises comradeship and discipline, and has an opportunity of taking physical exercise.

His position at the University is regulated by the Students' Law. The responsibility for and leadership of the entire body of students is undertaken by one of their comrades as leader, who maintains absolute discipline among the rest. Alongside of the leader is the League Chamber in which the students' corps are represented. The principal member is the speaker who is in close touch with the leader. The leader himself has a consultative voice in the Senate of the University with regard to matters affecting the students.

The professional corporations is also represented as a constitutional link in the body of German students. The professional corporation has its own legal rules and regulations. Every student is obliged to join it, and does so as a rule during his second year at the University. The task of the professional corporation is to continue the political education in the spirit of National Socialism. Its work is done by means of lectures which the University officials are requested to arrange, delivered by specially appointed lecturer or also by a working community established by the professional corporation itself. The curriculum includes national-political National-Socialist schooling, training in history and knowledge of Germany, and an introductory course in philosophy and art.

A suitable part is also played by life in the students' corps in the Third Reich. While the students' corps were already firm supporters of the State before the war, a fresh phenomenon is the Socialism which has now found its way into them and the people. The independent student who belongs neither to a political formation nor to a students' corps is not provided for in the Students' Law. The students' corps have thus assumed a fresh importance. Students' duels have also been retained, and what was formerly forbidden or yet tolerated by the State is now permitted as an effective means of education in self-control, resoluteness and formation of character. The idea of honour, which the armed student has always defended with his hand, will also be cultivated in the new State as a valuable asset in the students' character, but this idea has assumed a fresh form, for it includes both personal and professional and also national honour.



Games play a great part in the life of the young student, but these forms of exercise are also a means of completing his educational principles. Sport is not practised for its own sake, and is to be nothing superfluous. The students intend to awaken the virtues inherent in the German character by means of sport. The students are really represented in every branch of sport, in light athletics, matches, and in ball and lawn games. But other forms of sport are also practised which are very popular with German students, namely, mountaineering, gliding and aquatic sports.

The life of the students does not overlook the art of the nation. They take part in the creative art of the nation as in other genuine arts, owing to the necessity of satisfying their feeling for the beautiful. In addition to this, they turn to art for other reasons. The impression of experience begins to ferment in their minds. After all, art is not isolated. It awakes problems in the mind of the individual, and is developed here as the meaning of life itself that knows no end. In this way the life of a student also plays a creative part in art. The State, however, provides the student with the possibility of going to the theatre, listening to music, and seeing works of art all the year round at small cost.

The student arranges his life in accordance with the profound seriousness of the time, but in this connection it is not forgotten that youth is still youth, and demands its rights. One of these rights is the student's festivals which include the "Kommense" or commensal meetings which have not disappeared from the students' life. The days when the students' festivities consisted of unlimited and senseless alcoholic excesses belong to a fabulous past. The self-discipline of the modern student only permits him to enjoy happiness. The cultivation of gaiety is now one of the features of the students' festivities and is expressed in gay students' songs as clear as the wine in a glass.

Sociability is also a part of the students' life. It finds its finest expression in mutual respect and good behaviour, and harmless but genuine gaiety.

These forms of life also find expression in the external appearance of the students' life at the Universities. The community idea leads them to make huge demonstrations as an independent unit. The streets are filled with these political soldiers who wear their brown garb of honour with pride, but alongside of them the gay colours of the students' corps have retained their place. Their common profession of faith is demonstrated outwardly by the German greeting, and realized afresh in their hearts.

The life of the student in the Third Reich is no easy task. It includes the whole being, and demands the whole of his strength, but it is supported by the belief in the future, and this belief is the source of strength. The "amalgamation of German youthful gaiety with the moral feeling of responsibility connected with God and the nation" leads to a form of students' life which is "gay, German and upright."

The German Universities do not only receive German but also foreign students. As homes of research, knowledge and teaching, the gates of the *Alma Mater* are still, as they were in the past, for every foreign student the entrance leading to unusual spiritual treasures. As a member of this community the foreigner enters the University as a guest, and the exercise of hospitality is an eminently fine characteristic of the German Universities in the Third Reich. Just as the foreigner is free to practice the habits and customs of his own country, he is also free from all the obligations imposed upon the German student. He merely enjoys the rights derived from his academic citizenship. In addition to this, the new community to which he belongs will exercise its honourable obligation as host in tireless

endeavours to show him the beauties of the country, the national treasures and the life of the people. The academic offices for foreigners at the Universities undertake the organization and execution of this desire, and at the same time provide an atmosphere of home for the sons and daughters of all countries who have met on the basis of attachment owing to their common experiences at the University. The spirit of comradeship at the German Universities will, however, be the bridge leading to general friendship.

# QUININE IN BENGAL

BY

“ PUBLIC HEALTH ”

In the course of the debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 11th February, on the Quinine policy of the Government, Sir B. L. Mitter, the Revenue Member, brought out a number of important facts. It behoves the public in general, and the medical profession in particular, to ponder over them. Quinine policy in India, including cinchona plantation of the provincial Governments and the production, supply and distribution of cinchona products of Government factories, is under the control of the Government of India. That Government regulates the price at which the products of Government factories can be sold to the public. The policy is to ensure a uniform price throughout the country. The price is adjusted with reference to world price and not the cost of production. There are two quinine factories in India, one belonging to the Government of Bengal in the district of Darjeeling, and the other belonging to the Government of Madras, the former being much the larger of the two. The Government of India gets its cinchona bark converted into quinine salts at the Bengal factory. The products of the Bengal factory, belonging to the Government of Bengal, can be sold in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam and not in any other part of India.

The total consumption of quinine throughout the world is about a million pounds a year. The total consumption in India is about two hundred thousand pounds a year, about half of which is Indian quinine and the other half is imported quinine. Imports of quinine into India come from Java, Germany and England. Java is the producing country and practically controls the quinine price throughout the world. Indian quinine is quite up to the B. P. standard and sells cheaper in the Indian market than any imported quinine.

Leaving out the rest of the world, it is admitted on all hands that the consumption of quinine in the malaria-stricken province of Bengal is grossly inadequate and it is essential for the health of Bengal that the use of quinine should be stimulated. Bengal produces about 50,000 pounds of quinine a year, but the sale of Bengal quinine is not much more than 35,000 pounds a year. A large stock of quinine, amounting to about 200,000 pounds, has accumulated in the hands of the Government of Bengal. This 35,000 pounds includes the amount distributed free through Local bodies to the value of Rs. 1,20,000.

Various suggestions were made by non-official members with the object of effecting larger consumption of quinine in Bengal. The most popular suggestion was cheapening the price of quinine manufactured at the Government factory at Mungpo. Sir B. L. Mitter pointed out that this suggestion, even if it could be adopted, would not have the desired result. Under the existing constitution, the Government of India regulated the price of quinine and the policy was to maintain a uniform price throughout India. The cost of production in Bengal was much lower than in Madras—Rs. 8 a pound in Bengal and Rs. 13 in Madras. Government quinine was sold at Rs. 18 a pound, whereas Java, German and English quinine was sold at much higher rates, i.e., between Rs. 20 and Rs. 24 a pound. If the price was lowered in Bengal, the inevitable result would be for the middleman to buy cheap in Bengal and sell at a higher price in other provinces, depriving the people of Bengal of the necessary drug. If the price was lowered throughout India the accumulated Indian stock would soon be exhausted and in a few years India would be at the mercy of the foreign importer, who would, in the absence of competition, soon raise the price. The people

would not be benefited in the long run. Therefore, the policy of regulating the price with reference to the cost of production was essentially sound.

The next suggestion was a large extension of cinchona plantation, so that India could produce all the quinine it needed. Sir B. L. Mitter pointed out that the existing plantation in the Darjeeling district was large enough to produce enough cinchona bark for the present demand. Extension in disproportionate excess of requirement would result in larger accumulation of stock, without any effect on consumption. If consumption be stimulated and Government saw signs of a larger demand, there would be time enough to extend the plantation. The present annual production taken with the stock in hand was sufficient to meet any reasonably increased demand for several years to come. It takes 8 to 10 years for cinchona bark to mature. There is ample scope for extension and it would be easy to regulate extension in response to the incidence of demand. The immediate effort should be to stimulate demand.

Connected with the suggestion for extension of plantation, a claim was made for the supply of cinchona bark to private parties, *e. g.*, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for the manufacture of quinine salts. It was pointed out that Government cinchona bark was free for sale to the public in bags of 50 pounds. Generally 25 pounds of bark produce a pound of salt. It would be a good thing if private factories do experiment in the production of quinine. Quinine is not a Government monopoly. Anyone can manufacture it. As regards cinchona plantations, it may not be generally known that not long ago private plantations existed in the Darjeeling district. The planters found that tea was more profitable than cinchona and all the private cinchona lands were diverted to the growth of tea. Even now there are private plantations in the province of Madras.

Till about a month ago, Government quinine was sold to the public only through post-offices in tubes of 20 tablets of 4 grains each. This was in accordance with medical opinion, namely, that any quantity short of 80 grains was ineffective in the treatment of malaria. It is difficult to appreciate the logic of this policy. For, the purchase of 80 grains at a time does not ensure that the whole quantity would be administered to the same patient, when more than one were suffering from malaria in the same family, the sounder system would be the availability of any quantity in tablet or powder form. A poor villager may not be able to spare  $4\frac{1}{2}$  annas all at once for 20 tablets. He may, on the other hand, be able to spend, say, an anna a day for some days in succession. Administration of the "treatment" quantity to the same patient depends upon relief and not upon sale of a minimum quantity. The other centre of sale of Government quinine is the Presidency Jail. Till recently, such sale was confined to Government Institutions and Missionaries. The restriction has now been removed and any one can buy quinine powder at the Presidency Jail. Recent investigation has pointed to the necessity of making Government quinine more easily available. Private drug stores of chemists can no doubt get the quinine from the jail now, but if the consumption of quinine is to be stimulated, larger facilities should be provided to the general public. The Government should devise some scheme by which the villager can get small quantities in packets of powder or tablet at the village groceries where he gets his sago or barley powder or patent medicines. Sir B. L. Mitter stated in the Council that a definite scheme was under consideration of the Government and he made an appeal to the Medical profession to co-operate with the Government in propaganda work, stressing the value of quinine for malaria. He said if the public could help in jute restriction, he might expect similar help in quinine expansion.

# Miscellany

## I. OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEMS IN JAPAN.

In considering the population problem, one is apt to have in view only total numbers and to pay little attention to the age composition of the people. This, however, is insufficient, for the population of a country does not increase or decrease uniformly at all ages. A growth, for example, will first become apparent through an increase of births and a few years later this will lead to a rapid increase in the child population; but it will not be until these children have grown up that the adult population will show an increase. Also the measures for coping with the population problem must be different at different stages of the increase. The policy needed in a period when the rate of birth is increasing must necessarily differ from that suitable when the adult population is growing rapidly. In the former, birth control is an obvious solution, but in the latter the most urgent problem to be solved is that of employment. It must be noted, too, that the latter problem is particularly serious, since unemployed youths and adults will naturally wish to change an economic system in which they can take no active part and will therefore be ready to listen to extreme political and social doctrines.

In present-day Japan, we find the birth rate still at a very high level (about 33 births per thousand of total population) as compared with that of the industrial nations of Europe and America, and the total population is increasing very rapidly. Nevertheless, according to Professor Uyeda, the rate of births per thousand women of reproductive age is already decreasing at a fairly rapid pace, and the increase of population during the last decade was, in fact, due more to the decline in the death rate, mainly, of infants, than to the increase in the number of births. Japan, which formerly had very high birth and death rates, is now experiencing a reduction in births and a greater reduction in deaths. Men are tending to marry later in life and have fewer children than previously. As the number of young couples at the most fertile age is still increasing, the declining tendency of the birth rate does not yet show itself in a decline in the actual number of births. But we can probably conclude that the intensity of the population problem brought about by the increase of birth is already lessening in Japan.

The problem of the adult or working population is, however, quite different, for the full result of the enormous increase of births in the past is now appearing in this class of population, which is increasing faster than the total population. During 1920-30, the working population increased by 15.7 % or 4.9 millions, while the increase of total population was 14.5 % or 8.1 millions. This rapid rate of increase in the working population is expected to continue at least 20 years more, as there is still a large child population to grow up and succeed to the positions of their parents. The total increase of this class of population in the coming twenty years is estimated at about ten millions and the average annual increase 0.5 million. This growth, if the figures are correct, will take place whether or not birth rates diminish hereafter.

It is clear, therefore, that the cardinal point of the population problem of present-day Japan does not lie in the mere increase of population, but in the increase of adult population seeking employment. The number of

children in the elementary schools (aged 6-11 years) was, in 1920, 7·7 millions. By 1930, it had increased to 8·8 millions, and those leaving these schools annually, to enter the labour market sooner or later, number more than 1·2 millions. Some of them proceed to the higher grade primary schools (which are outside the national compulsory educational scheme) or to the middle schools of various kinds; and some will advance to a technical college or university. These also will need employment when they have finished their course of education. Thus, the new seekers for employment outnumber the vacancies caused through retirement or deaths among the employed population and it is estimated that five hundred thousand new jobs must somehow or other be provided annually—*Liberty of Trading Bulletin (Tokyo)*.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

## II. GERMAN CARTELS.

According to the publications of the *Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung* (Berlin) the Act of July 15, 1934, concerning the Erection of Forced Cartels, was of great importance for the cartel movement in Germany. Up to that time, the state had in general limited itself to the supervision of cartels and to preventing the market from being too tightly controlled. The new Act, however, brings for the first time a positive attitude on the part of the Government towards the cartel problem; henceforth, a non-member can be officially compelled to join an already existing cartel; in industries where combination presents special difficulties, there exists the possibility of erecting "forced cartels," and so on. The authority of the Reich Minister for Economic Affairs is so extensive that he can forbid for individual branches of industry the erection of new plant for a definite time. The goal of the measures to be taken is, in the wording of the Act, "the interest of the business enterprises concerned," and, at the same time, "the interests of the whole economic system and the general welfare."

While on the one hand the cartels are protected from unfair competition by non-members, control over the cartels on the other hand still exists; the purpose of this control is to protect general business from the unfair utilization of any monopoly positions (excessive prices).

The following survey presents a picture of the measures taken in the last few months on the basis of the new cartel legislation:—

### I. Forced Membership in Existing Cartels and Forced Combinations.

August 5, 1933	...	...	Fitting
August 31, 1933	...	...	Mortar
October 7, 1933	...	...	Mild steel rolled wire (forced membership)
October 14, 1933	...	..	Milk, cream, non-perishables, casein
January 8, 1934	...	...	Square wire netting
January 9. and May 8, 1934	...	...	Soap
February 15, 1934	...	...	Pressed and blown glass
February 17, 1934	...	...	Cement
April 19, 1934	...	...	Cigarettes
June 8, 1934	...	...	Smoking tobacco
July 18, 1934	...	...	Automobile tires
July 23, 1934	...	...	Precious metals

## II. Prohibition of Plant Expansion and Erection of New Plant.

August 31, 1933	...	...	Paper, paperboard
October 7, 1933	...	...	Mild steel rolled wire
October 13, 1933	...	...	Jute yarn
November 2, 1933	...	...	Electric light globes
November 13, 1933	...	...	Glass ware
January 4, 1934	...	...	Buttons
January 11, 1934	...	...	Cigar-boxes
January 24, 1934	...	...	Nitrogen
January 27, 1934	...	...	Hosiery and glove finishing plants and hosiery dye plants.
February 15, 1934	...	...	Pressed and blown glass
February 17, 1934	...	...	Cement
February 24, 1934	...	...	Electric cables and insulated transmission lines
February 24, 1934	...	...	Zinc rolling-mill products
March 6, 1934	...	...	Watches and clocks
March 12, 1934	...	...	Arsenic
March 13, 1934	...	...	Salt
April 19, 1934	...	...	Cigarettes
May 14, 1934	...	...	Paper, cardboard, etc.
May 15, 1934	...	...	Glazed clay wares and earthenware
May 15, 1934	...	...	Radio receiving apparatus
May 18, 1934	...	...	Products obtained from peat waste
May 29, 1934	...	...	Superphosphate
June 21, 1934	...	...	Stone industry
June 27, 1934	...	...	Horseshoes
July 9, 1934	...	...	Textile mail order business
July 17, 1934	...	...	Lime products
July 18, 1934	...	...	Automobile tires
July 19, 1934	...	...	Fibrous materials and cotton spinning
July 24, 1934	...	...	Gasoline stations
July 30, 1934	...	...	White lead, red lead and lead oxide, zinc white, lithophone, mineral and various paints
July 31, 1934	...	...	Pressed and rolled lead products

## III. Limitations on Purchases within a given Period.

October 19, 1933	...	...	Printing and writing paper
February 17, 1934	...	...	Cement

## *The Extent of Cartellization in Industry.*

Following Tschierschky, we define a cartel as an "organization of independent entrepreneurs (enterprises) in the same branch of business with the object of assuring and promoting the business interests of the members through arbitrary regulation of their market."

Although certain difficulties are encountered in separating "cartels" from other market associations, all existing materials show clearly and without doubt that in recent decades cartels have comprised an ever greater part of industry and commerce. This is borne out by the continuous growth in the number of cartels.

*The Number of Industrial Cartels in Germany.*<sup>1</sup>

Date.	Number.	Estimated by	Date.	Number.	Estimated by
1865	4	Sombart	1900	300	Central Assn. of German Industry
1875	8	Sombart	1905	385	Official Inquiry
1887	70	Philippovich	1911	550-600	Tschierschky
1888	75	Philippovich	1922	1,000	Liefmann
1889	106	Philippovich	1925	1,500	Metzner
1890	117	Sombart	1925	2,500	German Govern- ment
1895	143	Buecher	1930	2,100	Wagenfuehr
1896	250	Sombart			

No estimates are available for the period since 1930. During the course of the depression a number of market associations have without doubt been dissolved. But on the other hand, the new legislation has favoured the formation of cartels. The number of cartels at the present time is therefore certainly more than 2,100.

But the number of cartels alone does not present an adequate or accurate picture of their real economic significance, especially as there are still cartels about which nothing is publicly known. In the figures cited above, for example, each of the many regional brick cartels is included separately in the total; but great economic combinations such as the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate count only as "one" cartel. The practical thing to do, therefore, is to arrive at the importance of the cartels according to their size by calculating the proportion of the production of cartellized business and branches of industry to total industrial production. Professor Wagemann has estimated that in the year 1930 about one half of the production of basic materials in Germany was cartel-controlled. According to data of the Reich Statistical Bureau, the proportion of controlled prices in those comprised in the official index number of wholesale prices would indicate that about 40 % of all industrial prices are controlled. But since the wholesale index number does not include all commodity groups, and since the weights go back to the years 1908-13 and 1925, the proportion of commodities the prices of which are controlled is probably still much higher. It is fairly safe to assume that at present more than one half of all industrial goods are sold at controlled prices.

*Cartel Prices.*

In the post-War period the "controlled" prices show, in comparison with the so-called "free" prices, a characteristic movement of their own. Price changes are mostly sudden and at wide intervals, and for months at a time the "controlled" price remains unaltered. In addition there are differences in the cyclical movements of "controlled" prices. In the revival they go up mostly later and not so far as "free" prices, but in the decline they fall only hesitatingly and do not go down far. The following schedule shows, for example, that in the depression of 1925-26 the prices of anthracite coal, lignite (brown) coal and potash did not drop at all, and that the prices of foundry (pig) iron, wood-pulp, lime and cement decreased only very slightly. The following table shows the development in detail.

<sup>1</sup> Wagenfuehr, *Kartelle in Deutschland*, Nuernberg, 1931, p. xiii.



*Prices of Industrial Raw Materials and Semi-finished Goods, 1913 to 1934.*

		1913=100	
	Total. <sup>1</sup>	" Controlled " prices. <sup>2</sup>	" Free " Prices.
1913	100	100	100
1925	141	133	150
1926	130	130	129
1927	132	132	132
1928	134	133	136
1929	132	137	125
1930	120	134	103
1931	103	120	82
1932	89	107	67
1933	88	104	69

Since 1925 there has been a reverse in the relations between price groups: at that date, as compared with the 1913 level, " free " commodities were more expensive than " controlled " commodities ; at present, the contrary is true.

*Recent Developments.*

In the course of 1933 it seemed for a time as if there was a danger that the cartelized basic industries would raise their prices too quickly. The index number of cartel-controlled prices, calculated by the *Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung*, reached its lowest point in May, 1933, with the figure 76.9 (1928=100) and began in the following months uninterruptedly to rise. In November, 1933, it had reached 79.7. A continuation of the increase in prices was undesirable for two important reasons:

(1) The cartelized basic industries received great benefits from the government employment creation programme. The resulting rise in sales brought with it relief from the burden of fixed costs ; apart from individual cases, price increases would have endangered the full effectiveness of the Government measures.

(2) The " free " industries enjoyed, for the most part, the advantages of the employment creation measures only indirectly. The exchange relationship between the non-cartelized and the cartelized industries, which was already to the disadvantage of the former, would have therefore probably become still worse and would have possibly impaired the continuance of the business revival in the non-cartelized industries.

At this point the government stepped in, with the result that the rise of price was stopped in the autumn of 1933. Since that time the controlled prices have remained almost unchanged, and in some sections there were even small price decreases. The index number of the controlled prices thus fell from 79.7 in Oct.-Nov. 1933 to 77.6 in the middle of 1934. In this connection, a series of decreases have just recently made supervision more effective.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

<sup>1</sup> Index number of the Reich Statistical Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> Calculated by the *Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung*.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Prācya-Vargikarāṇa-Paddhati: Being a system of Book-Classification developed on Oriental Lines:** by Satis Chandra Guha: with an Introductory Note by Pandit Sri Gopinath Kaviraja, M.A., Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares. Pp. 169. Grantha-Goshthi, Gaibi. To be had of the author, Gaibi, Benares City.

This is a novel attempt at library classification on the basis of the orthodox Hindu classification of the arts and sciences, modified, to a large extent, by present-day classifications. Considerable ingenuity has been displayed by the author in his interesting scheme, but some of his own categories and classifications are open to grave objection. Thus, for example, in his classification of the section on *Philology*, in a supposedly genealogical list of languages, he takes Urdu outside the group of Indian languages, and classes it separately as a 'mixed Indo-Iranic' speech, and classes Chinese, Korean and Japanese as चीनीय or 'Chinean' (*sic*) speeches; Maori is placed under a separate number from that for the 'Pacific Group' of languages. We do not know how far his classifications in the other sciences are free from errors. In a system obviously meant for Sanskrit and Hindi and not merely for Bengali, he prints खृष्टीय, सवुज, वेल्स्, डटिश, फरासी, राशिया (also रुशिया), and he thinks Madras is मद्रदेश. There are plenty of mistakes and misprints which are not pardonable in a book on library classification: e.g., मानसुमेर 'Mānsu-mer' for Mon-Khmer. How far Mr. Guha's *Paddhati* will prove useful will be for practical librarians to say: but as it stands, in our opinion it remains at the best a curious combination of the semi-scientific and the orthodox Hindu attitude brought to bear upon the problem of book-classification, one of the most ticklish of modern intellectual problems.

S. K. C.

**The Mahabharata (Analysis and Index):** by Edward P. Rice. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1934. Price Rs. 5.

Mr. E. P. Rice has done a distinct service to the cause of epic studies by compiling this little volume which presents 'a plan of paths and byways' through the 'jungle' of the *Mahābhārata*. A detailed analysis of the varied contents of the great epic which is at one and the same time 'a Song of Victory' and a treatise on law and duty, which has absorbed within itself a vast mass of traditional lore, philosophy and legend, is by no means an easy task. But it must be conceded that the author has, on the whole, acquitted himself creditably. The indexes appended to the volume, though not to be compared with the great work of Sorrensen, are no less helpful to the student than the analysis. In a work of this character a few mistakes are unavoidable and the following words of comment are offered in the hope that they may be of some little use when the book reaches a second edition.

P. 1.—The doctrine of *Trimūrti* is clearly implied in Mbh. III, 271.47 (*tisro'vasthāḥ prajāpateḥ*).

Pp. 5, 7.—Saunaka at whose twelve-year sacrifice Sauti is represented as having recited the epic, is styled a *Kula-pati*, i.e., head of a *kula*, family or clan. It is doubtful if the term can be rendered by the designation 'king.'

Pp. 8, 10.—The Pauravas did not spring from Devayāni, but from Sarmishthā. Devayāni was the ancestress of the Yādavas (Mbh. I. 74. 35. Vangavāsī edition).

P. 11.—In regard to the Ekalavya episode there is apparently a confusion between Arjuna and Drona (cf. Mbh. I. 132. 56).

P. 13.—For Utkachaka some editions read Utkochaka.

P. 19.—For Nala, the *Nishāda* king, read Nala, the *Nishadha* king. The *Nishādas*, a non-Aryan folk, should be carefully distinguished from the *Nishadhas* whose king Nala was

P. 25.—On what evidence is Indradyumna (Mbh. III, 199) called father of Janaka ?

P. 36.—It is hardly correct to say that all the five Pāṇḍava princes visited Bhīma and others on the eve of the battle of Kurukshetra. The mention of Abhimanyu along with Drona and Bhīshma among the opponents of Arjuna, Bhīma and others at the bottom of the page is also a little confusing.

P. 38, line 3.—Read *five* days for *four* days.

H. C. R. C.

**What is Hinduism ?** : by Annadaprasad Chatterjee. Published by Somnath Chatterjee, 4, Jogesh Mitter Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, pp 25.

This booklet of two chapters and a preface is one of the very best that have been written on the perplexing subject of Hinduism. The two chapters discuss nearly every aspect of Hinduism, social and religious. The first chapter shows what Hinduism is not and incidentally discusses many of the popular as well as critical views of Hinduism. The second chapter gives us a positive view of Hinduism. Though it is not possible to agree with some of the views expressed by the author in this connection, especially as regards caste and Hindu polytheism, he has certainly done a service to Hinduism by inspiring critical enquiry and attempting a definition of Hinduism that will be sufficiently comprehensive. One however looks in vain in this well-reasoned work for any mention of those early religious organisations, the Sramanas and Brahmanas, that constitute the transition-links between Vedic India on the one hand and Hinduism and heterodoxy on the other.

S. K. MAITRA.

**The Causes of War: Economic, Industrial, Racial, Religious, Scientific and Political** : by Sir Arthur Salter, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, G. A. Johnston, Alfred Zimmermann, C. F. Andrews, Frederick J. Libby, Henry A. Atkinson, Wickham Steed and others. Published by the Federation of International Fellowships, Maitri, Kilpauk, Madras. Price Rs. 2 (including postage).

This book is a reprint of the publication issued by Messrs. Macmillan Company which have permitted the Federation of International Fellowship to offer this cheap edition for the benefit of the Indian public. The main contents of this book are nine essays dealing with the causes of war by expert minds having international reputes like Sir Arther Salter, Rev. C. F. Andrews and others whose services had been requisitioned by the executive

committee of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion.

Though the writers deal with different aspects of the same subject yet they have reached a certain measure of unanimity in the degree of emphasis to be laid on the different causes of war and also in their conclusion. Though the causes of a single war may be and often are a combination of different factors, religious, racial, political and economic, yet at present the political causes 'present the most obvious, direct and immediate threat to peace,' while the more deep-rooted and enduring cause is economic: indeed the political and economic motives are often 'intertwined beyond the hope of disentanglement.' The burden of conclusion in all the articles is that the development of an international conscience is not simply a virtue but a necessity the neglect of which is fraught with consequences disastrous to the peace of the world and the continuity of the modern civilisation.

In these days of no end of disarmament conferences and peace pacts beginning with much ado and ending in fiasco, the book is certainly timely and much useful too. About the soundness and persuasive lucidity of the essays it may well be said that they have amply justified the earnest interest that the subject and the names of authors aroused. They are just what might be expected from their authors, first rate things in their accurate information, scientific precision and objective thought. A luminous sincerity and a real desire for peace inform the analyses; and the most edifying thing about the book is the touch of sincerity which infects the reader also and seeks to stimulate him into the reflection that while the length and breadth of the world are swayed with prides and passions and prejudices of nations—the strong to exploit and dominate the weak and the weak to fight their way to 'self-determination,'—while the spirit of hatred and malice, hypocrisy and jingoism let loose by the forces of economic nationalism and exploitation, and pretensions of the White Man's Burden, the Nordic superiority and the rest of it are infusing more poison into the soul of man to-day than the poison gas did into his body fifteen years ago,—here is a body of men devoted to learning and to the good of humanity, believing and seeking to make others believe in the noble destinies of man and arriving through the pursuit of different services and sciences, as the great master and founders of religion arrived before them, at the same conclusion that 'human solidarity, unity of life, interests, destiny, co-operation instead of competition, are the guiding rule of life.'

BENOYENDRA CHAUDHURI.

**The Cambridge Modern History, Cheap Edition, Vol. I.** The Renaissance, Edited by Sir A. W. Ward, Sir G. W. Prothero and Sir Stanley Leathes. Cambridge University Press. 7 s. 6 d. net.

This great work, originally planned by Lord Acton, was published under the editorship of three of the foremost British historians, Sir A. W. Ward, Sir G. W. Prothero and Sir Stanley Leathes. Every chapter embodied the results of the latest research and was contributed by a recognised authority on the subject. A co-operative work of the kind necessarily has its defects but in these volumes the students of European History were for the first time presented with an authoritative account of the modern period by the master minds of their time. The original edition was rather expensive and few Indian students were in a position to provide themselves with this indispensable work of reference. The new edition has been moderately priced and

though most of our University students will not be able to pay 90s. in a lump for the complete set of 13 vols. we have no doubt that every Honours and Post-Graduate student will be able to purchase individual volumes. The Cambridge University Press has earned the gratitude of students of history all over the world by bringing this valuable work within their means. The cheap reprint "comprises the text and index of each of the twelve volumes, together with the volume containing the tables and general index." We wish it had been possible to include the bibliography and the maps as well.

AJAX

**Purush-o-Nari** (Man and Woman), A Bengali Book of Poems: by Syampada Chakravarti, P. C. Sarker and Co. 2, Syamacharan De Street, Calcutta, 42 pp. Re. 1.

Ten long and short pieces, apparently unconnected with one another but having an underlying unity of ideas, go to make up Mr. Chakravarti's book ; and this unity has been explicitly signified by the title he has given to it. The first piece dwells on the eternal cycle of creation, and if one can tolerate, even appreciate, the broadly expressed physical side of sex, very soon its recurrence in all the following pieces palls on one's taste and becomes stifling indeed as one reaches the end. One almost feels like saying, ' Why couldn't the writer think or imagine anything except in terms of sex ? ' Apart from the disgust it creates, the whole thing becomes dull and the greatest charge that can be brought against the writer is this lack of variety in the inner motifs of the poems.

Once this is said, I think there is much that can be said in appreciation of Mr. Chakravarti's language and style. His choice of unrhymed lines lends a rhythm and force that have at times telling effects.

The print and get up of the book may be said to be chaste and elegant.

N. R.

# Abstract

## The Future of Islam in India

Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels of Vienna, an Austrian convert to Islam, visited India in 1932-33, and sojourned for some time in our country interesting himself in the study of Hinduism and Islam and the effect of the actions and interactions of the two great cultures. The results of his study he has incorporated in a searching article entitled "Renaissance of Islam and the Culture of Hindusthan" contributed to the latest issue of *The Muslim Revival* (Lahore, Quarterly). He has studied the entire problem from a detached angle of vision, which he brings to bear upon a question of a very delicate nature, namely, the fusion of the principles of Islam with the culture of Hinduism. "To the Baron's mind," in the words of the editor of *The Muslim Revival*, "the present-day Indian Islam is the product of the interaction of the ideals of Islam and the cultural background of the pre-Islamic Moghals of Central Asia. The coming renaissance of Islam, he forecasts, will choose the background of the indigenous culture of Hindusthan. In other words he visualises a pattern got up by weaving the warp of the principles and teachings of Islam across the woof of the original culture of Hindusthan." As the problem is very important, in fact the most vital, from the view-point of Indian nationalism, we make no apology in reproducing a considerable portion of the very interesting and important article.

"During my travels in India in 1932-33, I made the most startling discovery that a great deal of the genuine teachings of Islam, was better translated in the practical life of the Hindus than that of the Indian Muslim. This may sound very paradoxical, but I will make my point clear by tracing the process of reasoning that brought me to this conclusion.

"To begin with, my conversion to Islam was mainly due to three chief principles of Prophet Muhammad's teachings:

"1. *Tolerance.* True tolerance means love for and understanding of tendencies which are in advance or even fall short of our own ideals. Thus religious tolerance in reality means to allow even those forms of cultural cravings to develop which do not work for religion alone. Taking this fact into consideration, we may easily understand that a European Muslim like myself who was longing for real tolerance, almost forgotten in the West, was naturally more attracted by the attitude of the Hindus towards things of general artistic nature, than by the one at present common among the generality of Muslims of India who, for example, do not like the idea of listening to Indian music, not to speak of appreciating the female dance and the beauties of the original Hindu dress. This certainly is not real tolerance.

" 2. *Harmonization of reality and idealism* or in other words a harmonization of the physical needs and spiritual ideals. The much-discussed simplicity of Islam does not mean lack of religious idealism and mystical Sufism. No, it simply means that there is a harmonious conjunction of certain lofty ideals and the practical everyday life of every individual member of a worldwide culture, and this is the real character of a true Islamic nation. Examined in this light, amongst the intellectual Hindus we find a more Islamic attitude of mind than the average Muslim can show. To find a proof of this assertion, we have just to compare the simplicity, usefulness and economy of Hindu dress, Hindu furniture and dishes and the reasonable attitude of mind in general towards money, with the standard of living in vogue in the times of our Holy Prophet (Peace upon him). So here too we find that the average Hindu is following the Prophet's example in a better way than his Muslim brother.

" 3. *A feeling of fraternal unity amongst human beings* and lack of narrow-minded exclusivism or conservatism. The very social and democratic principles of Islam are more realized in the practical life of the Hindus with regard to their womenfolk than amongst the middle class or high class Muslims. As for the caste-system of Hinduism, it is quite true that compared to this, society has no tyranny of that nature. But here again I noticed Muslim modern Hindu youths, taken up by the idea of national revival, doing more of reformation work in their own community than the Muslims, urgently in need of thorough-going reformation of their present social system. There is at least a movement in favour of *Harijans* amongst the Hindus, whereas the Muslims do practically nothing for the social upliftment of India's poor and down-trodden millions.

" So far I may have given the wrong impression that I am only out to curse my Muslim co-religionists and that for the future I believe only in the Hindu-evolution. But no, my impression is that the whole sub continent of Hindustan in general and the Muslim part of the population in particular is at the threshold of a period of revival in the matter of its cultural power and activity.

" There is a striking similarity between the condition of Europe as influenced by Rome and Greece and that of the Muslim Moghuls as influenced by Hinduism. An artistic and scientific Renaissance of ancient Hinduism within the cultural boundaries of modern Islam would produce the very same advantage to further cultural evolution of Islamic nations of Central Asia and India. There is no danger of relapsing into idol-worship or similar primitive superstitions of Hinduism because Islamic nations have acquired a sufficient measure of control over their power of concentration during the past centuries. In fact the attitude of mind of the modern Muslims in India towards the symbolism and the mystic philosophy of Hinduism is very similar to that of educated and advanced Christian priests who pioneered the revival of ancient Greek culture in Europe.

" First of all the living existence of the ancient culture of Hinduism, will change in some way or other the former condition of Indian Muslim culture, as was the case with the European Christian culture, at the time of the Renaissance. This regeneration will, however, be more vivid and fitter to re-invigorate the actual everyday life of man. As an example of how this will happen, I may refer to the existing fashion of dressing and other formalities observed in Hinduism, and, to my mind, these will be more capable of releasing the suppressed culture impulses of Muslims, than the ancient Greco-Roman culture proved to be, in the case of the suppressed life impulses of the European Christians. As stated before, it should be

considered as an essential part of the cultural evolution that neurotic complexes, created by premature ascetic repression of natural impulses, should be released and liberated with the help of an older and freer culture. It is of great importance that Hinduism in its genuine conception shows far more similarity to the original form of Islam than the ancient Greco-Roman culture did to the original form of Christianity. Principles like the unity of Godhead, the spiritual communication between the Divinity and humanity with the Prophets as the medium and last but not the least the conception of saving suffering humanity with the help of sublime spiritual ideas, which are characteristic of Christianity as well as of Islam, can be easily discovered in Hinduism and perhaps not in the ancient Greco-Roman culture. Not theoretically alone but practically as well there are more similarities subsisting between the actual Hindu type of life and the original Islamic expression of life than between the ancient Greco-Roman culture and the original life expression of Christianity.

"The cultural life of a people and the civilization peculiar to it generally express themselves in certain outward signs. The form of dress, for instance, invariably accord with the gait, the fashion and the whole life rhythm of a nation. Once we have realized this, there will be no difficulty in our understanding what we had been discussing above, viz., that there are fundamental resemblances subsisting between the actual life expressions of Hinduism and the original Arabic culture. It may be considered as an irony of fate, that the Indian Muslims look down upon the Hindus as indecent simply because their men wear the *dhoti* and their women's dress consists of *choli* and *saree*. It will not do for us to overlook the fact, however, that Arab men and women used to dress in the very same way at the time of the Prophet. It was only due to the influence of some puritanic extremists and to the neighbourhood of Byzantium that the veil-system for Muslim ladies and the overloaded clothing for men became fashionable.

"I think it is now clear that clothing and everyday life exert a great influence upon the whole culture of a nation. And it appears that a Renaissance of Islam with the help of a revival of Hindu culture within a new Islamic life would mean a more living and tangible rejuvenation of cultural forces, than it had been the case with the northern Christians at the time of European Renaissance. Hindu religious principles, of course, are not likely to get mixed up or changed in any way with the principles of Islam. Religious doctrines have their tradition and history. True conception of Islam as well as of the original form of Hinduism, will be able to guide their followers along different lines to the same Divine goal which every religion is aiming at.

"Although we may find in them many points of similarity yet it will be going too far to make an artificial and intellectual mixture of these two different religious ways to find God. But the actual cultural forms of both the communities can, in fact, make a very close combination without changing any of the true characteristics of any party.

"This kind of natural relationship did not certainly unite original Christendom with the ancient Greco-Roman culture. However the Renaissance was able to revive both the cultures and to produce a very healthy and vivid life impulse in combining them. We are all the more justified in expecting a vivid rejuvenation of both the cultures of Hinduism and Islam, if joined in the same way.

"I cannot conclude this discourse without mentioning the fact that a very interesting prospect of ideas is lying before us in view of the cultural



influence of a Hindu Renaissance on Indian Islam as well as on other Islamic nations.

“Already a great interest is observed amongst outside Muslims for India, India taken as a whole and not as a partly Muslim country.

“It is of great importance to realize that certain symptoms of this anticipated course of evolution have already been noticed by the Hindus as well as other non-Muslims. There is an increased tendency in the modern movements within Hinduism to be permeated with Islamic principles. We have only to closely observe the attitude of mind of leaders like Sri Ramkrishna or Mahatma Gandhi towards Islam or to mark the close similarity of the Brahmo Samaj principles with those of Islam and we shall understand in which way this mutual permeation may be realized. This does not mean self-abnegation or actual annihilation of religious communities. It simply means a true understanding of one's own religion which will teach him rather to grasp his brother's and sister's way to God and possibly to learn something from them than to fight against them, simply because of some more or less outward distinctions of the great way to the one aim which may join all human craving and longing in one eternal goal—*Insha Allah*.”

# News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions in India and Abroad].

## **Oriental Students' Confederation**

Miss Suzanne Liano, a niece of the Chinese Ambassador in Rome, has been unanimously elected President of the Oriental Students' Confederation at its International Congress in Rome. The following were among those elected to the Committee :—

Mr. Sundaram (India), Vice-President ; Mr. Ding (China), Hon. Secretary ; and Dr. Ratnasuriya (Ceylon).

Among those elected to the Permanent Bureau were Mr. A. N. Sarkar (India), Secretary and Hon. Treasurer ; Mr. D. N. Duvash (India), Assistant Honorary Secretary ; and Mr. Lin (China).

It was decided in future to divide the work of the Confederation into three sections ; the Council of the Delegates, the Executive Committee and the Permanent Bureau. Local committees of the Confederation are also to be organised in all the most important University centres in Europe and the East. These decisions were embodied in the new Statute of the Confederation which the Rome Congress had been called to draw up. Before breaking up, the Congress, at which thirty European Associations were represented, was addressed by Signor Mussolini who declared that only the setting-up of cordial co-operation between the East and the West would assure the peace of the world and the progress of civilisation. " You can be certain," he added, " that in this work you will always find in me a sincere friend."

## **University of Dacca**

The last annual meeting of the Dacca University Court unanimously adopted a resolution, recommending the Executive Council to approach the Government for the necessary funds so as to enable the University to open a Faculty of Medicine with effect from the next session. It is recalled that the executors of the will of the late Mr. Jagamohan Pal have agreed to place at the disposal of the University a sum of four lakhs of rupees for the establishment of a Medical College at Dacca after the name of late Mr. Pal.

## **University of Bombay**

The Bombay University Senate at their meeting on 10th February last, discussed a proposal to institute a diploma in military studies with the object of training Indians in military science so as to make them eligible for commissions in the Indian Army. Dr. B. G. Vad. moving the proposal, drew the attention of the House to the report of the Shea Committee according to which 500 Indians should have been in the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. Foreign universities, he said, were training students in this branch, but Indian universities were doing nothing. He referred to

the Punjab University's course of military history. He could not understand why the Bombay University should not have a diploma, specially when the services of many Army officers who were on the compulsory retirement list, were so easily available. An amendment was moved referring the matter to the Syndicate for report as it was thought that without proper investigation the scheme might not be successful, and as it was feared that the authorities might withhold co-operation. The amendment was carried.

The Syndicate's report for 1933-34 was adversely criticised by some members when it came up before the Senate for adoption. It was pointed out that the University, in spite of large funds, spent little in proportion to other Indian universities on research, that, therefore, the work done by this department was poor, and that the large funds lying idle in banks should be utilised for hostels and gymnasiums, swimming baths and other forms of recreation.

### Education in Assam

Assam witnessed considerable improvement in her educational activities during the year 1933-34.

Mr. G. A. Small, Director of Public Instruction, Assam, states in his report for 1933-34 that during the year physical training was taken up with enthusiasm by all classes of schools and that a large number of the younger teachers were qualifying in physical instruction. Enrolment in the two Government colleges at Gauhati and Sylhet increased from 1,295 to 1,388 and that of the Law College rose from 63 to 72. There is an increasing demand for education from all quarters. All that is needed is funds.

Extra-curricular activities, such as, gardening, manual work, physical education, scout-games, health-training are making steady progress in Assam and they are now a recognized and happy feature of the primary schools.

During the year the number of girls in institutions of all kinds rose from 65,278 to 69,282, which means an increase of 6.1 per cent. as against an increase of 5 per cent. in 1932-33. With a view to improving the teaching in the girls' schools, the Director suggests that provision should be made for the deputation of at least six teachers annually to one of the colleges in Bengal for training for the B. T. Degree.

Incidentally the year 1934 completes one hundred years of the existence of an Education Department in Assam. It was in 1834 that Col. Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor General in the North-East Frontier, submitted a recommendation to the Government that schools might be established in each station where there was a European officer, *viz.*, at Goalpara, Gauhati, Darrang, Nowgong and Bishnath.

### Advisory Board on Education

Among the proposals approved by the Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly at its first meeting held on 1st February last was one for the revival of the Advisory Board on Education, costing Rs. 30,000 annually. The Committee examined various proposals critically and some of the members made it clear that such expenditure as they might sanction in anticipation of the budget situation should not be used later as an argument for taxation on the ground that the Committee had endorsed the expenditure, and that the members' right should be unfettered at any later stage to disapprove such an expenditure if it involve additional taxation.

**All-India Exhibition of Indian Architecture.**

The first All-India Exhibition of Indian Architectural Arts and Crafts was opened by Mr. Syamaparsad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the Senate Hall on 8th February last.

Declaring the exhibition open Mr. Mookerjee said, so far as the revival of Indian art was concerned, it was due to the tireless efforts of a generation of scholars, Indian and European, and in this connection he mentioned the names of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, Mr. A. Kumaraswamy and the late Mr. Havell. It was true that much had been achieved in the domain of Indian art, but this exhibition had been opened with a view to focussing public attention on the claims of Indian architecture. The object of the organisers was not to rouse their national pride in things that belonged to them but to make them work for the re-establishment of Indian architecture in its former glory and usefulness.

About 1,000 specimens, collected from different parts of India were on view. The exhibits were arranged in several broad sections and included pre-historic and early India, Greater India, Gupta and post-Gupta India, Mediaeval India, Moghul India, Modern India and Bengal.

**Hindu University, Benares**

Amid impressive scenes the seventeenth Convocation of Benares Hindu University was held on 8th February last in the amphitheatre in the presence of a huge gathering.

Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor, conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In doing so he referred to Dr. Tagore's unique services as a poet, philosopher and educationist and remarked, "The Motherland is proud of you."

In delivering his Convocation Address Dr. Tagore emphasized the fact that most problems to-day had become international and yet the international mind has not yet been formed, the modern teacher's conscience not having taken its responsibility in helping to invoke it.

Speaking of the ultimate purpose of education Dr. Tagore said:—

As a people we must be fully conscious of what we are. It is a truism to say that the consciousness of the unity of a people implies the knowledge of its parts as well as of its whole. But, most of us not only have such knowledge of India, they do not even have an eager desire to cultivate it.

By asserting our national unity with vehemence in our political propaganda, we assure ourselves that we possess it, and thus continue to live in a make believe world of political day-dreams.

The fact is, we have a feeble human interest in our own country. We love to talk about politics and economics; we are ready to soar into the thin air of academic abstractions, or roam in the dusk of pedantic wilderness; but we never care to cross our social boundaries and come to the door of our neighbouring communities, personally to inquire how they think and feel and express themselves, and how they fashion their lives.

The love of man has its own hunger for knowing. Even if we lack this concerning our fellow-beings in India, except in our political protestations, at least love of knowledge for its own sake could have brought us close to each other. But there also we have failed and suffered. For weakness of knowledge is the foundation of weakness of power. Until India becomes fully distinct in our mind, we can never gain her in truth; and where truth is imperfect love can never have its full sway. The best function of our Education-Centres is to help us to *know* ourselves; and then along with it her other mission will be fulfilled which is to inspire us to *give* ourselves.

The activity represented in human education is a worldwide one, it is a great movement of universal co-operation interlinked by different ages and countries. And India, though defeated in her political destiny, has her responsibility to hold up the cause of truth, even to cry in the wilderness, and offer her lessons to the world in the best gifts which she could produce.

The messengers of truth have ever joined their hands across centuries, across the seas, across historical barriers, and they help to form the great continent of human brotherhood. Education in all its different forms and channels has its ultimate purpose in the evolving of a luminous sphere of human mind from the nebula that has been rushing round ages to find in itself an eternal centre of unity. We individuals, however small may be our power and whatever corner of the world we may belong to, have the claim upon us to add to the light of the consciousness that comprehends all humanity. And for this cause I ask your co-operation, not merely because co-operation itself is the best aspect of the truth we represent, it is an end and not merely the means.

### Asiatic Society of Bengal

The headquarters of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Park Street, Calcutta, continue to attract distinguished visitors from different parts of the world. Among last year's visitors were scholars from Sikkim, England, France, Australia, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Hungary and the United States of America. This fact was mentioned in the report of the Society's working in 1934 which was read at the last annual meeting. The President, Dr. L. L. Fermor, in his address gave an interesting survey of the progress and development of scientific research in India during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries.

The following were elected office-bearers for 1935 :—Dr. L. L. Fermor, President. Vice-Presidents : Sir David Ezra, Rai Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari, Bahadur, Lt.-Col. R. Knowles, and the Hon'ble Sir B. L. Mitter. General Secretary : Mr. Johan Van Manen. Treasurer : Dr. S. L. Hora. Philological Secretary : Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Joint Philological Secretary : Shamsu'l' Ulama Maulavi M. Hidayet Hosain, Khan Bahadur. Natural History Secretaries—Biology : Dr. Baini Prasad. Physical Science : Dr. J. N. Mukherjee. Anthropological Secretary : Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda. Medical Secretary : Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra. Library Secretary : Dr. A. M. Heron. Other Members of Council : Mr. L. R. Fawcus, Mr. Percy Brown, the Hon. Mr. Justice J. Lort-Williams, Mr. C. C. Calde, Mr. N. G. Majumdar.

The following medals and prizes were announced :—

Sir William Jones Memorial Medal for 1934 awarded to Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari; Brühl Memorial Medal (1934) for researches in Asiatic Botany awarded to Mr. J. H. Burkhill, late Director of Gardens, Straits Settlements; Elliot Prize (1933) for research in Chemistry awarded to Mr. Nirmal Kumar Sen of Dacca University; Elliot Prize (1934) for research in Physics awarded to Dr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury of the University College of Science, Calcutta; Indian Science Congress (Calcutta) Prize awarded to Dr. Meghnath Saha.

## Ourselves

[I. Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee—II. Fresco-painting in the New Library Hall—III. Guruprasad Singh Professor of Physics.—IV. New Matriculation Regulations: Vernacular Medium of Examination.—V. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's Third Endowment—VI. A New D Sc.—VII. A New Ph D.—VIII. Madame Halide Edib Adnan's Lectures.—IX. National Institute of Sciences of India.—X. Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1935.—XI. Mokshadasundari Gold Medal for 1934.—XII. Final Examination in Law, January, 1935—XIII.—Deans of Faculties, 1935-36.—XIV. Next M.B. Examinations.—XV. Notifications.]

### I. SIR MANMATHANATH MUKHERJEE.

The Knighthood conferred on Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukherjee, though a belated recognition of his merit, has given satisfaction to all. When he was appointed to act as Chief Justice of Bengal, we had occasion to rejoice specially because we have known him more intimately as a distinguished Fellow of the University. The bestowal of the new distinction, which speaks volumes of Sir Manmatha's qualities as a judge and jurist, has made us happier still.

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### II. FRESCO-PAINTING IN THE NEW LIBRARY HALL.

Those who are interested in the expansion and better accommodation of the University Library will be glad to note that arrangements are being made for fresco-painting on the walls of the Reading Room in the new Library Hall on the top floor of the Asutosh Building. The work, we understand, has been entrusted to Mr. D. K. Deb Burman, an artist of great skill and experience. Mr. Deb Burman, it may be noted, received his training at the Kalabhawan, Viswa-bharati, Santiniketan, and visited Java, Bali and Malay with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. He was one of the four Indian artists chosen by the Government of India to decorate the India House in London, where his works were highly appreciated. The co-operation of the renowned Mr. Nandalal Bose has also been sought by the University in this connection. We are further informed that the Vice-Chancellor is personally engaged in the arrangement of details and that a sum of Rs. 5,000 has been sanctioned by the Syndicate for the execution of the work.

The frescoes, it is understood, will illustrate the development of Indian culture and civilisation with special reference to contributions from Bengal. It will, no doubt, be a great inspiration to readers and researchers alike to be associated, while at work in the new hall, with memories of mighty minds and of impressive incidents that have left their mark on the pages of history. Those who will have occasion to use the University Library will be thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for another happy turn of imagination following close upon the one that ushered the University Foundation Day celebrations into existence.

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### III. GURUPRASAD SINGH PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS.

We have great pleasure in announcing that the Senate at its meeting held on the 23rd February last appointed Dr. Bidubhusan Roy, D.Sc., Guruprasad Singh Professor of Physics for a period of five years. Dr. Roy has hitherto been a University lecturer in the Department of Physics. Besides being a Premchand Roychand Student and a Mouat Medallist, he has distinguished himself by winning the Mahendralal Sarkar Medal of the Indian Association in 1926, and the Elliot Prize of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, in 1927. He has to his credit a large number of scientific papers on Physics, and his work has been referred to in *Handbuch der Physik* (Grebe), Vol. 21, *Handbuch der Experimental Physik* (Lindh), Vol. 24, *Spektroskopie der Rontgenstrahlen* (Siegbahn), *Physics of the Air* (Humphreys), Vol. 2, and in many other books on the subject. Dr. Roy was our Ghose Travelling Fellow for 1933-34 and before that he had also been elected to the Palit Foreign Scholarship.

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### IV. NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS: VERNACULAR MEDIUM OF EXAMINATION.

The Senate at its meeting held on the 23rd February last finally approved the new Regulations for the Matriculation Examination, giving a definite shape to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's grand idea of nationalisation of education. In future, when the new Regulations will come into force, the Matriculation Examination in all subjects other than English will be conducted through the medium of one or other of the Major Vernaculars, namely, Bengali, Urdu, Assamese and Hindi. The girl students will have a different curriculum. English will be taught by specially qualified persons.

It will be recalled that fourteen years ago during Sir Asutosh's last term in the Vice-Chancellorship, a conference of head masters and members of managing committees of schools within the jurisdiction of this University was held, when proposals were mooted seeking to introduce revolutionary changes in the educational system of the Province. Meetings and conferences continued to be held since then to solve this great problem till matters came to a head at the conference of August last, when the representatives of the University and of the Government were at last able to arrive at an agreement. Government definitely expressed their opinion that the Regulations as modified would be accepted by them provided the Senate also agreed to such modifications. The modifications as agreed to in the said conference were placed before the Senate on behalf of the Syndicate by Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee and the new Regulations were finally approved.

Dealing with the nature of the new Regulations Mr. Banerjee pointed out that the most outstanding feature was that instruction and examination in future would be conducted through the medium of vernacular. This is a large departure from the policy hitherto followed by the University for the last 77 years. Secondly, for the first time in the history of the University we are going to have a different curriculum for the girl students. Since we are making vernacular the compulsory medium of instruction and examination, it is essential to see, as Mr. Banerjee pointed out, that the study of English language and English literature which for many years is bound to maintain the position of *lingua franca* of India is not impaired. Therefore, it has been thought desirable on the one hand to raise the standard of the English language for the Matriculation examination and on the other hand to make proposals for the purpose of giving better training and better facilities for the teachers in English. The proposed curriculum would not be a heavy one, for henceforward students, would receive their instruction through the medium of their mothertongue, as they would be relieved of unnecessary cramming and waste of time which an artificial medium of instruction has hitherto imposed upon them. The new regulations would be put into operation as soon as they were sanctioned by Government. That, at any rate, would not be later than 1939.

The Regulations provide that the Matriculation Examination in all subjects other than English shall be conducted through the medium



of one or other of the major vernaculars, viz., Bengali, Urdu, Assamese and Hindi. The Syndicate is, however, empowered in special cases or class of cases to make exceptions to this rule or postpone its operations either in whole or in part for a prescribed time. The candidate whose vernacular is a language other than a major vernacular, shall have the option of writing their answers in all papers other than the vernacular paper, if any, either in English or in one of the major vernaculars. The Regulations further provide that whenever the Managing Committee or any other authority of a recognised school outside Bengal or in the District of Darjeeling or in the Chittagong Hill Tracts applies to the effect that the pupils of such a school should be exempted from the necessity of writing their answers in any of the major vernaculars recognised for the purpose by the University, the Syndicate shall exempt them for a specified period or periods from the operation of the general rules and permit them to give their answers in all subjects other than the vernacular, if any, in English instead.

Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall be examined in the following subjects:—

(1) A Major Vernacular Language, viz., Bengali, Urdu, Assamese or Hindi—Two papers.

(2) English—Two papers and a half.

(3) Geography—Half paper.

(4) History of India and History of England—One paper.

(5) Mathematics—One paper.

(6) A Classical Language (viz., Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Classical Armenian, Hebrew, Syriac or Classical Tibetan) or An Indian Vernacular recognised by the Syndicate, from time to time, other than the vernacular of the candidate already taken up as a compulsory subject, or a Modern European Language other than English (viz., French, German, Italian or Portuguese).

(7) Elementary Scientific Knowledge—One paper.

Provided that Elementary Scientific Knowledge shall not be regarded as a compulsory subject for three years from the year in which the first Matriculation Examination will be held under the new Regulations. During the period of transition Elementary Scientific Knowledge shall be included in the list of optional subjects.

The girl candidates shall be examined in the following subjects:—

1. A Major Vernacular Language ; 2. English ; 3. Geography ; 4. History of India and History of England (as in the case of boys) ; 5. Mathematics or Arithmetic and Domestic Science including Domestic Hygiene—One paper ; 6. At least one but not more than two until Elementary Scientific Knowledge is made compulsory for boys and thereafter at least two but not more than three of the following: (a) One of the Classical languages prescribed for boys, (b) Elementary Scientific Knowledge, (c) Elements of Physics and Chemistry, (d) Elementary Mechanics, (e) Elementary Hygiene (only for those who take up Mathematics as a compulsory subject), (f) Elements of Biology, (g) Additional Mathematics, (h) Business Method and Correspondence, (i) Commercial Geography, (j) Elements of Public Administration in India, (k) Sewing and Needle-work, (l) Music, and (m) Drawing, Painting including an appreciation of Fine Arts—One paper each.

No girl candidate shall be allowed to take up Mathematics or Physics or Chemistry as a subject for the Intermediate Examination unless she has already passed the Matriculation Examination with Mathematics as one of her subjects.

In order to pass the Matriculation Examination a candidate must obtain 36 per cent. of the total marks in the aggregate of all the compulsory papers. Candidates who obtain 60 per cent. of the marks in the aggregate shall be placed in the First Division, and those who obtain 50 per cent. in the Second Division.

The Regulations make definite provisions for the class of teachers who will be qualified to teach English. It is provided that Head Masters of all recognised schools who will have taught English up to 31st March, 1935, will be recognised as teachers of English. Assistant Head Masters and Assistant Teachers who will have taught English in a recognised school or schools for at least five years prior to 31st March, 1935, will also be recognised as teachers in English. Three years after the Regulations have come into force no teacher of a recognised school shall be allowed to teach English in any of the classes unless he is qualified to do so under Section 9 (B) of the Regulations which runs as follows:—

Within five years from the date on which these Regulations come into force, every school with eight classes shall have at least two

teachers on its staff who have obtained the M.A. degree in English or Philosophy or History or Political Economy and Political Philosophy or the B.A. degree with Honours in these subjects or the B.T. degree or the L.T. Diploma or the Diploma in Spoken English or English Teachership Certificate (mentioned in the Regulations), or have obtained recognition as teacher in English (as stated above). When in a school more sections than one are opened in the four top classes, the number of such qualified teachers shall be increased in a reasonable proportion.

The new Regulations now await formal sanction of Government.

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#### V. DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE'S THIRD ENDOWMENT.

The Senate at its meeting held on the 23rd February last accepted with acclamation a munificent offer from Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, Inspector of Colleges, of three per cent. Government securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 for the purpose of creating an endowment to be named after his father the late Mr. Lalchand Mookerjee for the industrial training of Protestant Bengalee Christians. The present endowment comes in the train of two other equally liberal bequests previously made by Dr. Mookerjee. Posterity will remember with gratitude the lofty ideal which has inspired him to donate his life's savings for the advancement of his co-religionists in Bengal.

We reproduce below the letter which Dr. Mookerjee has addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, in connection with his proposal for the noble gift. It will amply repay perusal, as it brings out very clearly the high aims and object of the distinguished donor.

To

S. P. MOOKERJEE, ESQ., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.C.,  
VICE-CHANCELLOR, *University of Calcutta.*

MY DEAR MR. MOOKERJEE,

With a view to provide facilities for the better fulfilment of my aims and objects in creating the two endowments which the University has already been pleased to accept and which have respectively been named after my father and my mother, I beg leave to submit herewith for the acceptance of the University of Calcutta the scheme for a third endowment also to be named after my father in whose memory my first Endowment was created.

It is perhaps needless to point out that my first and second endowments and this proposed third endowment are all inspired by the same humble desire of helping my

community, and through it my country, in those fields of activity where the progressive nations of the world have achieved their economic welfare. Unfortunately India has avoided the arena of the struggle and it will yet take some time for my country to realise that the mediaeval legacy of placid pathetic contentment is but a clog and a handicap in the modern world, that our ancient attitude of serene passionless spiritual detachment, lit up with radiant hopes of the hereafter and unaffected by the stir and ferment of the modern world, must now be supplemented with scientific and industrial activity to prevent the threatened national calamity of economic stagnation.

The danger arises not merely from inaction, but from a fatally wrong placing of things. The working-man of the present age standing on the lowest step of the industrial ladder is the real dynamic force which, transmitted upwards creates and sustains the commercial and manufacturing structure of modern society. Yet how seldom is he allowed to come to his own! I have noticed with regret that, far less fortunate and far more hard-working as he is than most of us, he does not receive proper consideration in many cases from his immediate superiors. After all, many of the latter have little scientific training and, on the top of this, the road to preferment and official recognition for them lies only too often through the sweated labour of their subordinates. Our first endeavour therefore ought to be to make these overseers and supervisors what they ought to be both from the standpoint of their personal fitness as well as from the standpoint of their relation to the working-men whom they control. The unschooled overseer of to-day knows only what he has done or seen in factories and workshops and, naturally enough, improved methods conducive to economy, efficiency, increase in output and the improvement of its quality are beyond his reach. He is not a thinking or progressive force, but a part of the machinery, and the human element in him functions but feebly in consequence.

I seek therefore in the present endowment by which I propose to transfer to the University of Calcutta Government securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 and the terms and conditions of which are set forth in Annexure A, to improve the officer in direct charge of labour, to encourage the growth of a different and, as I hope, a higher type of men who may be the immediate captains of industry. My ideal is to have the vigorous intellect of the University man combined with the health and strength of the normal labourer in them. Their academic qualifications supplemented by thorough practical experience will enable them to stand midway between the expert and the working-man, to interpret the one to the other and, at the same time, to bring into play those qualities of foresight, forbearance and sympathy which find little place in modern industrial organisations. Men of this type will be neither too high, if need be, to render personal labour nor too low to take the leader's part in matters of general direction and management.

I can well appreciate that the question of capital will come up as soon as their training has been completed and, capital in India up to the present has been rather shy. Still I hold that finance follows the man of skill as surely as trade follows the flag and that "the vineyards of God will not turn into wilderness as the true labourer appears before the gates." Mills and workshops will absorb a good many of them and for the rest it would be a splendid service to our people if they would endeavour in all earnestness to revive the dying cottage industries of India.

I may here be permitted to appeal to future scholarship holders who may benefit by this or my other endowments, to maintain unimpaired the plain and homely Indian style of living. To my young friends destined to inherit the earth in the coming years which I shall not live to see, my advice is—"Live even as your sires lived in homely

simplicity. It will make you happy with the modest income that your work will fetch you, and it will enable you, with your unostentatious mode of living, to spare a part of your earnings to set up in the world a poorer brother with a sympathetic heart and kindly feelings."

Lastly, I should much regret if these inadequate offerings of mine are interpreted as in any way sectarian or communal. I have, it is true, restricted the benefit of my three endowments to Bengalee Protestant Christians. As a Bengalee Protestant myself, I feel that my brothers in faith require some special encouragement to fall in line with the rest of my countrymen, and I am convinced that if they get it, the progress of my country as a whole will be more effectively secured. I love them not only because they are Protestant Christians, but also because they are men of Bengal. It is only to facilitate the general and harmonious progress of my motherland that these endowments have been set apart for the members of my own community.

2, DEHI SERAMPORE ROAD, ENTALLY, }  
CALCUTTA, }  
Dated, the 9th February, 1935.

Believe me,  
Yours sincerely,

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

#### ANNEXURE.

(1) That notwithstanding that the University of Calcutta shall, after formal acceptance of my present proposal, become the custodian of the three per cent. Government securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 and hold the same in deposit for creation of scholarships hereafter out of the interest thereof as laid down below, the said interest shall belong absolutely to me during my life-time, provided however that it shall be incumbent on the Registrar for the time being of the Calcutta University to collect the said interest and to make over the same to me if and when I so require or to invest the same in approved Government securities from time to time subject always to my directions in this behalf. The securities so purchased together with the interest not demanded or withdrawn by me, shall on my death be added to and form part of the above endowment which shall be called the *Lal Chand Mookerjee Second Endowment*.

(2) That after my death a personal allowance of Rs. 50 per month out of the interest accruing to the said Endowment shall be paid during her life-time, to each of my two nieces named Sm. Ratnamala and to Sm. Muktamala both daughters of my brother the late Akshoy Coomar Mookerjee, provided however that in the event of the death of any one or both of them, the amount or amounts thus set free together with the balance of the income of the Endowment shall be formed into scholarships to be styled "*Lal Chand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians*" to be awarded to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committees of Management hereinafter mentioned. The amount of each scholarship should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 50 per month.

(3) That if any one or both of my said nieces predecease me, the income of the said securities which was to have been paid to her or to them as personal allowance under Clause (2), together with the balances of the income of the Endowment shall, on my death, be formed into scholarships of not more than Rs. 50 each ordinarily, to be

styled "Lal Chand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians" to be awarded as in Clause (2) to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management.

(4) That the said scholarships shall be tenable for not more than three years within the territorial limits of India, it being clearly understood that the minimum amount of each scholarship, which may vary in different cases, as well as the period thereof shall be determined by the Committee of Management mentioned below after due consideration of the subject or subjects in which training is to be received by the selected scholarship-holder and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the training is to be received.

(5) That the said subject or subjects shall be selected from amongst the following, provided however that the Committee of Management shall have the power in conformity with the aims and objects of this Endowment, to suggest and add thereto other subjects from time to time :—

Spinning, weaving, dye-making, mechanical, railway and electrical engineering, aviation and applied aeronautics, film-making, manufacture of photographic plates and materials, mining and colliery work, soap-making, pottery, enamel, glassware, manufacture of leather and leather goods, celluloid work, fruit-preserving, biscuit-making, sugar-refining, manufacture of drugs and medicines from indigenous products, manufacture of cheap building materials, motor-car parts, carpet-making, hosiery, scientific agriculture, scientific horticulture or floriculture, cultivation of medicinal plants, dairy and poultry farming, paper manufacture, manufacture of stationery goods, preparation of patent foods, condiments and non-secret pharmaceuticals and other subjects.

(6) That for purposes of general management and control of the Endowment and more especially for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects in which training is to be received by them and approving the firms, institutions, factories, mills, etc., where such training is to be received, for fixing the amount and the period for which a scholarship is to be tenable and for finally disposing of all matters connected with this Endowment, a Committee of Management shall be formed the *personnel* of which shall be selected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, provided however that a majority of its members shall be Indians, and the Vice-Chancellor shall be its Chairman *ex-officio*, and it shall contain at least two Protestant Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from amongst the Principals and Teachers of Colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and provided also that my pupils, Messers. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., and Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and Mr. Susilkumar Lahiri, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, son of the late Sasibhusan Lahiri, shall be life-members of the said Committee. The proceedings of the Committee of Management shall be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate. The said Committee of Management constituted as above shall administer this as well as all the other Endowments already created or to be created by the present donor in favour of the Protestant Bengalee Christians.

(7) That every candidate for the "Lal Chand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians" shall be required strictly to conform to the following conditions :—

(a) That he shall be a Protestant Christian and a native of Bengal and born of Bengalee parents, and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are or were both Bengalees by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali

Language as their mother tongue ; and furthermore that both of them are or were Protestant Christians at the time of their birth.

(b) That he shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 18 and 23 years of age.

(c) That every candidate for the Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship shall be a B.Sc. or a B.E. preferably of the University of Calcutta or shall have passed an examination or test equivalent to the B.Sc. or B.E. Examination of an Indian University. The poverty of an applicant or of his guardian may also be sympathetically considered in sanctioning a scholarship in case where such an applicant is in every respect as highly qualified as the other applicants.

(d) That he shall be required to submit once a year or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management, a certificate of good conduct and satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the head of the workshop, school or factory where he receives his training and failure to produce this certificate may entail forfeiture of his scholarship.

(e) That he shall be bound to receive training in the subject or subjects approved or sanctioned by the Committee provided, however, that before final sanction thereof, the Committee of Management shall take into consideration his suggestion about the subject or subjects, and be satisfied that there are ample facilities in India for specialising in the subject or subjects proposed by it and also that such specialisation is or will in the near future be conducive to the best interests of our country.

(8) That inasmuch as the Committee of Management herein proposed shall administer this and my previous Endowments and other Endowments that might be subsequently created by me for Bengalee Protestant Christians and nominate scholarship-holders under the terms and conditions therein respectively set forth, or to be set forth, the Committee shall be entitled while making such nominations to give preference to candidates who, on grounds of qualifications and attainments and after completion of their training under this Endowment, are likely to compete also for the "Lal Chand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarships" and, for other foreign scholarships which might hereafter be created by me, with distinct advantage to themselves and to this country.

(9) That if, at any time the Committee of Management is convinced that no candidate for scholarship possesses the minimum qualifications as laid down above or that the subjects selected by the candidate do not warrant any grant of scholarship in view of the absence in India of proper facilities for training therein, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and of adding the unexpended amount or amounts or any part thereof ratably or in any other proportion to the *corpus* of this Endowment and to the *corpus* of any one or both of my other two Endowments or to the *corpus* of any subsequent Endowments that I may create for Protestant Bengalee Christians.

(10) That in conformity with the aims and objects of this Endowment as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, subjects of training, of places where the same is to be received, and the amounts and the number of scholarships.

(11) That I shall be entitled to make such further additions to the *corpus* of this Endowment as I may be able to make from time to time.

(12) That the Committee of Management shall keep itself in touch with the scholarship-holders notwithstanding completion of their training and expiration of the term of the scholarship and help them in being apprenticed to any factory or industrial concern or to become usefully employed in the lines of work in which they have been trained.

(13) That in case the interest of this Endowment accumulates to such an extent that a larger number of candidates may be trained on the above terms and conditions, the Committee of Management will, if practicable, select additional candidates for training or may continue grant of scholarship in favour of a selected candidate for a further period not exceeding one year.

(14) That the University acting as Trustees shall forthwith deposit the G. P. Notes in safe custody with the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and shall open an account in the name of a fund to be styled "Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund" and shall also realise the interest of the said G. P. Notes for credit to the account of the aforesaid Fund.

## VI. A NEW D.Sc.

We congratulate Mr. Umaprasanna Basu, M.Sc., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University. His main theses entitled (1) *Syntheses with Tautomeric Compounds of the Ketimine Enamine Type*, and (2) *On Keto-Methylene Condensation* were approved by a Board of Examiners consisting of such eminent scientists as Professors C. K. Ingold, D.Sc., F.R.S., G. T. Morgan, D.Sc., F.R.S., and Richard Willstatter, N.L. Dr. Basu's work has been appraised as showing abundant evidence of a large amount of experimental work, some of which is of great promise and significance.

## VII. A NEW PH.D.

We also congratulate Mr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University. Besides being the Editor-in-charge of *Advance*, Dr. Sen has been a part-time Lecturer in Economics in the Post-Graduate Department for some years. The Board of Examiners which adjudicated upon his thesis *The Problem of Minorities*, consisted of Professor Harold Laski, M.A., Professor Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., LL.D., and M. R. Jayakar, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

## VIII. MADAME HALIDE EDIB ADNAN'S LECTURES \*

The learned lectures of Madame Halide Edib Adnan, notice of which had appeared in the February issue of our *Review*, were delivered on 26th and 27th of that month in the spacious

\* The full text of the lectures will, it is hoped, appear in our next issue.—Ed.



quadrangle lying between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building. A record crowd had assembled on both the days and the space was filled to suffocation. Men and women listened with rapt attention to the two remarkable addresses of the Turkish patriot and poetess on the "Creation of the Turkish Republic," and "The Turks through their literature." Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, presided.

Introducing the distinguished speaker the Vice-Chancellor, with a voice tuned enough for the microphone, recounted the sacrifice she had made in her country's cause and the achievements she had been credited with in the most difficult task of the uplift of womanhood. He invited her attention to the greatest of Indian problems, which was to bring the two great communities of India together so that they might think not in terms of classes and communities but in terms of their beloved motherland.

Madame Halide began by prefixing her remark with a high appreciation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and his labours in the cause of education. She then traced the growth of the Turkish Republic, showing what a conspicuous part the education of women had played in the shaping of her country's destiny. She emphasised the importance of solving the economic problems of the masses, of giving them education and teaching them to love India above everything else, if a nation had to be created. Adverting to the question of Hindu-Moslem Unity, she exhorted young Indians to come together and solve it themselves, for it was, she remarked, "a family affair." She observed that nobody in Turkey believed Islam to be a communal religion and that Islam, understood in its fundamentals, meant co-operation and equality of men. She believed, she said, that if there was a single Muslim in so many hundreds of Hindu brothers, for him India should be a part and parcel of his religion, that therefore, to him it was "India first and not his community first," and that it was his duty to stand shoulder to shoulder with every child of India.

These are precious words uttered by a practical thinker. Would they were not lost upon us at this the right moment.

#### IX. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES OF INDIA.

The Syndicate has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 500 a year towards the general funds of the newly-established National Institute of Sciences of India. The grant, we understand, will be for two years for the present.

## X. ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1935.

The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for the year 1935 has been awarded to Mr. Hemendranarayan Bhattacharyya for his thesis on "Adjective Law or the Law of Procedure in Ancient India."

\* \* \*

## XI. MOKSHADASUNDARI GOLD MEDAL FOR 1934.

The Mokshadasundari Gold Medal for 1934 has been awarded to Srimati Bela Debi, M.A., B.T., for her essay on "Javan Haridas."

\* \* \*

## XII. FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW, JANUARY, 1935.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law held in January last, was 488 of whom 132 were absent. 356 candidates actually sat for the examination of whom 175 actually came out successful. Of them only 10 were placed in Class I, and 165 in Class II. The percentage of pass was 49.

\* \* \*

## XIII. DEANS OF FACULTIES, 1935-36.

The following gentlemen have been elected Deans of the respective Faculties noted against their names for the years 1935-36:

Sir Z. R. Zahid Subrawardy, KT., M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW	<i>Faculty of Arts.</i>
Sir N. S. Sircar, KT., M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., M.L.C., F.S. M.F. (Bengal).	<i>Faculty of Science.</i>
Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter, M.A., D.L.	<i>Faculty of Law.</i>
Sir Kedarnath Das, KT., C.I.R., M.D., F.C.O.G., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).	<i>Faculty of Medicine.</i>
Mr. Jatindramohan Ray, B.A., C.E. (Roorkee), M.I.E. (Ind.).	<i>Faculty of Engineering.</i>

\* \* \*

## XIV. NEXT M.B. EXAMINATIONS.

The 25th April, 1935, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next M.B. Examinations.

\* \* \*

## XV. NOTIFICATIONS.

## (1) INDIA INSTITUTE OF THE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE.

(a) India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie wants to communicate to the Indian public that for the academic year 1935-36 *no scholarships* will be awarded by the Institute. This decision is due to the fact, that most of the present scholarship-holders will only finish their work within the next year, so that their scholarships are most likely to be renewed.

It is yet uncertain when again scholarships will be available ; in no case before September 1936. *Whenever there are any vacancies they will duly be announced in the Indian papers.* Indian students desirous of information regarding studies in Germany may as before write to the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, München, 8, Maximilianeum, Germany.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the German academic system is going to be transformed within this year. For this reason the summer session already begins by April 1st and ends by July 1st. On September 15th (instead of November 1st) the new term will begin.

(b) India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie occasionally receives inquiries from Indian students as to the value of the German Dr. Ing. degree (doctorate taken from a German Technical University). In order to remove all further doubts the Senate of the Berlin Technische Hochschule, on request of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, decided to hand out to every Indian student along with his Dr. Ing. certificate a testimonial to the following effect.

“ This is to testify that the Dr. Ing. of a German Technical University is equal in every respect to the doctorate of a University faculty as well as to the Doctor of Science (D.Sc.) of an English University.

Special attention is drawn to the fact, that the admission to the Dr. Ing. examination even presupposes the successful absolution of the “ *Diplom-Hauptprüfung.* ” whereas no such condition exists for the doctorate from a University.”

Applications should be addressed to DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER, *Hon. Secretary, India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, München, 8, Maximilianeum, Germany.*

## (2) PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION (INDIA).

(i) Applications are invited for the post of Second Assistant Entomologist (Class II Service) on the staff of the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research, Pusa. Pay Rs. 200-215 during probationary period, thereafter Rs. 230-15-350-efficiency bar-20-650. If a provincial service officer drawing pay on the provincial service scale of Rs. 250-750 is appointed, he will come on the old scale of Rs. 250-800 on the stage next above his pay in the provincial scale *plus* Rs. 50. Candidates should possess an M.Sc. degree in Zoology as the main subject, should have specialised in Entomology and should produce evidence of capability to conduct research work in the subject or should have a wide knowledge of Entomology, authorship of original papers of merit dealing with research in the subject and experience of work in an entomological laboratory. Age between 23 and 30 years, if a person is not already in Government service. Probation two years which may be extended to three years. Government servants eligible, if permitted to apply by their Departments. The appointing authority intends to appoint a Muslim, if one is on the list of "candidates most suitable for appointment" submitted by the Public Service Commission. Last date for receipt of applications—11th March, 1935. Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Delhi. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

(ii) Applications are invited for the post of Superintending Engineer, Health Services, Delhi. A candidate must have either passed parts A and B of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institution of Engineers (India); or have passed any examination which exempts him from passing the Associate Membership Examination; or have obtained such other Diploma or distinction in Engineering as the Governor-General in Council on the advice of the Public Service Commission may decide to accept, and should have had extensive experience in the designs and execution of large water-supply and drainage schemes. Government servants eligible, if permitted to apply by their Departments. Pay Rs. 1,750-100-2,150, Overseas pay £13-6-8 (only in the case of a Government official, if he is already in receipt of it), and motor car allowance Rs. 120 per mensem, all subject to such percentage cuts, if any, as may for the time being be in force. The post is temporary for a period of about three years, but may be extended at the discretion of Government. Last date for receipt of applications—11th March, 1935. Application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Delhi. Applicants for forms must state the name of the post for which they wish to apply.

## (3) ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF PISA.

*Galileo Galilei Foundation Research Scholarship for the Academic Year 1935-36.*

Applications are invited for a research scholarship open to Italians and Foreigners intending to specialize in experimental sciences and who have taken their degrees, or corresponding academical certificates, not more than five years previous to May 31st, 1935.

The successful candidate, if Italian, will be sent to the national or foreign Institute best corresponding to the nature of his studies; if foreign, will be expected to attend, for the whole academic year—November 1st, 1935–October 31st, 1936,—a scientific Institute in Italy. The scholarship is of the value of 15,000 lire, which will be paid in advance by quarterly instalments and may be supplemented by a special grant for eventual travelling expenses connected with research work.

The 2nd and 3rd instalments will be paid on exhibition of an attendance certificate issued by the Institute which has been chosen for the candidate's research work; the 4th and last instalment after the exhibition of a detailed report, signed by the director of the Institute, of the work actually accomplished.

Applications should be made on Government stamped paper of the value of 4 lire, or, if made abroad, on specially stamped paper, and should reach the University not later than May 31st, 1935.

Applications should be accompanied by :

(a) a certificate regarding the University courses the candidate has attended, with the marks obtained in his examinations, including those for his degree, and stating the date of his degree;

(b) a statement as to the nature of the studies and researches he wishes to undertake;

(c) not less than 3, and possibly 5, copies of the candidate's scientific publications, together with certificates from the Directors of the various Institutes where his researches were carried out;

(d) a statement containing exact information on the nature of the courses the candidate has followed and the work he has done (*curriculum vitae*);

(e) any other certificate or document that the candidate may consider it expedient to present.

All the documents under letters (a) and (e) should be written on Government stamped paper, or, if foreign, should be specially stamped. These last should moreover be authenticated by the Italian Consular authorities of the place where they were issued, and by the Italian Foreign Office.

## MANAGER'S NOTE

[The inclusion in this issue of the addresses by H. E. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor at the Annual Convocation of our University held on March 2 last, has led to some delay in bringing out this issue of the *Review*, for which we crave the indulgence of our readers and subscribers.]

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1935

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

## IN OUR NEXT ISSUES

### SCIENCE OF TRADITION

PROF. MUHAMMED ZUBAIR SIDDIQI, M.A., PH.D. (Cantab.)

*Sir Asutosh Professor of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University*

### ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA

ASIT KUMAR HALDAR

*Principal, Government School of Art, Lucknow*

### SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN JOURNALISM

AMAL HOME

*Editor, Calcutta Municipal Gazette*

### PROBLEMS OF INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

*Lecturer, Calcutta University*

### CIVILISATION IN THE RAMAYANA

PROF. RAJANI KANTA GUHA, M.A.

*Vice-Principal, City College, Calcutta*

## Platonic Ideas in Spenser

BY

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE,  
M.A., Ph.D.

*Lecturer in English, Calcutta University*

with a Foreword by

ÉMILE LEGOUIS

*Honorary Professor of English Literature,  
The Sorbonne, Paris.*

"Essays like the one under consideration are.....personal and *original examinations* of special problems. Eastern scholars now *bring in trained minds* to enquiries and controversies which had till recently been monopolised by the West."

—ÉMILE LEGOUIS

**Longmans Green & Co.**



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1935

## UNDERSTANDING THE ART OF INDIA

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

*Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian and Muhammadan Art ; Curator, Indian  
and Oriental Section, Boston Museum of Fine Art.*

**W**ORKS of art have been thought of in two very different ways. According to the modern view the artist is a special or even abnormal kind of man, endowed with a peculiar emotional sensibility which enables him to see what we call beauty ; moved by a mysterious aesthetic urge he produces paintings, sculpture, poetry, or music. These are regarded as a spectacle for the eyes or a gratification for the ear ; they can only be enjoyed by those who are called lovers of art and these are understood to be temperamentally related to the artist but without his technical ability. Other men are called workmen and make things which everyone needs for use ; these workmen are expected to enjoy art, if they are able, only in their spare time.

In ideal art, the artist tries to improve upon nature. For the rest, the truth of the work of art is held to be its truth to an external world which we call nature, and expect the artist to observe. In this kind of art there is always a demand for novelty. The artist is an individual, expressing himself, and so it has become necessary to have



books written about every artist individually, for since each makes use of an individual language, each requires explanation. Very often a biography is substituted for the explanation. Great importance is attached to what we call genius, and less to training. Art history is chiefly a matter of finding out the names of artists and considering their relation to one another. The work of art itself is an arrangement of colours or sounds, adjudged good or bad according to whether these arrangements are pleasing or otherwise. The meaning of the work of art is of no significance ; those who are interested in such merely human matters are called Philistines.

This point of view belongs only to the last few centuries in Europe, and to the decadence of classical civilisation in the Mediterranean. It has not been endorsed by humanity at large, and may be quite a false view. According to another and quite different assumption, which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages in Europe and is in fact proper to the Christian as well as the Hindu philosophy of life, art is primarily an intellectual act ; it is the conception of form, corresponding to an idea in the mind of the artist. It is not when he observes nature with curiosity, but when the intellect is self-poised, that the forms of art are conceived. The artist is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist, or else is something less than a man. The engineer and the cook, the mathematician and the surgeon are also artists. Everything made by man or done skillfully is a work of art, a thing made by art, artificial.

The things to be made by art in imitation of the imagined forms in the mind of the artist are called true when these imagined forms are really embodied and reproduced in the wood or stone or in the sounds which are the artist's material. He has always in view to make some definite thing, not merely something beautiful, no matter what ; what he loves is the particular thing he is making ; he knows that anything well and truly made will be beautiful. Just what is to be made is a matter for the patron to decide ; the artist himself if he is building his own house, or another person who needs a house, or in the broadest sense the patron, is the artist's whole human environment, for example when he is building a temple or laying out a city. In unanimous societies, as in India, there is general agreement as to what is most needed ; the artist's work is therefore generally understood ; where everyone makes daily use of works of art there is little occasion for museums, books or lectures on the appreciation of art,

The thing to be made, then, is always something humanly useful. No rational being works for indefinite ends. If the artist makes a table, it is to put things on ; if he makes an image, it is as a support for contemplation. There is no division of fine or useless from decorative and useful arts ; the table is made to give intellectual pleasure as well as to support a weight, the image gives sensual, or as some prefer to call it, aesthetic pleasure at the same time that it provides a support for contemplation. There is no caste division of the artist from the workman such as we are inured to in industrial societies where, as Ruskin so well expressed it, "Industry without art is brutality."

In this kind of art there is no demand for novelty, because the fundamental needs of humanity are always and everywhere the same. What is required is originality, or vitality. What we mean by "original" is "coming from its source within," like water from a spring. The artist can only express what is in him, what he is. It makes no difference whether or not the same thing has been expressed a thousand times before. There can be no property in ideas. The individual does not make them, but finds them; let him only see to it that he really takes possession of them, and his work will be original in the same sense that the recurrent seasons, sunrise and sunset, are ever new although in name the same. The highest purpose of Christian and Eastern art alike is to reveal that one and the same principle of life that is manifested in all variety. Only modern art, reflecting modern interests, pursues variety for its own sake and ignores the sameness on which it depends.

Finally, the Indian artist, although a person, is not a personality ; his personal idiosyncrasy is at the most a part of his equipment, and never the occasion of his art. All of the greatest Indian works are anonymous, and all that we know of the lives of Indian artists in any field could be printed in a tract of a dozen pages.

Let us now consider for a short time the history of Indian art. Our knowledge of it begins about 3000 B.C. with what is known as the Indus Valley culture. Extensive cities with well-built houses and an elaborate drainage system have been excavated and studied. The highest degree of artistic ability can be recognized in the engraved seals, sculptured figures in the round, finely wrought jewelry, silver and bronze vessels, and painted pottery. From the Rig Veda, the Bible of India, datable in its present form about 1000 B.C., we

learn a good deal about the arts of the carpenter, weaver, and jeweller.

The more familiar Indian art of the historical period has been preserved abundantly from the third century B.C. onwards. The greater part of what has survived consists of religious architecture and sculpture, together with some paintings, coins, and engraved seals. The sculptures have been executed in the hardest stone with steel tools. From the sculptures and paintings themselves we can gather a more detailed knowledge of the other arts. The temples are often as large as European cathedrals. Almost peculiar to India has been the practice of carving out such churches in the living rock, the monolithic forms repeating those of the structural buildings. Amongst notable principles early developed in India which have had a marked influence on the development of architecture in the world at large are those of the horse-shoe arch, and transverse vault.

An increasing use is made of sculpture. As in other countries, there is a stylistic sequence of primitive, classical, and baroque types. The primitive style of Bharhut and Sanchi can hardly be surpassed in significance, and may well be preferred for the very reason that it restricts itself to the statement of absolute essentials, and is content to point out a direction which the spectator must follow for himself. Nevertheless, in many ways the Gupta period, from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D., may be said to represent the zenith of Indian art. By this time the artist is in full and facile command of all his resources. The paintings of Ajanta, approximately comparable to those of the very early Renaissance in Europe, depict with irresistible enchantment a civilisation in which the conflict of spirit and matter has been resolved in an accord such as has hardly been realised anywhere else, unless perhaps in the Far East and in Egypt. Spirituality and sensuality are here inseparably linked, and seem to be merely the inner and outer aspects of one and the same expanding life. The art of this age is classical not merely within the geographical limits of India proper, but for the whole of the Far East, where all the types of Buddhist art are of Indian origin.

There follows a mediæval period, which was essentially an age of devotion, learning, and chivalry; the patronage of art and literature moving together as a matter of course.

From the twelfth century onwards, the situation is profoundly modified, so far as the North of India is concerned, by the impact

of Muhammadan invasions, of Persian and Central Asian origin. But while the effects of these invasions were to an appalling extent destructive, the Islamic art added something real and valuable to that of India ; and finally, though only for a short time, under the Great Mughals in the 16th and 17th centuries, there developed in India a new kind of life which found expression in a magnificent architecture and a great school of painting. Just because of its more humanistic and worldly preoccupations, this art is better known to and better appreciated by Europeans at the present day than is the more profound art of Hindu India. Everyone has heard of the Taj Mahal, a wonder of inlaid marble built by Shah Jahan to be the tomb of a beloved wife ; everyone can easily understand and therefore admire the Mughal paintings that provide us with a faithful portrait gallery of all the great men of Northern Indian during a period of two centuries. This is a kind of art that really corresponds to that of the late Renaissance, with all its personal, historic and romantic interests.

In the meantime, Hindu culture persisted almost unchanged in the South. In the great temple cities of the South both the reality and the outward aspects of the ancient world have survived until now, and the world has no more wonderful spectacle to offer than can be seen here. In the North, Hindu culture survived too in Rajputana and the Punjab Himalayas, and here, in direct continuity with ancient tradition, there developed the two schools of Rajput painting that are the last great expressions of the Indian spirit in painting or sculpture. Modern developments in Bengal and Bombay represent attempts either to recover a lost tradition, or for the development of an eclectic style, neither wholly Indian nor wholly European. At the present day the Indian genius is finding expression rather in the field of conduct than in art.

European influence on Indian art has been almost purely destructive : In the first place, by undermining the bases of patronage, removing by default the traditional responsibilities of wealth to learning. Secondly, the impact of industrialism, similarly undermining the status of the responsible craftsman, has left the consumer at the mercy of the profiteer, and no better off than he is in Europe. Thirdly, by the introduction of new styles and fashions, imposed by the prestige of power, and which the Indian people have not been in a position to resist. A reaction against these influences is taking place at the present day, but can never replace what has been lost ; India has been

profoundly impoverished, intellectually as well as economically, within the last hundred years.

Even in India, an understanding of the art of India has to be rewon ; and for this, just as in Europe where the modern man is as far from understanding the art of the Middle Ages as he is from that of the East, a veritable intellectual rectification is required. What is needed in either case is to place oneself in the position of the artist by whom the unfamiliar work was actually made, and in the position of the patron for whom the work was made : to think their thoughts and to see with their eyes. For so long as the work of art appears to us in any way exotic, bizarre, quaint, or arbitrary, we cannot pretend to have understood it. It is not to enlarge our collection of bric-a-brac that we ought to study ancient or foreign arts, but to enlarge our own consciousness of being.

As regards India, it has been said that “ East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet.” This is a counsel of despair that can only have been born of the most profound disillusion, and the deepest conviction of impotence. I say on the contrary that human nature is an unchanging and everlasting principle : and that whoever possesses such a nature—and not merely the outward form and habits of the human animal—is endowed with the power of understanding all that belongs to that nature, without respect to time or place.

*Boston.*

# THE BALANCE OF CASTES AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN INDIA

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

*Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University.*

## SWAMPING OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA BY THE BACKWARD COMMUNITIES

**P**OLITICAL changes and especially the adjustments between the Hindus and the Muhammadans now monopolise our thought. Behind these, however, are discernible social trends which would largely fashion the politics of the future.

Throughout Northern India the decay of the upper-caste Hindus and the rapid multiplication of the backward Hindus and Muslims indicate a cultural and political menace of the first magnitude to which educated persons are now blind. Politics which is our pre-occupation is, however, ultimately rooted in the economic necessities of large social groups; it is hardly ever made to order by the *intelligentsia*.

Politics to-day is the mobilisation of numbers, and it is the culture of the community which will determine how the numbers will function in the state, and to what ends political power will be directed. A striking disparity in the growth of different sections and social groups may thus profoundly alter both social and political programmes.

Let us visualise the social composition of Northern India. In the Punjab the Hindus represent only 30 p.c. of the total population, the Muslim proportion being more than half. Both in the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, the percentage of the Hindus to the total population is about the same, 84 per cent., the Muslim proportions being 14 and 10 per cent. respectively. But in Bengal again the Muslim dominates forming 54 per cent., of the population, and this dominance increases as we reach the prosperous districts in Eastern Bengal where he represents 65 to 75 per cent. of the population. Similarly, the depressed castes increase in proportion as we proceed

towards the east; they represent 80 per cent. of the Hindus in the United Provinces and 33 to 45 per cent. in Bihar and Bengal. Everywhere the Muslim and the depressed castes increase faster than the Hindu especially towards the east. In Eastern Bengal the Muslim is a convert from the lower-class Hindu, and shows a distinctly lower level of culture, living, however, under the most favourable natural conditions.

*Disparity of Growth of Hindu and Muslim Communities*

Percentage of the total population.			Percentage of Hindus.	Growth per cent. 1881-1931.	
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Depressed classes.	Hindus.	Muslims.
Punjab	30	52	20	-6	51
United Provinces	84	14	30	7	21
North Bihar	82	17	{ 33	7	13
South Bihar	90	10	{ -	12	20
Bengal	43	54	{ 37	23	51
Eastern Bengal	27	71	{ 40	39	87

DANGER OF CULTURAL LAPSE

Throughout Northern India the upper castes now show a rate of growth which is less than that of the lower Hindu castes and that of the Muhammadans. In the Punjab the Hindu community as a whole has actually declined by 6 per cent. during the last fifty years, and the Muslim community increased by more than fifty per cent. In the United Provinces all the upper castes have actually declined in numbers during the last thirty years. The Brahmins and the Rajputs have diminished by about 5 and the Kayasthas and Kurmis by 10 and 12 per cent. while the Chamars and Ahirs who now aggregate more than the total number represented by the four upper castes, have increased by 6 and 2 per cent. respectively. Among other lower castes, the Pasis, Gadarias and Lodhs have increased by so much as 18, 9 and 5 per cent., respectively. All the lower castes everywhere are more or less illiterate and it seems that in the future population will be largely recruited from the backward castes and communities.

*Disparity of Natural Variation of High and Low-caste Hindus and  
Muhammadans in Northern India*

	Total number (omitting 000s.)	Percentage of Literacy of males aged 7 years and over.	Percentage variation 1901—1931
<i>United Provinces</i>			
Brahmin	4,556	29.3	-4.8
Kayastha	479	70.2	-9.3
Rajput	3,757	18.	-4.9
Kurmi	1,756	5.4	-11.8
Chamar	6,312	.6	+6.4
Ahir	3,897	2.0	+1.3
Pasi	1,461	.5	+17.8
Godariya	1,021	1.1	+8.6
Lodh	1,099	2.4	+5.3
Muhammadan	7,181	9.7	+7.1
Hindu	40,585	8.9	+0.1
<i>Bihar</i>			
Brahmin	2,101	35	+19.9
Kayastha	383	60	+5.5
Rajput	1,412	21	+9.3
Goala	3,455	3.7	+10.4
Santal	1,712	1.2	+31.9
Kurmi	1,455	9.3	+18.3
Koeri	1,302	...	+4.5
Chamar	1,296	.9	+21.2
Dosadh	1,291	1.2	+12.8
Muhammadan	4,284	1.0	21.0
Hindu	35,206	9.9	14.6
	(including Orissa)	(Age 5 & over)	
<i>Bengal</i>			
Brahman	1,447	45	+24.1
Kayastha	1,558	40	+58.3
Mahisya	2,581	18	+21.9
Namasudra	2,094	8	+13.3
Rajbangsi	1,806	5	+4.8
Muhammadan	27,810	6.8	24.7
Hindu	22,212	16	11.3
		(Age 5 & over)	

The Muhammadan who is less literate than all the upper-caste Hindus everywhere and in Bihar and Bengal less than even some of the backward castes such as the Santals, Mahisyas and Namasudras increased by 21 per cent. during the last 50 years while the



Hindu has declined by 6 in the Punjab and increased by about 7 per cent. in the United Provinces and 5 per cent. in Bihar and 23 per cent. in Bengal. During the last fifty years the Mahisyas, Namasudras and Rajbangsis of Bengal increased by 18, 33 and 100 per cent. respectively.

#### CAUSES OF MUSLIM INCREASE

The enormous growth of the Muslim is due no doubt to polygamy, to widow remarriage, to later consummation of marriage than among most Hindus and probably also to the difference of food and economic habits. In the new clearings and isolated hamlets in Eastern Bengal which are far distant from the rural settlements, the needs of agricultural expansion have fitted exceedingly well with their polygamy and widow remarriage, which are both unacceptable for the Hindu peasants. In the hamlets that rise and disappear on the shifting sand-dunes of the rivers and are exposed to dangers from storm, waves and cyclones, crocodiles and tigers, fevers and brackish waters, cultivation is intermittent and settlement is temporary and precarious. The Muhammadan custom of adopting more than one and as many as four wives who serve as field labourers in new reclamations contributes towards the success of agricultural colonisation in virgin wildernesses, islands and swamps where the delta-building rivers meet the sea in Bengal. Amongst the Muhammadan males not merely is the proportion married much higher than among the Hindus, but the proportion of widows amongst females is much smaller. The following contrast of marital condition of 1,000 of each sex (all ages) in Eastern Bengal is full of significance.

	Hindu		Muhammadan	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Married	467	472	507	544
Widowed	45	218	18	123
Unmarried	488	310	475	333

#### THE MUSLIM POSITION IN THE FUTURE

Both polygamy and widow remarriage thus chiefly account for the more rapid increase in the Muhammadan than the Hindu population so noticeable during the last fifty years in the whole of the

Ganges valley especially in the eastern districts where the Muhammadan increased from 645 to 710 per mille of the total population. Even in areas where there is a general decline of the total population the Muhammadan polygamous household has increased in size and filled the gap left by the declining Hindu castes. The Hindus are declining in numbers not only in Western and Central Bengal, where the Muhammadan is fast filling up his gap, but also in Eastern Bengal where the conditions have proved so favourable to the sister community. Fifty years hence out of ten persons in the fields or city lanes in Eastern Bengal eight would be Muhammadans, one would be a Namasudra and another person a Brahmin, Vaidya or any other caste. For the whole of Bengal for every one upper-caste Hindu, there will be six Muhammadans, and three lower-caste Hindus, a Mahisya, a Namasudra, a Rajbangsi or any other caste. The sudden expansion of social groups which are less cultured and yet which receive special political treatment that may under political pressure amount to discrimination against the more enlightened groups is full of portent for the culture and harmonious social intercourse of the whole of Northern India.

A NATURAL DEFICIENCY OF FEMALES AMONG UPPER-  
CASTE HINDUS

The chief cause of the decline of the upper Hindu classes is caste and marriage restriction. In the Ganges valley as we rise in the Hindu social scale, and the caste is further removed from the thorough-breds of the soil, the paucity of females increases. There are only 776 females per 1,000 males amongst the Jats in the United Provinces. Among the Kayasthas who are one of the most literate and at the same time most decaying communities in the whole of Northern India, the number of females per 1,000 males is only 835. The Rajputs and the Brahmans show also deficiency of females, the number of females being 866 and 882 respectively per 1,000 males. In the Punjab the Brahman, Khatri, and Arora have all a low sex-ratio, *viz.*, 822, 819 and 865, respectively. On the other hand, the prolific Chamars and Pasis do not show such paucity (957) while the Muslim figure is 900. Most of the backward castes do not show any scarcity of females ; some show even an excess and all are more fecund than the high castes.

The sex-proportion by selected castes in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal, thus supplies us with interesting clues as to the decay of the more important Hindu communities amongst whom the racial effects of this extremely small proportion of females at the reproductive ages are aggravated by the various barriers of marriage as exogamy, endogamy, hypergamy and prohibition of widow re-marriage would impose.

*Number of Females per 1,000 Males of All Ages.*

	Indo-Gangetic Plain : United Provinces			Bihar	Bengal
	West	Central	East		
<i>Upper Hindu Castes :</i>					
Kayastha	802	819	925	921	901
Brahman	789	894	934	964	847
Rajput	780	850	899	905	Not important
<i>Lower Hindu Castes :</i>					
Chamar	882	992	1049	1100	Not given
Dom	899	954	940	Not given	965

The effect of the regional factor is obvious. Generally speaking, the sex ratio is greater in the lower than in the higher Hindu castes and higher in the same caste as we advance towards less arid conditions. The same tendency is noticeable among the Muslim castes where also the sex ratio is high but nothing so high as in the case of the lower Hindu castes. The Muhammadan sex ratio tends to increase as we proceed eastwards where he is mainly converted from the latter.

*Number of Females per 1,000 Males of All Ages in Muslim Castes*

	United Provinces.	Bengal.
Sayid	900	888
Julaha	919	916

If we also take into consideration widespread and important castes from each of the three Provinces, who are, however, absent in others, the general tendency of an increase in the sex ratio, as we proceed from west to east, is corroborated.

*Number of Females per 1,000 Males of All Ages**United Provinces :*

Jats	...	...	...	...	776
Gujars	...	...	..	...	786
Tagas	...	...	...	...	805
Pasis	...	...	...	...	957
Ahirs	...	...	...	...	895
Kurmis	...	...	...	...	918

*Bihar :*

Koeri	...	...	...	...	967
Teli	...	...	...	...	993
Santal	...	...	...	...	1,003
Goala	..	...	...	...	957

*Bengal :*

Bauri	...	...	...	...	1,017
Mahisya	...	...	...	...	952
Namasudra	...	...	...	...	964

The paucity of females among the upper-class Hindu seems to be due to an age-long process of evolution in which families and stocks which bred more males had higher survival values. Climatic and dietetic factors may have also some influence on the sex ratio. As we proceed from east to west, arid conditions increase and sex ratio also becomes lower. Deliberate or unconscious neglect of girl-babies is also responsible to some extent for an insufficiency of females, while large maternal mortality also explains the low sex ratio in later life.

## DYSGENIC MARITAL REGULATIONS

But social customs and usages have aggravated the natural danger from a low sex ratio. As we proceed from Bengal towards the west the social regulations which limit the circle within which a person must marry, those which expand the circle within which the person must not marry and a third set of regulations which prevent widow remarriage become more and more rigid and inconvenient.

Hypergamy adds further to the difficulties of the social situation by restricting the marriage group and establishing the custom of dowry among all castes of good social standing, the Brahmans, Rajputs, Vaishyas and Kayasthas in particular. The custom of marriage

dowry is responsible for a considerable amount of agricultural indebtedness, for the neglect of girl infants, postponement of marriage and even other evils and is a most glaring example of a false biological evolution in castes which have a low sex ratio.

The net result is that in the United Provinces 450 to 475 per 1,000 females are married and about one-fifth of the females in a Upper Hindu caste do not bear children. The number of widows per 1,000 females is as high as 216, 218 and 182 respectively among such castes as Brahmans, Rajputs and Kayasthas. Amongst the Muhammadans, Pasis and Chamars the number is only 123, 128 and 136 respectively.

*Marital Condition of 1,000 Females (all ages) of some of the  
Upper and Lower-caste Hindu and Muhammadans  
in the United Provinces.*

				Married	Unmarried	Widowed
<i>Hindus</i>						
<i>Upper Class</i>	{	Brahman		473	311	216
		Rajput		492	319	189
		Kayastha		448	370	182
		Kurmi		576	254	170
<i>Lower Class</i>	{	Chamar		563	301	136
		Ahir		559	293	148
		Pasi		568	304	128
<i>Muhammadans</i>	...	...	...	529	348	123

The large proportion of widows among the higher castes, the postponement of marriage or the disparity of the ages of the married couple due to the increase of the bride-price among many castes, high or low, on account of economic stress coupled with infant marriage which means more widows foretell racial suicide.

Among the upper castes the paucity of females is increasing from decade to decade throughout Northern India and yet endogamy which perpetuates this trait is being maintained. Hindu orthodoxy now stultifies itself through a self-immolation of the race. Endogamy, hypergamy and internal differentiation and special grading of castes and

groups might have been necessary amid a welter of diversity of folks and cultures in the Upper Ganges region which lay on the high road of migration of peoples from the north-west. But at present these practices have become dysgenic. These now threaten a complete swamping of the upper-class Hindus by the Chamars, Ahirs, Pasis, Lodhs, Santals, Namasudras and Rajbangsis and by the Muslims, and yet the upper-class Hindus of the United Provinces who are now being driven to the wall, were the torch-bearers of the culture of Aryavarta, of Upanishadic mysticism and Buddhism, of medieval Smriti and popular Bhakti cult.

#### SOCIAL REFORM *versus* POLITICS

A wide-minded programme of social reform which will include inter-caste marriage affording a basis for a more eugenic selection, widow remarriage and the abolition of hypergamy, dowry and bride purchase, as well as of regional, sectional and other barriers to inter-marriage within the castes must sooner or later be forced upon the Hindus if they want to live. Political and economic power is to-day largely a matter of mere numbers. In the class struggle of the future the long accustomed aversion of the upper-caste Hindus for manual labour and their dwindling strength will become serious handicaps. In the economics of the fields, the Rajputs of the U. P. have in recent years lost a considerable area of land, while the Lodhs, Muraos, Chamars and Pasis have all gained considerably as they certainly deserve in spite of certain differential treatment meted out to them by the upper-class Hindu landlords and money-lenders. The Rajputs have lost not by a defeat in arms, but through an invasion by other castes and communities which have multiplied because of their freedom from dysgenic customs and practices. The Brahman and the Thakur who own good landed property but disdain to drive the plough are going down in face of the unequal economic competition of lower agricultural castes who are proving superior in land utilisation and whose very numbers will in future add to their economic and political advantage. There is not the least possibility of saving Hindu culture and polity from the onslaught of economic and political trends unless the Hindu society musters courage and foresight as of old in overhauling the caste and marriage restrictions which have obviously outlived their usefulness and now threaten the suicide of the élite of

the Hindu communities. More than the expansion of marriage groupings and liberal laws of marriage, there is the imperative necessity of social, political and religious movements which will bridge the gulf between the élite and the depressed, between the Haves and the Have-nots, so that our political life in the future may be less embittered by rivalry and softened by the intimacies of social intercourse. The communal antagonisms and class struggle which the new Constitution is bringing in its wake must have to be healed by social reform and mass education. These, for some decades, must supplement politics if politics is to unite and integrate and not divide and segregate us in rival camps. Let our young men take the leading part in educating and organising public opinion to the urgency of a constructive policy and country-wide campaign of social reform, amelioration and education.

*Lucknow.*

# EARLY INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE AND AMĪR KHUSRAV

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

**D**URING the six centuries of Muhammadan supremacy in India, this country contributed two great elements to the growth of human civilisation, namely, Indo-Muhammadan Art and Indo-Persian literature. The Muhammadan rulers of India were sometimes illiterate, and sometimes half-educated; almost all of them cared over everything else for the wild joy of hunting and the frenzied glory of war. They devastated fertile plains and burnt rich cities; they blinded their relatives and crushed their enemies under the feet of elephants. This aspect of their character, which runs through the entire course of medieval Indian history and provides us with a central structure in a world of disintegrating atoms, is undoubtedly crude and shocking; but it stands in strange and almost incoherent contrast to the remarkable fact that these very rulers were, with few exceptions, great lovers of beauty, both in marble and in verse.<sup>1</sup> They built beautiful structures in which they could offer their prayers. They loved to live in exquisite palaces and to construct glorious tombs in which their mortal remains could be deposited. They wanted their victories in love and war to be sung by the best writers of their age, and during the intervals of their arduous work and drinking bouts they loved to hear sweet Persian lyrics and Urdu *ghazels*. It is difficult for us to penetrate into the gloomy and mysterious atmosphere of that half-forgotten age, and to appreciate the furious ecstasy of life which these strange men enjoyed so much. From the historian's point of view, we must be grateful to them for the splendid heritage of art and literature which they have left for us.

Scholars and amateurs alike have long since interested themselves in Indo-Muhammadan Art; and though much more work must be done

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, the remarks of Sir John Marshall in *The Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, pp. 569-70): "That they (*i.e.*, the Muhammadan conquerors of India) were brutal fighters, without any of the chivalry, for example, of the Rājputs, and that they were capable of acts of savagery and gross intemperance, may be conceded. But these.....did not preclude them.....from participating in the prevalent culture and arts of Islam.....though 'Alā-ud-dīn' slaughtered thousands of Mongols in cold blood at Delhi, he was the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility."



before we shall be in a position to appreciate the full significance and value of this absorbing branch of the cultural history of India, yet the importance of the subject has already been recognised. Unfortunately enough, the same remark cannot be applied to the case of Indo-Persian literature. Lovers of Persian literature concern themselves mostly with the 'genuine products of Shirāz and Ispāhān' and do not care to waste their attention on what they usually consider to be 'a spurious imitation' fostered by ambitious princes and greedy court-poets in the soil of India. A recognised authority on the subject assures us that "Persian literature produced in India has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour,...which belongs to the indigenous product."<sup>1</sup> This attitude being almost universal, the true worth of Indo-Persian literature has not yet been appreciated. I am not a competent judge of the literary value of Persian works produced by Indian writers. But it is probably not incorrect to say that some at least of the very large number of Persian poets who lived and wrote in India during the long period of Muhammadan rule, produced works of real beauty and left a deep impress upon Persian literature in general. Writers on the history of Persian literature have hitherto done scant justice to this subject by treating it merely as a branch of Islamic literary culture. But the subject is important enough to demand separate and independent treatment. It ought to be studied not as an offshoot of Persian genius thrown by the caprice of historical evolution into an alien land, but as an original product with an individuality all its own. Indo-Persian literature can be properly understood and appreciated only with reference to the peculiarities of the land of its birth as well as the history of the age in which it grew, just as American literature can be explained only on the hypothesis that it is a genuine product conditioned by the social and economic environment amidst which it develops.

My present purpose, however, is not to deal with the literary value of the works of the Indo-Muhammadan poets, but to point out their significance from the historical point of view. For the reconstruction of the history of India during the long period of Muhammadan supremacy it is imperatively necessary to utilise the historical and poetical works written by court-poets and contemporary observers. In India literature has often flourished under the fostering care and

<sup>1</sup> Browne, *Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominion*, p. 107.

patronage of kings and princes. The chief care of the poets was to immortalise the names of their patrons. This remark applies generally to the Sanskrit poets of old, to the bards of medieval Rājputānā, as well as to the court-poets of the Muhammadan rulers of India. Every historian knows that it is wrong to regard these high-sounding panegyrics as altogether worthless. On the other hand, in many cases they are of great historical importance. Not unoften they describe in detail, or refer to, previous or contemporary historical incidents. Though the stories as narrated by them are often exaggerated or even falsified, yet almost always we can check their veracity by referring to other sources of information. On the whole, the poetical versions of the 'superhuman exploits' of the kings and princes of that age are very often of immense value for supplementing the historical data necessary to construct the medieval period of our national history.

From a broader point of view, the historical value of the works of the Indo-Muhammadan writers is perhaps greater still, because they present to us the picture of an age which played so vital a part in the long history of this country, an age which, unfortunately, lack of historical materials prevents us from interpreting correctly. The days of Akbar and Aurangzib seem to belong to the present, but how much do we know about the life of the average man when the Great Mughals dominated over the whole of India? How much, indeed, do we know about the social and economic problems with which leaders of state and of society had to deal? If such is the case with the history of a period so near to that of our own, what can we say of remote Sind which succumbed to the Arabs in the eighth century, of the political and economic reaction to the invasions and rule of the Ghaznavides in Northern and Western India, of the great train of revolutionary changes which converted more than half the population of Bengal into Islam, and of the epic of the establishment of Turkish supremacy in the far off Deccan? Historical works, legends, inscriptions, coins, monuments—all these give us naked records of political events, of battles and victories, of great men and great achievements. We construct an almanac of facts, and mistake it for history. We scarcely know anything definite about the mutual reaction of the religion of the land and the intruding creed; about the great social transformation by which the descendants of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians, Sakas and Huns came to live side by side, in economic

stability and religious understanding, with Arabs, Turks and Afghans ; about the huge process of readjustment in all aspects of life which must have been necessitated by the overthrow of one politico-religious orthodoxy by another. We do not know how, and through how many halting stages, the conqueror and the conquered came to form the one nation which we see to day. And unless we know these facts, unless we catch the spirit which conditioned these vast upheavals, we cannot explain the history of our country during the six long centuries of Muhammadan supremacy, and we cannot discover how the strange present emerged from the shadowy past.

The poetical works of the Indo-Muhammadan writers may give us a glimpse into the life of the age in which they were written. It is hardly necessary to point out that it would be vain to expect from them direct and complete details about the religious, social and economic forces of those days. Poets then loved to deal mostly with the unprincipled quarrels of the great, and to them history was nothing but an entertaining combination of hero-worship and romance. Nevertheless, they had to keep the country in the background and to give incidental references to the environment in which they themselves as well as their heroes and heroines moved. It is only by a painful process of collecting apparently trivial details, of registering vague impressions and of reconciling the scanty data with our previous knowledge of the political history of the age, that we can arrive at a necessarily incomplete, but very valuable, conclusion about the life which the ancestors of Hindus and Muhammadans were living at that time. The process which would be useful in this sphere of study is not unlike that by which the Homeric epics have been utilised for purposes of historical reconstruction. In Europe medieval songs and ballads have been exploited to the fullest extent for writing social and economic history. In our own country scholars have surveyed the entire range of Sanskrit and Pali literature in order to supplement archaeological and numismatic data. Similar attention should now be directed to Indo-Persian literature, and I am sure that sincere efforts will be amply rewarded.

The justification of these rather lengthy introductory remarks lies in the deplorable fact that the so-called Muhammadan Period of Indian History has not yet received its proper share of attention from scholars and students. For six centuries, from the eighth to the thirteenth, Islam tried to capture the control of the destinies of India, and when

'Alā-ud-dīn led his triumphant army from Devagiri to Korā, it succeeded. For the next four centuries it remained the master of the country. When the Marathas and the British shook its power to its foundations and ultimately destroyed it, Islam had already transplanted itself securely in Indian soil, and the millions of its devotees had merged into the great Indian nation. For a thousand years in a thousand ways Islam had been influencing Hindu religion and culture, and the complex civilisation which faced the westerners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was a curious, but homogenous, combination of the innumerable forces which had been struggling for supremacy, often so relentlessly, ever since the fall of Raja Dahir of Sind. The story of the Muhammadan rulers of India is the central theme of a great period of our national history and it will orient our national evolution for all ages to come. We have neglected it long enough.

For the literary historian the Arab conquest and occupation of Sind is an episode of minor importance. The Arabs scarcely concerned themselves with anything more than the collection of taxes and the suppression of rebellions. The only other subject which occasionally engaged their attention was the spread of Islam through the sword. The four centuries of Arab rule in that outer fringe of Hindustan did not produce any remarkable artistic or literary monument. Like the Roman occupation of Britain, the Arab occupation of Sind is interesting historically, but it is hardly very important.

It was when the Ghaznavides established themselves in North-Western India in the eleventh century that this country for the first time became a part, both politically and culturally, of the great Islamic world which extended from the frontiers of France to those of China. The Hindu culture of that age, which by a strange combination of orthodoxy and adaptability had succeeded in assimilating the civilised Greeks and the barbarous Sakas and Huns, now came face to face against a virile and composite culture backed by the enormous military strength of the Turks. Islam was too strange and too strong to be submerged beneath the old faith which had already lost its ancient ardour and toleration, and was in many respects tending towards decadence. On the other hand, Hinduism, with all its narrowness, had too much vitality to be crushed like the institutions of Western Asia and Africa. The inevitable result was that the rivals came to an understanding through innumerable phases of

antagonism, and in this long process created the splendid structure known as Indo-Muhammadan culture.

For our present purpose it will suffice to point out that the beginnings of Indo-Persian literature are to be traced to the period of Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab. Lahore rivalled Ghaznī itself as a centre of political power. In an age when society as well as culture revolved round the brilliance of the court, Lahore necessarily attracted both ambitious nobles and rising poets. There was constant intercourse between Afghanistan, Persia, Transoxiana and Khorasan on one side and the Punjab on the other. "Nobles and scholars migrated to the conquered country, settled down there, temporarily or permanently, and laid the first foundations of the Indo-Persian culture that was to find its highest perfection in the time of the Great Mughals."

It is unfortunate that very few of the works of the earlier writers on Indo-Persian poetry have been preserved, for they must have been very interesting historically and even from the literary critics' point of view. We come across brief extracts from their writings in some historical and biographical works, and naturally they are of very little importance as sources of information. Though this destructive process must have been hastened by the long period of time which has elapsed since the poets had done their work as well as by the incidental disadvantages of an age which knew not the art of printing, yet it is perhaps not too much to hope that a careful search may still bring to light some at least of the literary monuments which we now regard as altogether lost.

But perhaps the greatest reason why the works of the earlier writers have been forgotten and ultimately lost is the great fame enjoyed by Amīr Khusrav.<sup>1</sup> In a very literal sense he eclipsed all his predecessors and most of his successors. Badāonī clearly reveals this fact when he says that "after the appearance of the cavalcade of the King of poets, the poetry of his predecessors became bedimmed like stars at the rise of the sun"<sup>2</sup> Sir Wolseley Haig describes Amīr Khusrav as one of "the few Indian-born writers of Persian verse whose works have been read and admired beyond their own country."<sup>3</sup> But we are left without doubt that among the less important stars there were at least some whose works deserve

<sup>1</sup> For some details about Amīr Khusrav's life and some references to his works the writer is indebted to Dr. S. W. Mirza's unpublished work on the poet, available in the London University Library.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī, *Text, Bib. Ind.*, p. 70 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 135.

mention. The works of Amīr Khusrav's contemporary, Amīr Hāsān, known as Hāsān-i-Dihlavi, were much appreciated. Historians of the early Sultanate of Delhi, specially Baranī, Badāonī and Firishta, have given us the names of numerous poets.

It is clear, therefore, that Amīr Khusrav, the accomplished artist, was not a pioneer in the field of Indo-Persian literature. He inherited a tradition and perfected it.

According to the majority of Amīr Khusrav's biographers, he was a member of a clan known as Hazāra-i-Lāchīn.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless he was of Turkish origin, for here the statement of the biographers is supported by the poet himself.<sup>2</sup> We are also told that his religious preceptor, the saint Nizām-ud-dīn-Auliya, conferred upon him the title of 'Turk-ullāh' which means 'the soldier of God.'

During the first half of the thirteenth century the whole of the Islamic world was shaken to its very foundations by the Mughal leader, Chengiz Khān, whom orthodox Muhammadan historians describe as 'the curse of God.' The Mughal raids compelled many Muhammadan families to leave the lands of their ancestors and to migrate to other countries. Many members of the Hazāra-i-Lāchīn clan, whose original home seems to have been either near Balkh<sup>3</sup> or in Kish,<sup>4</sup> came to India during the time of the early Slave Sultans of Delhi and settled in this country. Among them was Amīr Khusrav's father, Amīr Saif-ud-dīn Maḥmūd, who found employment under Il-tutmish. He settled down at Patiyali,<sup>5</sup> a small town in the district of Etah. It was in this place that Amīr Khusrav was born, probably about 654 A.H. (1253 A.D.).

The poet himself tells us that, in spite of his own illiteracy, his father was very much interested in his education and obviously expected him to acquire 'literary proficiency.'<sup>6</sup> On his father's untimely death he was placed under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who was one of the most important nobles in Balban's Court.

It was during the strong and vigorous regime of Balban that Amīr Khusrav made his début as a courtier and poet. The Sultan himself

<sup>1</sup> Jami's *Nafahāt-ul-uns* (Ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1859).

<sup>2</sup> 'Ijāz-i-Khusravī (Nawalkishore Edition, 1876, Risala IV, p. 97).

<sup>3</sup> *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm* (British Museum MS., fol. 262), etc.

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshah's *Tazkirat ul-shu'arā* (Ed., Browne), p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 551 n.

Badāonī, *Text*, Bib. Ind., Vol. I, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Ghurrāt-ul-Kamāl* (India Office MSS., 1186 and 1187).

was a patron of letters, and his example was enthusiastically followed by the brilliant group of nobles who adorned his court. Amīr Khusrav started his career as a protégé of 'Alā-ud-dīn Kishlī Khān, the Chief Chamberlain, and a nephew of Balban. But within a short time he was compelled by circumstances to transfer his allegiance to Balban's younger son, Bughrā Khān, then Governor of the strong fortress of Sāmāna.<sup>1</sup> The poet accompanied his patron when the latter went with Balban to suppress the rebellion of Tughril in Bengal; but he was unwilling to live in "a marsh-ridden province, so far from his relatives and friends," and returned to Delhi.

In Delhi Amīr Khusrav attracted the attention of Balban's eldest son, Muhammad Khān, who was then Governor of Multan. For three years he lived in Multan with his patron. It was during this period that he rose into prominence as a poet and began to acquire that fame which was destined to survive for centuries after his death. Tales of his elegant genius travelled even to far-off Persia, where Sa'di, then in his extreme old age, was the recognised master of Persian literature. Tradition tells us that Muhammad Khān, than whom there was no more enthusiastic devotee of scholarship and poetry in his age, invited Sa'di to come over to India and to adorn his court at Multan. The great poet, however, refused, on grounds of health, to leave his beloved Shirāz; but he sent the Indian Prince a copy of a selection of his verses in his own handwriting, and expressed his great appreciation of the genius of Amīr Khusrav.<sup>2</sup>

In A. H. 683 Muhammad Khān lost his life in a battle with the Mughals. Amīr Khusrav describes the tragic campaign in a beautiful elegy.<sup>3</sup> The poet himself was captured as a prisoner, but we do not know how he managed to get free.

During the early part of the reign of Kaiqubād, Amīr Khusrav's patron was Hatim Khān, Governor of Oudh. But after a short stay with him he returned to Delhi and joined the royal court.

On the accession of Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz Khaljī, Amīr Khusrav was finally recognised as the poet-laureate. Being a poet himself,<sup>4</sup> the old Sultan was the more able to appreciate his genius. The poet was honoured with the rank of '*mushafdar* and the special robe of

<sup>1</sup> Ghurrāt-ul-Kamāl (India Office MSS., 1186 and 1187).

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī (Bib. Ind. Text), Vol. I, p. 130. Firishta (Lucknow Text, 1864) Vol. I, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Wast-ul-Hayāt (India Office MS., 1187).

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī, Vol. I, p. 182. Baranī, p. 197. Firishta, Lucknow Text, Vol. I, p. 89.

'amarat.' "Each night," says Baranī, "Amīr Khusrav brought new ghazels to the assembly of the King."<sup>1</sup>

It is a sad commentary on Amīr Khusrav's sense of loyalty as a man to state that he was among the first to congratulate 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī on his successful murder of his uncle and benefactor. But we may do well to remember that he lived in an age when success justified everything, and that the slightest hesitation to recognise the *de facto* master of the situation was incompatible with personal safety. Be that as it may, Amīr Khusrav hailed 'Alā-ud-dīn as a hero who had "advanced to the throne with sword in one hand and gold in the other, crowning heads with the latter and severing them with the former."<sup>2</sup> He therefore continued to occupy his position as the poet-laureate. He accompanied the Sultan during his victorious expedition to Chitor, and, if Badāonī is to be believed, he went also with Mālik Kafur during the latter's last expedition to the Deccan.

'Alā-ud-dīn's reign of twenty years constitutes the most important period in Amīr Khusrav's literary career, and, therefore, a great epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Maturity of age accompanied maturity of thought, and the poet attained a perfection in expression as well as in technique such as had never been attained by any of his predecessors in India. He himself claims that his renown had spread from one city to another and like the sun had seized both the East and the West.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike his uncle, 'Alā-ud-dīn himself was not an accomplished scholar and poet, but he was not less enthusiastic in extending his patronage to the literary men of his time. Amīr Khusrav declares that every stone in Delhi which one would turn would disclose "a pearl of poetry" and that from every yard of earth which one might dig "a fountain of ideas" would spring forth.<sup>4</sup> Baranī says, "The most wonderful thing which people saw in 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign was the multitude of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents, had become the envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo, and the equal of Constantinople."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baranī, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Khazāin-ul-Futūh (British Museum MS., Add. 16838, fol. 5b and 6).

<sup>3</sup> Dībācha of Bakīya-i-Nakīya (India Office MS., 1187, fol. 320).

<sup>4</sup> Dībācha of Wast-ul-Hayāt (India Office MS., 1187, fol. 55b seq.).

<sup>5</sup> P. 341.



About this time Amīr Khusrav became a disciple of Muhammad Ibn Ahmed Ibn 'Alī al-Bokhārī Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā, one of the greatest saints of the Chishtiya sect, usually known by the title of Sultān-ul-Auliā. This great man seems to have exercised a tremendous influence on the men and women of his day. Baranī says, "To the elite, as well as to the multitude, to the rich, the poor, the nobles, the paupers, the scholars, the ignorant, the gentle, the rough, the citizens, the peasants, the warriors, the freemen and the slaves, he gave the four-cornered cap, the '*miswak*' of purification, with his blessings...Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn himself, with all his family, had great faith in the Sheikh.."<sup>1</sup> As a disciple of this saint Amīr Khusrav became a full-fledged sufi, but whether his intense religious fervour interfered with his growing poetical genius we do not know.

The intrigues and disasters which followed 'Alā-ud-dīn's death led to an unfortunate break in Amīr Khusrav's position in the court as well as in his literary activities. But he was again invited to the court by Mubarak Khaljī. Requested by his new patron to write the history of his reign, he composed the beautiful *mesnevi*, *Nuh-Sipīhr* or *The Nine Skies*.

On the downfall of the Khaljī Dynasty Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhi, and Amīr Khusrav, with characteristically courtier-like tact, hailed him as the "defender of Islam." The new king must have been very gracious and liberal in his patronage to our poet, for Firishta tells us that <sup>2</sup> he was "more prosperous in his reign than he had been before." Amīr Khusrav died in A. H. 725.<sup>3</sup>

It is altogether impossible to do justice to Amīr Khusrav's varied and eventful career in a running sketch of a few hundred words; but I have tried to point out the boundaries within which the poet directed his activities in the course of a life extending over three quarters of a century. Since his attainment of manhood he had lived through the reigns of six kings, having been intimately connected with the courts of each of them, and having enjoyed the confidence and friendship of some of the greatest nobles of the age. The longest period of his life he passed in Delhi, and had the privilege of being initiated into the political and social mysteries which necessarily centred in the

<sup>1</sup> P. 343 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta, Lucknow Text, Vol. I, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 403.

capital. But his personal experience about the distant provinces of the country was considerable indeed. He lived for three years at Multan, and he must have taken an active interest in the affairs of that frontier province which his patron controlled. Having been born in the district of Etah, he returned to Oudh for a short time with his patron Hatim Khān. He accompanied Bughrā Khān to Sāmāna and then to Bengal, and thus had the opportunity of surveying for himself the conditions prevailing in the then easternmost province of the Muhammadan Sultanate of Delhi. He was an eye-witness of 'Alā-ud-din Khaljī's attack on Chitor. And finally, Badāonī tells us that he accompanied Mālik Kafur to the Deccan.

*Calcutta.*

*(To be concluded.)*

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

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## INTRODUCTION

A CENTURY or thereabout after the appearance of Muslim Turks in the Punjab; and before their sporadic dispersion over other provinces in India, a new and common language had almost come into existence as the first fruit of the Hindu-Muslim interchange of cultures—the Urdu language, the combined product of Hindi and Persian. It should be evident that the very creation of such a common medium of expression presupposes the development of a common social consciousness. This harmony of relations, that has been ever since growing in magnitude and depth, and of which the Urdu language is only one of the many expressions, is most evidently visible in every shade of our mutual social and intellectual life. It has left its impression deep in our arts, literature and religion, and bears ample testimony to a genuine inter-assimilation of cultures.

Very little, indeed, has been done so far towards the study of this cultural harmonization of India.<sup>1</sup> A considerable amount of thought had been spent in the past by Muslim humanists in solving the problems that the contact between the Hindus and Muslims had created in India, and in bringing about amicable relations between the two communities and creating appreciation of each other's cultures. These noble efforts deserve better recognition from Indian scholars than has yet been given them. On the contrary the lamentable spectacle presents itself of the learned men of both the communities being engaged in a campaign of exclusiveness and gloating in eliminating each other's contribution to our common stock of

<sup>1</sup> The only work of importance is the one published by the learned Maulvi Sayed Sulaiman of Nadwa, in Urdu, entitled, '*Arab-o-Hind ke Ta'alluqāt*' (Ilahabad, 1930). The commercial and cultural relations as they existed in the period just preceding and coinciding with the Muslim conquest of India, have been dealt with in this work in detail. Another work, which I have not been able to procure for my use, is *Scriptarum Arabum de Rebus Indicis Loci et Opuscula inedita*, 8vo, Bonn, 1838.

culture ; while the fact is, during the whole period of Muslim rule in India, communal bias or bigotry was a thing absolutely unknown.

The appearance of Turks in India was as much a phenomenon of Nature, as the storm that sweeps over one plain to another. It shook the country almost to its roots and woke the people up to newer realities. Whether this change was in itself good or bad, I cannot judge, but the change brought about was undoubtedly very drastic. Its shock was only a little less than that given by the Aryan invasion of India. But calm always comes in the wake of a storm. Rebuilding must begin after an earthquake. Although the waters roar when two rivers meet, they soon calm down to the smooth beauty of a common flow. Did we not insist on perversely keeping up the memory of the shock of the two cultures, we too would be conscious of the essential harmony of our common flow.

#### COMMERCIAL RELATIONS LEAD TO CULTURAL INTERCHANGE

As early as about three hundred years before the Turkish invasion of India, efforts to understand and appreciate her genius were made by Muslims. Trade connections had existed between Arabia and India since very ancient times, and Arabs had colonies in India before the birth of Islam ; but the development of modern relations, with which we are immediately concerned, can only be traced to the period in which the Muslims created new centres of civilization in the East. Up till the time of the Kaliph Umar, India was only vaguely known to the Muslim world. The Arab and Persian sailors alone knew something about the coastal India and they were always very eloquent about her commercial wealth. When Umar inquired of an Arab sailor what he knew of India, the sailor is said to have burst out into a rhapsody : " India's rivers are pearls, her mountains rubies, her trees perfumes." Umar had definitely refused to attack India as it was a country where Islam, as other religions, was free to be practised by its followers.

The earliest definite attempt to gather information about India was, most probably, the one made by the next Kaliph 'Uthmān. He deputed a certain Hakim bin Jabalah to submit a report on India, about 24/664 A.D. A report was prepared, entitled, " Thaghar al-Hind," i.e., The Border-land of India.<sup>1</sup> There is also

<sup>1</sup> *Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 190-91.

enough evidence to make us believe that the Muslim merchants, in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., had come into contact with the Indian provinces bordering on Persia, and knew the Jats and the Meds. As these parts of India had sometimes been under Persian rule, there must have been established closer understanding between the Persians and the tribes of these parts. A king of Kabul had accepted Islam, before the Ghaznavide invasion, about the 3rd century of Hijra era. When Persia accepted Islam, this acquaintance grew still closer with the growth of commercial relations. Moreover, we must not forget that Buddhism had once prevailed in Khurasan, Turkistan and Persia, and had its followers in Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontiers of Syria. It must have left, in however vague a manner, something of the lore of India and of its love in the hearts of the peoples of these countries even after they had exchanged Buddhism for Islam.

Even when the acquaintance was meagre the Muslims had begun to extol India and venerate her as the most cultured of all the countries in the world ; so much so, that in her praise words of the Prophet and his celebrated followers were cited as authority. Regarding the authenticity of such traditions there might be difference of opinion, but this much can be said for certain that India was the subject of much praise in the early sacred literature of the Muslims.

The early Muslim traders found the Balhara rulers of the western coast of India and the Zamorin of Malabar very friendly and cordial towards them. They were allowed to live and build mosques in several places along the coast-line. These Muslims married Hindu girls which led to the formation of such mixed communities as the Natia in Konkan and the Moplas (bridegrooms) in Malabar. These people were highly honoured and treated better than the Nayers. We accept the popular tradition regarding the conversion of the Rajah Cheruman Perumal of Kodungallur (Malabar) to Islam, and thus date the colonization of the Muslims in India at about the time of the Prophet. The tradition goes that a party of Arab traders was on its way to pay a visit to Adam's Peak in Ceylon. At Kannanur these traders were received by the Rajah Cheruman Perumal. To him the Arabs explained their new faith. The Rajah found Islam a simple faith and accepted it, and secretly went with these Arabs to Arabia. On his way back he died. The Muslims had obtained a letter of

recommendation from him. With that letter they came to India and were allowed to build mosques at several places. Balazuri has mentioned the conversion of a Rajah of N. W. India, approximately in the year 227/842 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Buzurg bin Shahryār and Sulaimān the merchant who sailed in the Indian Ocean in the 9th century A.D., tell us that the Indian Rajahs were particularly well-disposed towards the Muslims. The Zamorin had very high opinion of the Muslims. His order was that every fisherman should bring up one, or more, male children of his family as Muslims.

It so happens that the Muslims, somehow, had got into the belief that Adam, the first man and the first prophet of humanity, when banished from Paradise had landed in Ceylon, in India. All the fragrant herbs that so much abound in India were brought by Adam from Paradise. The stone that had the distinction of being first touched by his foot, after his descent into the Earth, still bears its mark. It is the very same stone that the Buddhists revere as bearing the foot-print of the Buddha. The later authors found a still stronger reason for the superiority of India over other countries, which was that, Adam being the first prophet of mankind, was the first to hear the words of Allah revealed to him, and he being at that time in India, it was India alone that could claim the pride of having first received the revelation of Allah on Earth. May be that was why the Prophet had once said: "I smell the sweet breeze of Allah's knowledge blowing from India." To the common believer, these arguments are final and absolute proofs of the special sacredness of the soil of India. I am not able to trace the origin of such traditions, but these still form part of the common belief of most of the Muslims in India. Even learned and otherwise quite sensible people believe in the literal truth of this legend. Ibn Battuta (779/1377 A.D.), who went to pay a visit to the sacred Peak, remarks: "The blessed foot-print, the foot of our father Adam, is on a lofty black rock in a wide plateau. The blessed Foot sank into the rock far enough to leave its impression hollowed out. It is eleven spans long."<sup>2</sup> Such arguments as I have related above, were put forward as most authentic proofs of the superiority of India to all other countries. And Muslims felt drawn still closer to India and loved her as their sacred land. For,

<sup>1</sup> *Futūh al-Buldān* (Leyden), p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn Battuta* (H. A. R. Gibb), p. 295. The Moors of Ceylon still consider the 3rd day of the moon very ominous, being the day on which Adam was expelled from heaven.

people do not fabricate legends unless they have strong reasons for doing so.

Neither the Hindus seem to have been slow in recognising the Muslim Ka'bah as a temple of their own. Ka'bah had been in fact a cosmopolitan temple, a sort of centre of most of the religions then prevailing in and around Arabia. We should not be therefore astonished to hear, however improbable it may sound, that :

“ The Hindu Pandits assert that Siva and his spouse, under the forms and names of *Kapot-Eshvara* (pigeon god) and *Kapotisi*, dwelt at Meccah.....Some authors declare that in Muhammad's time, among the idols of the Meccah Pantheon, was a pigeon carved in wood and above it another, which 'Alī, mounting upon the Prophet's shoulder, pulled down...”

“ Furthermore, Wilford (As. Soc., Vols. III and IV) makes the Hindus declare that the black stone at *Makshesha*, or *Mokshasthāna* (Meccah) was an incarnation of *Moksheshwara*, an incarnation of Siva, who with his consort visited Al-Hijāz.” <sup>1</sup>

Muslim travellers and authors have recorded their opinions and experiences of the conditions then prevailing in the country. The first history of Sind, the *Chach-Nāmah*, written originally in Arabic, is the first book of history that we know of with a province of India for its subject. Next in importance is the author Ibn-k̤hurdādbih who wrote his work in 230/845 A.D. As a work on historical topography, it has been often quoted by most of the later authors. Another important author is Abu-Zaid (916 A.D.), who has recorded Sulaimān the merchant's account of his voyage to India and China (851 A.D.). It is a collection of important impressions and details about India. Another author of greater worth is Abu Zaid al-Balkhī (322/934 A.D.), who has also been largely quoted by later authors. Still others, like Ibn Rastah (290/903 A. D.), Abū Dalf (371/943 A. D.), Astak̤hrī (340/951 A. D.), Mas'ūdī (303/945 A. D.), Mutahhar bin Tāhir, Alberūnī (400/999 A.D.), Ibn Battuta (779/1343 A.D.), and Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī and others, of later periods, have left most valuable records of the historical, commercial, geographical and social conditions of the India of their days.

The Abbaside or Saracenic culture was mainly a product of Semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures. While the outer forms of this

<sup>1</sup> Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah*, Vol. II, pp. 174, 301.

culture were Semitic and Persian, in the matter of scientific knowledge, Medicine, Astronomy, Chemistry, etc., as well as in Philosophy, its sources were at first mainly Indian and then Greek. After the conquest of Sind, with the flow of the material wealth of India towards Iraq, went also the spiritual wealth of this country. Among the universities of India, Taxila must have been occasionally visited by Muslim students. Kashmir had been a great centre of culture and was frequented by the Buddhist students from Persia. The contribution that the Barmakis made to the Abbaside culture was undoubtedly great. The importance they had in their period, as the ministers of law and justice, and also as the torch-bearers of culture, was unrivalled by any other Persian or Arab dynasty. The Barmakis had been lately converted from Buddhism to Islam, and were mainly responsible for establishing cultural relations with India.

When the Muslims conquered Sind in 89/707 A.D., they found the country divided between the Buddhists and the Brahmin rulers. A great religious upheaval was going on in the south and the country was in a ferment. The Brahmins were fast getting the better of the Buddhists. In the conflict between the Indian rulers and the Arabs, the Buddhists decided to join hands with the Muslims, and thus helped them a great deal in conquering Sind. In the Hindus (taking them generally), the Muslims at once discovered *the people of the revealed Book*, that is to say, they were not pure heretics; on the contrary, they believed in God and '*possessed divine revelations*.' Abul Qāsim announced this fact as soon as he conquered a part of Sind. "The idol-temples of the Hindus," he declared, "are like the churches of the Christians and the Jews and the altars of the Magians."<sup>1</sup> Thus, the friendly relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, during the Arab rule in Sind, were mainly due to the fact that the Arabs, unlike the Turks, were far from being fanatical and were even compromising in their attitude towards the Hindus.

"It should be noted here," says Muir, "that in India there was an altogether new departure in the treatment of the subject races. Temples were left standing and their worship not disallowed.....As Weil remarks—'It no longer was a holy war with the view, that is to say, of the conversion of the heathen. That object was now dropped. Side

<sup>1</sup> Balazuri, p. 439.



*by side with Allah, idols might be worshipped.....And thus under Muhammadan rule, India remained largely a pagan land.*" <sup>1</sup>

Von Kremer observes: "The customary honour and deference due to the Brahmins and the 3 per cent. share in the land revenues was maintained. 'Build.....temples, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear and strive to better yourselves in every way possible,' was the law in Abul Qasim's days and later." <sup>2</sup>

Abul Qasim had the order from the Kaliph Hajjāj: "*Permission is given to Hindus to worship their own gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.*" It is easy to believe that under such conditions both the communities must have become, to a great extent, tolerant towards each other which made their cultural adjustment possible. But Sind was not the only province where the social relations between the two communities were definitely amicable. Muslims were diffused all along the coast-line among the trading castes of the Hindus. According to the statements made by Muslim travellers and historians, the Hindus, and particularly their Buddhist community, took much interest in the Muslims and their religion. Buzurg bin Shahryār, the personal witness of the conditions of the coastal India in the 9th century, observes: "The bikur (*i.e.*, the bhikshus, the Buddhists), are a sect that belongs to Ceylon. *They love the Muslims and are extremely well-disposed towards them.*" <sup>3</sup> The author states that these Bhikshus had once sent a representative of theirs to Arabia to enquire about the particulars of the new faith of the Arabs. This man reached Arabia in Umar's time. On his way back he died at Makran. It was his companion who reached Ceylon safely and informed the people of what he had seen in Arabia. He told them that the Kaliph of the Muslims lived a simple life and had most unassuming manners, etc. "*That is why,*" says the author, "*they have so much sympathy for the Muslims and are so much friendly with them.*" <sup>4</sup> Sulāiman the merchant (851 A.D.) says: "*There does not exist among rulers a prince who likes the Arabs more than Balhara, and his subjects follow his example.*" <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (Muir), pp. 354-55. Italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> *Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Aja'ib al-Hind* (ed. P. A. Von der Lith), p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Voyage du Sulaymān* (Paris), p. 49. *The History of Medieval India*, by Ishwari Prashad, pp. 52-53,

Astakhrī came to India in 951 A.D. His geographical work contains descriptions of India. This author was the first to prepare a map of Sind, the first map of a province of India. By the time he came to India, Muslim colonies, that is, the Hindu-Muslim centres of trade, had grown into important commercial towns. In these towns, as Muslim authors inform us, the social intercourse between the communities was tending towards the harmony of their manners and customs. What is particularly marked by these authors is that the Hindus and the native converts dress like Muslims and speak their language. About the inhabitants of Mansurah (Bhakhar), Astakhrī writes: "They are Muslim by faith and affect the dress of the people of Iraq. *They and the natives speak Arabic and Persian.* Similarly, the people of Multan and its neighbourhood dress like the Iraqians." Ibn Hauqal's account agrees with this. He says about Multan: "*Here the dress of the Hindus and the Muslims is the same; they keep their hair long in the same fashion.....; and in Mansurah and Multan, as well as in the neighbourhood of these towns, they speak Arabic and Sindhi.* People of Makran speak Makrani and Persian."<sup>1</sup> Bashshārī observes: "*Persian and Arabic are understood in Sindh.*"<sup>2</sup> Hamdullah Mustaufī states: "*The people of Sind for the most part speak the Persian language.*"<sup>3</sup> The same author mentions in connection with Daibal: "*Sindhi and Arabic are the languages spoken here.*" Astakhrī and Ibn Hauqal state that everywhere in the Hindu states Muslims have domiciled and built mosques for their worship. Sulaiman the merchant records about Ceylon: "There are in Ceylon many followers of different religions, the Magians and others. *The Rajah of Ceylon permits every sect to practise its own religion.*"<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūdī writes of the King of Gujrat: "*In his kingdom Islam is respected and protected, in all parts rise the domes of beautiful mosques, where Muslims worship.*"

It is evident that all these centres of trade were also the centres of the exchange of cultures. The most celebrated of these were in Qasdar (Khuzdar), Daibal, Broach, Mahfuzah, Cambay, Sindhan, Chaul Mansurah, Jandaur, Sopara and Benares. The Muslims that domiciled in these towns were mostly Arabs by race. They mixed up completely with the natives of the country, and within a few centuries were

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn Hauqal* (de Goeje), p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahsan ut-Taqāsīm*, p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyage du Merchant Sulaymān* (Paris), p. 119.

changed beyond recognition. Their manners and customs were more like the Hindus. This hybrid group spread all over south India. A class among them worshipped 'Alī as an avatara of Shiva.

As this interchange of cultures increased with the rapid growth of commercial relations, the Indians and Arabs learnt to love and appreciate each other, and encouraged mutual enquiries into each other's religion. For instance, Mas'udī says: "The Rajah of Cambay liked religious discourses and exchanged ideas with Muslims and other people who happened to visit his place."<sup>1</sup> Similarly Buzurg bin Shahryār relates that the Rajah Mahrug of Al-Rā (Alor), whose territory lay between upper and lower Kashmir, had written to the chief of Mansurah that he would like to have a person with him who could explain to him the tenets of Islam in the 'Indian' language. The chief of Mansurah sent an able person named 'Abdullāh who stayed with the Rajah of Alor for three years. He translated the Qu'rān into Hindi for him. The Rajah heard the translation read to him every day and used to feel much inspired by the recitation.<sup>2</sup> Such had to be the result of the direct social contact that had grown between them. When the Hindus visited the Muslim countries the social contact between them assumed more interesting and cordial form. Sulaimān the merchant observes: "The Hindus visit Sairaf (a port on the coast of 'Irāq), and when any Arab merchant invites them to a feast, their number often approaches or exceeds a hundred. But the food of each of them is required to be served on separate plates, as none of them would share the same plate with another."<sup>3</sup> It is about such Hindus that Buzurg bin Shahryār remarks: "They speak colloquial Arabic with such ease and grace that our learned Maulavis look at them in dumb astonishment." "They are," he says, "mostly Sindhis, Multanis and Gujratis, who have had dealings in these countries from time immemorial."<sup>4</sup> Through these commercial relations India was brought closer to Muslim countries, and the appreciation of her religious and intellectual attainments made possible. The Arab and Persian sailors brought back to their countries, with their merchandise, rare appreciation of India, of her sciences and arts.

<sup>1</sup> *Murūj-uz-Zahab* (Paris), Vol. I, pp. 253-54.

<sup>2</sup> *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (ed. P. A. Von der Līth), pp. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage du Merchand Arab...* (Ferrand), p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, p. 147.

On the other side, the worldwide fame of the intellectual liberalism of the Abbaside court attracted the Hindu Pandits, who appeared there to display their unrivalled skill in medicine and astronomy. There existed a very keen desire on the side of the Muslims to fathom the mysterious depths of the intellectual India, the real, thinking and creative India. A genuine attraction for, and a close affinity with, the Indian mind were fast developing. Muslim travellers, scholars, historians and geographers were pouring into India, aflame with the curiosity of a young growing nation for knowledge, to study and master their respective subjects of interest. Yahya the Barmaki, the minister of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, had deputed a person to submit a report on the different schools of religion in India, and also on the medical plants found in India alone. Ibn an-Nadīm claims to have seen a copy of this report, written in Alkindī's hand and dated 349 A.H. Ibn an-Nadīm says it contained descriptions of the idol-temples of Mahānagar, the capital of the kingdom of Vallabha Ray, and a description of the temples in Multan, and also of other well-known places of worship in India. It also contained a description of the leading sects. The author gives a gist of the book. The sects that have been dealt with in this sketch are: the Mahākāliyyah; the Adit-Bhaktiyyah; the Chandra-Bhaktiyyah (the Bakrantiyyah?), a sect the followers of which kept themselves in chains, shaved their heads and beard and wore only a short loin-cloth; the Gangā-yatriyyah, the Rājapūtiyyah; and a sect that kept long hair, did not drink wine nor mixed with women.<sup>1</sup>

Keeping in view the social conditions then prevailing in Sindh, with the Muslim element scattered all over, the intermingling of social manners and languages always going on, we can picture to ourselves the eager interest which both the communities must have had for the spiritual and intellectual depths of each other's faith. This eagerness could only be satisfied through constant intercourse and close observation of each other's life. We are told that a certain Indian Rajah wrote to Hārūn ar-Rashīd, desiring to know the import of Islam, and requested him to send a Muslim scholar who could discuss his views with the Rajah's Pandits. Another version of the story has it that it was at the instigation of a Buddhist priest that the Rajah called for a Muslim scholar to argue with the former. This

<sup>1</sup> Fihrist, pp. 345-349; 'Arab-o-Hind ke Ta'alluqāt,' pp. 205-207.

is equally probable. However, the scholar who came to India proved to be no match for the skilled Buddhist logician. With the Muslim debater, the final authority was the Qur'ān and the traditions of the holy Prophet, both of which the Buddhist opponent refused to accept. This led to another debate, in which the Muslim debater would have most surely won, as the story asserts, had not the Buddhists played the nasty trick of poisoning the Muslim, thus effectively preventing him from pursuing his advantage. Still other debates are reported to have taken place occasionally among the Muslims and the Hindus.<sup>1</sup>

*Santiniketan.*

*(To be concluded)*

<sup>1</sup> *Arab-o-Hind Ke Ta'alluqāt.*

# THE TRUE CAUSES OF JAPAN'S TRADE EXPANSION AND HER SERVICES

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SINCE the present advance of Japanese commodities in the markets of the world commenced in the beginning of 1932, the question of Japanese competition has occupied quite an important proportion of space in the world's Press. Outcries such as "the Menace of Japanese Competition," "Japanese Dumping," "New Yellow Peril," etc., are being raised in all parts of the world. There are two categories of people who accuse Japan of "Unfair Competition." One contains those who, being ignorant of facts, really believe so. The other is composed of those who prefer to ignore the facts for motives of self-interest. It is the people belonging to the latter who carry out a strong propaganda by making a sensational appeal to public opinion, in order to create purposely an impression that Japanese competition is going to ruin the world's industrial organization and force its civilization down to a lower level. These accusations are mainly based on three grounds:—

Firstly, the employment of "cheap labour"

Secondly, the depreciation of the Currency by a deliberate action of the Government.

Thirdly, Government's grant of bounties and subsidies.

There is no justification whatever for any of these charges. I will deal with the first two items in length later on. As to the third, there is practically no Government grant in the form of subsidy or bounty, except in the case of "Shipping." Here I will quote a chapter under the sub-heading of "Government Assistance" in the Official Report of 1933 of the British Trade Commissioner in Tokyo on the subject of "Economic Condition in Japan," which says:—

"Reports received here from almost all parts of the world show that exaggerated opinions are current abroad as to the nature and extent of Japanese Government assistance to trade. It has lately been alleged, for instance, that 'the Government is subsidizing the major industries of Japan in order to keep her workers employed.' Such statements are quite unfounded.....It (the total of subsidies granted to private industry, exclusive of agriculture, fisheries, etc.) is not a large sum, and it is clear

that the direct pecuniary advantage, when spread over the whole of industry and trade, is insignificant....."

It is true that Government pays subsidies to Shipping Companies. Strictly speaking, however, these cannot be called subsidies at all, for a part of them is paid in compensation for the obligations, mail-carrying for instance, which Government imposes on Shipping Companies. Besides, Japan is not alone in granting State subventions. The following shipping subsidies are granted by leading maritime nations:—

				Index No.
Japan	...	...	9,759,965	100
Great Britain	£928,800 at par	...	9,068,099	93
France	Frs. 271,203,000 at par	...	21,317,639	218
Italy	Lire 254,000,000 at par	...	37,381,204	383
U. S. A.	\$28,300,000 at par	...	56,474,866	582

All these figures are based on exchange at par. If the current rates of exchange are taken, Japanese subsidies would be much less actually.

There has also been a colossal exaggeration of the quantitative importance of Japanese trade from the standpoint of the aggregate international trade of the world. According to an official report of the League of Nations, the Japanese exports during three years from 1929 to 1931 were about 2·9% of the total World Export Trade against British 10·7% and U. S. A. 15·6% in 1929. No official figures of the League of Nations are since available, but as estimated by Prof. Gregory of the London University, one of the most eminent economists to-day, the Japanese Export Trade for 1933 increased to somewhere between 6 and 7% of the aggregate export trade of the world. It is a startling improvement, but certainly not so startling that the whole world should get panic-stricken. Even to-day, British and American Trade is far more important than Japanese quantitatively. However, this increase in trade was really a remarkable success on the part of Japan particularly when it was made during a period of intense depression.

This admirable success was undoubtedly due to the cheapness of Japanese goods. However, it must be clearly understood, that this cheapness was not due to dumping. Japanese Industry has never exported its products at prices below cost. The truth of this statement is clearly borne out by the good showing made by those Japanese industrial concerns who manufacture export goods, their profits far exceeding those of other industries.

There are good, substantial reasons for Japan being able to keep her cost of production lower than that of any other industrial nation of the world.

Now let me examine what these reasons are with the object of dispelling the wrong impression created by such propaganda and of enlightening those who are not acquainted with the actual conditions which exist in Japan. I will explain firstly how Japan has been able to overcome the handicaps and disadvantages, which a young industrial nation like her was inevitably confronted with, and secondly, there are many advantages which Japan possesses as an industrial nation and what these advantages are.

I will now deal with the main items of these disadvantages, which had considerably hindered the development of our industry. Firstly, the insufficiency of capital available and its high interest rate. Secondly, we had to depend for the supply of machinery and other factory equipment upon the importation from foreign countries, which necessarily meant a much heavier capital outlay for our industry as compared with that of Western countries. This handicap was made doubly burdensome on account of the scantiness of capital and a very high rate of interest. Thirdly, the inferior technique of our engineers and the inefficiency of our workers due to lack of necessary training were also serious handicaps. Fourthly, poor natural resources with practically no raw materials required for modern industries and finally, the land being so limited with no colonies of our own as domestic markets provided but a very limited outlet for our goods and consequently mass production such as practised in America was impossible.

To give you an idea as to how burdensome the first two of the handicaps were, I quote the comparative costs, in terms of gold Dollar, of installation of one spindle and that of one loom in Japan, England, America and Germany for the Cotton Industry before the War as estimated by Mr. Graham Clarke, the American Trade Commissioner then in Japan.

					For one Spindle.	For one Loom.
					\$	\$
Japan	...	...	...	...	25'00	400'00
England	...	...	...	...	7'91	175'00
America	...	...	...	...	11'00	245'00
Germany	...	...	...	...	13'00	238'00

The cost of installing a spindle in Japan was thus about thrice as much as that in England, and twice as much as that in U. S. A. while the



installation of one loom cost us more than double that of England. According to the calculation of a well-known Japanese economist the fixed capital outlay required for a cotton mill in Japan was thrice as much as that of England before the War and twice as much even after the War. Moreover the interest rate on capital in Japan was before the War at least 3% higher and even after the War until recent years 2% higher than it was in England. You can easily imagine how adversely these items affected our Cotton Industry and added to the cost of production.

However, we have at last succeeded in emancipating ourselves definitely from the burden of heavy capital outlay, which was really one of the root causes for retarding our industrial progress. Firstly, we have become able to manufacture our own machinery with equal, in many cases distinctly superior, efficiency at a cost much lower than the importing cost of foreign-made machinery. Secondly, the recent world tendency for lower rate of interest, has made capital available in Japan almost at the same rate of interest as in Western countries.

Japan to-day is keeping pace with the daily progress of the world and every effort is being made to maintain her industrial organization in every way up to date. The replacement of obsolete equipment by new is taking place in a sweeping manner. As a most outstanding example of this, I quote our Rayon Industry. The machinery and all other necessary equipment for Rayon Industry are now entirely made in Japan. With remarkable improvements made on patents originally bought from foreign countries, I believe we can safely claim that the machinery and process we employ, are the best in the world to-day. The Rayon Industry in Japan is, on an average, working on the basis of replacing the whole equipment by new within three to five years and the depreciation of the block account is actually carried out on that basis. Thus our Rayon Industry has made an unparalleled progress and in the quantity of production we are next only to the U. S. A.

Let me quote another striking example. That is the case of our Cotton Industry. Our Cotton Industry has been equally enterprising. They have been quick in adopting any new mechanical device or process invented abroad or at home by fearlessly discarding less efficient machinery or its parts or process. Amongst our own inventions in this industry, the most outstanding is that of automatic loom, which has enormously improved efficiency in the weaving department of our

Cotton Industry. As many as 40 automatic looms are handled by one female weaver.

As for the inferior technique of our engineers and the inefficiency of our workers, they were never due to any fundamental reasons but merely to lack of training in handling modern machinery. This difficulty however was overcome in a comparatively short time by the energetic study of modern mechanism by our technical men and the most effective methods employed by our industrialists for training their engineers and workers. A rapid spread of elementary education was also responsible for this.

Up to now I have dealt with the way in which we have overcome the difficulties which stood in the way of our industrial development. Now, let me deal with the positive elements which have helped our industrial success. The advantages we possess as an industrial nation are many. First of all, Japan is in a very favourable position geographically. As she is situated in the East, she is within easy access to those Eastern countries, such as China, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and British India, who are the leading producers of agricultural raw materials and at the same time the most important consumers of manufactured goods in the world to-day. The fact that Japan is an Island Empire provides facilities for cheap and economical transportation of goods to and from foreign countries. Japan every year buys nearly a million tons of iron ore from Malaya and it is said that the cost of transportation of this ore is lower than that of the ore which most of the American steel manufacturers get from the mines in their own country. This will eloquently demonstrate the cheapness of sea transportation. Besides the mild climate all the year round in Japan helps to maintain a high standard of factory working efficiency. The mountainous nature of the country provides an abundant water power and an unlimited amount of cheap electricity.

Secondly, generally speaking, in all those Eastern countries, the standard of living and the purchasing power of the people are yet very low. Naturally, the cheapness of Japanese goods is a great attraction to them. Furthermore, we, as an Eastern nation, possess more or less similar ideas and customs, and naturally are in a position to understand the tastes and requirements of the people of those countries, which is a distinct advantage we have over Western manufacturers.

Thirdly, I must point out that labour conditions in Japan are extremely favourable from the industrial or capitalistic point of view. This indeed, in my opinion, is the most important factor, which has enabled Japan to acquire the present expansion of her foreign trade. During the past few years, Japan has been strongly accused of unfair competition. This allegation has been made chiefly on the ground that she employs "cheap labour." Here, I refuse to accept the word "cheap" when it is used only in connection with labour because everything else in Japan is proportionately cheap. It is an obvious error to attempt to compare only the money wages respectively received by the Japanese and European workers. Whereas Japanese money wages, when converted into foreign currencies at the present rate of exchange, may seem to be ridiculously low, it must be remembered that the purchasing power of Japanese money is much higher internally than it is abroad. This means, of course, that the real or living wages received by the Japanese workers considerably exceeds that which the same money would represent in foreign countries. Furthermore, the wide difference in the mode of life between Japan and Western countries must be taken into account in any comparison of the living standards of our working classes with those of Western labourers. While it is undoubtedly true that the comforts desired by our people, not only of the working class but of all classes, are far more simple and far less costly than those considered necessary for a decent living in the West, it cannot be argued that this of itself means a lower standard of living in Japan. It will be impossible to contend that the standard of living of the Japanese worker is lower than that of the Western worker, because the former preferably eats fish and rice to meat and bread on which the latter lives, as daily food. It is not the case in Japan that the wages received by her working classes is disproportionately low as compared with the wages earned by all other classes of her people. Besides, everything else is cheap. The ordinary enjoyments of life, such as picnicing on holidays and cinema and theatre-going in recess hours are within easy reach of our workers. Besides our workers in all modern factories are provided with dormitories for a comfortable and healthy living, hospitals, schools, and libraries for improving their intellect, club houses for indoor enjoyments and playgrounds for outdoor sports, all of these free of charge, which is greatly conducive to their contentment.

Now I am sure I have made it perfectly clear that the labour in Japan is quite a well contented one. You will agree with me that there is nothing whatever to justify the allegation that our industry is prospering because it employs "sweated labour."

Our labour thus is well contented, which fact of itself is of the foremost importance in producing efficiency. Besides, the vigorous enforcement of compulsory elementary education by the Government, has considerably heightened the general standard of the intellect of our workers making it far easier than before to make them learn the use of and adapt themselves to modern machinery.

I may quote the official statistics taken from the 1933 Census:—

School-age Children.	Children attending Schools.	Percentage of Children attending.
10,105,941	10,056,530	99·51

This shows how successful our Government have been in enforcing elementary education. There is absolutely no illiteracy among our workers and I am convinced that the standard of education of our average worker is higher than that of an average worker in the Western countries.

Side by side with this, our technical education has also made an enormous stride in recent years, under the most effective guidance of the Government and a large number of technical men with high qualifications has become available. This coupled with the improved methods adopted by our industrialists after many years' investigations and experience for training their workers, has made it possible to train our workers within a much shorter time to a much higher standard than before. To take the example of our cotton mills, it to-day takes on an average only two months to train a female worker fresh from her rural home to become a fully skilled operative.

The following comparative figures quoted by a well-known textile industrialist will be interesting:—

10 years ago	200,000 workers employed for 4,000,000 spindles.
To-day	130,000 workers employed for 6,000,000 spindles.
10 years ago	35,000 workers employed for 35,000 looms.
To-day	35,000 workers employed for 73,000 looms.

One Lancashire worker looks after 6 looms against which one Japanese worker looks after 8 to 12 ordinary looms and 30 to 40.

automatic looms. It is said the weaving cost in Japan is 50% lower than that in Manchester and nearly 65% lower than that of Bombay mills according to the calculation of an expert.

The deftness and dexterity of our people are said to be in our blood and this gifted quality of our workers has greatly added to their efficiency, particularly in the case of textile industries in which a good amount of delicate craftsmanship is required. Furthermore, taking the relation between Capital and Labour, there exists a greater harmony in Japan to-day than in Western countries, partly due to the fact that there still remains a good amount of influence of the ancient virtue of employee's loyalty to their masters and the latter's kind treatment to the former in return, and partly due to wiser labour policies followed by our industrialists in the light of Western examples of bitter conflicts between Capital and Labour. There is no doubt that our industry employs the most favourable labour amongst the industrial nations of the world and the fact that such efficient labour is available at a moderate cost places Japanese industry in a unique position for competing in the markets of the world. It will be interesting to quote a part from the official Report to the League of Nations by Mr. F. Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, who recently inspected labour conditions in Japan as follows:—

“Japanese labour organization and rationalisation in factories are impressive, but still more impressive, I have found, are the Japanese workers. Active, enthusiastic, happy and efficient, they are very intelligent people, and I consider them to be the most valuable capital in the Japanese nation.”

This condition must last for some considerable time in Japan. Japan's poverty in natural resources with a large population, out of all proportion to her area is the real obstacle in raising the general wage level of the country. Prof. Gregory in discussing the question of Japanese competition emphatically mentions that the extraordinary growth of the Japanese population is the real fundamental problem the world to-day is facing.

Putting aside the question of new births in future, the question we must actually face in connection with the existing population during the next 20 years, is already a very acute one. The number of people who constitutes the working population, that is to say, the number of people between 15 and 60 will increase by 10 million by 1950. Now, what are we going to do with them? Japan must either

secure freedom of immigration for her surplus population or she must push ahead with industrialisation so as to support her surplus population. The first solution offers little hope in view of the fact that those countries where the standard of living and level of wages are higher, which are the two essential conditions for attracting immigrants from foreign countries, have their doors closed against the immigration of Orientals. Under the circumstances, the only alternative open to us is to concentrate our energy on industrial development and trade expansion abroad. Indeed, it can be said even as much as that the present commercial expansion of Japan is the natural outflow of the force of circumstances. The Western industrial nations are really in a dilemma in this respect. The more they attempt to exclude Japanese goods from the large part of the world that they can influence, the more it will tend to lower the Japanese standard of life and wage, thereby increasing the competitive power of Japanese goods elsewhere.

During the World War, Japan experienced an unprecedented industrial boom. When, however, the European conflict was over and the demand for Japanese goods declined, the balance of trade again became unfavourable and Japan's specie holdings rapidly decreased. This was further accentuated in the years following the great Earthquake of 1923, which greatly destroyed her exporting capacity and enormously increased the need of foreign materials for reconstruction, which swelled the debit side of the trade balance.

It was against this background that the late Finance Minister Mr. Inouye, in January 1930, lifted the Gold Embargo, which had been in effect for more than a dozen years. In fact, this was done against strong opposition from a large section of public opinion. I really could not understand what justification there was for this precipitated action, but undoubtedly Mr. Inouye was a staunch orthodox believer in the Gold Standard. This had the most depressing effect on our industry, which was already suffering from the post-war depression. It was during this period that a wholesale rationalization took place in almost every line of our industry. Such drastic measures as decapitalization, reduction of salaries, retrenchment of the staff, modernisation and replacement of obsolete equipment and scrapping of antiquated equipment were carried out in a sweeping manner.

Japan, of course, has taken full advantage of being a younger nation, taking the very best of Western countries in respect of

machinery, technique, inventions, industrial system or organization and labour policies and innumerable other things.

I have explained how Japan in the face of many handicaps and difficulties as a younger industrial nation had built up the foundation for the recent development of her industry. However, it must be remembered that this is the fruit of 50 years' undaunted and determined hard work of her Government and people together. Thus, all necessary potential factors for the external expansion of our industrial activities were already there, before the fall of the Japanese Exchange in 1930, although latent but fully matured. All that was necessary to make their effects felt outwardly was an incentive, for which the fall of the Yen functioned most timely.

The depreciation of the Japanese currency was not due to a deliberate action of the Government. In fact, the late Finance Minister, Mr. Inouye, fought desperately against sweeping bear operations in the Yen, which started all over the world immediately after England went off the Gold Standard in September, 1931. Having been defeated in this struggle, the Cabinet then in power resigned and a new Cabinet was formed, who proclaimed a Gold Embargo on December 13th the same year. This will make it clear that the Japanese Government was simply forced to give up the Gold Standard.

Soon after this, the Manchurian question arose, which swelled up rapidly our military expenditure and a huge deficit in the Government's finance became inevitable. This further shook the confidence in the Yen and fresh bear operations re-started all over the world. The weakness of the Yen Exchange was further accentuated by the uncertainty of Japan's political position amongst the nations of the world due to the anticipated imminence of Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. Thus the Yen Exchange touched the lowest at the end of 1932. There is no doubt that this phenomenal fall was due to excessive bear operations and it went far beyond the intrinsic value of the currency. I am of opinion that even at present our currency is much under-valued abroad. The exchange became stable in the beginning of 1933 and the sterling value of our currency has remained practically unchanged for the last eighteen months.

On those grounds, I contend that there is no justification whatever for the charge of Japan's exchange dumping. In order to substantiate my contention further, let me quote Price Indexes for Japan and England. Using the pre-war level of prices as basis, the

average commodity price-index in Japan at the end of April 1933, stood at 151·8 as compared with 87·9 in Great Britain. Making the full allowance for the depreciation of the Yen in terms of Sterling (39·5%) we find that the export price-index for Japan still remain higher than the British domestic price-index. This means that the fall of the Yen merely brought Japanese export prices down to approximately the same level as the domestic price-levels in Great Britain. It did not bring the Japanese export prices to any abnormally low level such as would have to be the case if the charge of exchange dumping is well founded. However, there is no doubt that the low exchange is greatly stimulating her export trade, particularly when in case of Japan the depreciation of her currency hardly raised the cost of living and the level of wages because of the fact that she is a self-supporting country so far as her food supplies are concerned.

It must not be forgotten that Japan is placing her goods within easy reach of large masses of the backward people of the world whose purchasing power is yet very low and to whom a decrease in prices therefore means a considerable benefit and these people constitute more than one half of the world's population. Another valuable service which Japan has done is that in certain cases the cheapness of the Japanese goods has created new demands. In other words, there were demands which would never have been satisfied at all if Japan had not produced as cheaply as she is actually producing. Let me now draw your attention to a very striking illustration.

The importation of canvas shoes with rubber soles to India went up from 1·9 million pairs to 5 million pairs between 1929 and 1931 and by far the greater part of the additional import came from Japan. If you have a country which increases its imports of a new commodity by 150%—it is a new commodity from the standpoint of Indian poorer classes—during a period of intense depression, it is obviously due to the fact that this commodity is being offered at prices so low that it taps a demand which should not otherwise exist. Thus Japan is educating people who have not been accustomed to a particular thing to require it in the future.

I can indicate many similar instances in case of Japanese commodities exported to other Eastern countries. In these directions, I am sure, Japan is doing inestimable services towards the economic progress of the world.

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# AN ASPECT OF HINDU SOCIAL HISTORY

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**H**ISTORY, like human nature, has its two sides—inner and outer. Our being comprises mind and body. The peculiar function of life is to grow by assimilation and to preserve itself. In the physical world every animal lives by taking in, digesting and absorbing matter from the world outside. This is true as much of the race as of the individual. Every race carries on its existence by gathering the natural wealth of the country where it has its habitation and, if that is not enough, by making up the deficiency from other countries. For self-preservation it has to form a society and to build up a state, and to take up arms to beat off the attack of aggressive foreigners. All these are means of self-preservation. External history is the record of the rise and fall of the state, of peace and war, of trade and commerce, of agriculture, arts and crafts. But all this is merely the framework for the image to be erected. Very necessary, no doubt, for without all this, no progress is possible—but still it is external. It reveals merely the strength of the racial vitality and enables us to realise how by fighting or through compromise with the environment and neighbours, the race has survived through the ages. But it is not a complete portrayal. It is a sort of natural history common to man and the lower animals. Internal history is the account of the gradual evolution of intellect, taste and moral sense. The play of the inner soul of the race is imprinted on the evolution of its literature and music, philosophy and fine arts, religious ideas and cults and customs. We come face to face with this mystery, the Personality of the Race, when, after having crossed the outer courtyard of political annals, we enter the inner apartments of social history. Political history is the stepping-stone, the gateway, to the history of civilisation.

The calumny that the Hindu has no political history is by degrees being wiped away as a result of the combined labours of savants both of this country and outside. In this sphere the 'collyrium-stick,' to use a Sanskrit image, is the gift of the West and it has cleared the historical insight of the East. And the learned community of this country is realising the great importance of fitting all events into the framework of chronology.

And as a result, the dense darkness that had covered the long period from the time of Parikshit to that of the Buddha is to some extent lifting. Even those who are not blinded by an excessive regard for the sacred books are coming to recognise that the *Purāṇas* are not a medley of fantastic stories but hold in them authentic history. And it may be hoped that in this way a golden chain will come to link up the Heaven of Vedic times with the lower orb of historical ages.

The faint outline of India's political history is by degrees being filled in by the laying on of many tints and it is a great gain to us. But there seems likely to be a long delay in rearing the structure of Hindu social history on this basis. That sanctum which, being entered will give us a vision of the spiritual self of the Hindu seems now to be buried like an ancient monument under the debris of age-long neglect. In one sense it may be asserted that the true account of the Hindu community lies here. There is a Sanskrit adage that an exact description of a man often reads like detraction just as that of a god amounts to laudation. And in this age of breathless activity, to claim that the prime attraction of the Aryan race in India is towards the supersensual, spiritual world is to court for it discredit and disrepute. But for all that it is very largely a true account of the spirit of the East. So long as we are not in a position to attain a knowledge of our true self or to set it forth at the bar of the world, it will undoubtedly, remain a slur on our culture. The History of European Civilisation was written a long time ago but who knows when the Guizot will be born qualified to compose the spiritual history of India—India which has ever been so largely absorbed in meditation and thought?

The Hindu has a distinctive attitude towards the duties of human life. In these days we are wont to divide these duties into different categories—such as personal, domestic, communal and civic or political. But in our sacred books all these duties are designated under a common name—that is, *Dharma* or Righteousness and the common source of all is the same—i.e., Vedic injunctions. This bundle of duties was prescribed and discussed in the three sections of the *Kalpasutras*—*Shrauta*, *Grihya*, and *Dharma*—and in later times in the three chapters of the works of *Smṛiti*—on Ceremonial Practices, Penances and Legal Relations. At one time the *Smṛiti* works were the only source and authority for all the duties of life. In the *Manu-samhitā*

these duties, instead of being treated separately under different heads, have been set forth together in the form of a continuous exposition. In other works of sacred law also similar overlapping is noticed. And almost in every case motive and sanction are lent to social and civic duties by ideas of virtue and demerit, righteousness and unrighteousness. The king did not impose or invent the ideas of Righteousness and Unrighteousness. He merely upheld social order and defended the Rule of Righteousness. But he was also governed by the works of sacred law. The power that regulated and determined the duties of different castes and orders of life, social conditions and relations was a stock of impersonal knowledge. Reflected in the consciousness of the seers and transmitted through the sense of hearing from preceptor to pupil; it bore the name of *Shruti* or Revelation and, being remembered by later sages and so recorded, it assumed the form of *Smriti* or Tradition. *Smriti* signifies the *Kalpasūtras*, the *Samhitās*, and the injunctions and prohibitions of the sacred law incorporated in the *Purāṇas*. These are the original stock of sacred precepts. But in course of time and in different parts of the country these original precepts, positive and negative, were variously interpreted and reconciled so as to accommodate the requirements of the society and the practices of different provinces. For this purpose many works of compilation were composed known as the *Smriti* digests.

In this enormous *Smriti* literature is enshrined the story of the life of the Hindu community extending over countless ages. Mr. Kane by writing the History of Dharmasastra has given an idea of the volume and extent of this type of literature. But a large number of learned workers are needed to glean the materials of social history that lie scattered in the heap of works mentioned and described in this history and, by fitting them into the framework of chronology and connecting them with the annals of political vicissitudes, to make up a well-arranged and continuous picture of the society. A proper examination and compilation of the original codes of sacred law has not yet been accomplished. Similar work in regard to the *Purāṇas* lies still further away. The texts of the sages cited in the digests are widely discrepant from the works published under the names of the authors of the *Samhitās*. Attempts are just being made to collate afresh the texts of one or two *Smriti* codes—such as that of *Kātyāyana*. Extensive is the field and one only wishes that the labourers may be more numerous.

Some idea of the manner in which the nature and course of the Hindu society have changed with the times can be obtained from a survey of its successive customs and usages. It is the view of many—educated and uneducated alike—that in the political fortunes of the Hindu race there have, no doubt, been rise and fall and that it is true that the external life of the community has been altered and distorted by the machinery of government set up by alien rulers. But in regard to matters internal—*shāstric* practices, religious rites, sacrifices and forms of worship—there has been no change at all. The proof of the baselessness of such a view lies in the history of the enormous *Dharmashāstra* literature. The world in which we live is a flux, a series of phenomenal changes. From this law of change not even our very ancient race has been exempt and the testimony thereto is furnished by the social history of the Hindus.

Of the various changes that in historical times have come over Hindu social life, one of the most noticeable is the promulgation of the Prohibitions in the *Kali* age. Before the Mahomedan invasion down to the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, broadly speaking, the life of the Hindu community had flowed in one channel. Thereafter a deep line of demarcation comes by degrees to be more and more clearly defined. Hence it appears that the *Kali* prohibitions form a sort of watershed. On one side flows the social life teeming with rites and practices prescribed in the *Shrutis*. On the other side the course of Hindu existence, variously changed, shifts to a new channel. On one side is the land of the ancient Hindus and on the other, the habitation of the later Hindus. The present essay is a rapid survey of the practices touched by these prohibitions.

Fire-worship though common to all branches of the Indo-Aryan stock was specially marked amongst the followers of the Vedas in India. The very first verse of the Rigveda was uttered in praise of the Fire-God. The ordinary rule as to the installation of fire was that one who had begotten a son and was still black-haired should do it. In Brahmin families under certain Vedic Schools, as soon as the son was born, the fire was kindled by rubbing the pieces of igneous wood and therein the natal offering for the long life of the newly-born, his tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, etc., were performed. This was known as the natal or filial fire-installation. After the investiture with the sacred thread, residence in the preceptor's house, otherwise called *brahmacharya* or the celibate studenthood,

followed. The residence extended in all over 48 or 20 years for the purpose of the study of the four Vedas (12 or 5 years being required for each), or over a proportionate period according as more than one Veda were studied. Thereafter the pupil might join the householder's life. But some students celibate chose to spend their whole life as such. They were known as the perpetual students celibate. On the demise of the preceptor the rule was to regard his wife as his representative and to spend the days at her feet. The gains of begging were dedicated to her, the pupil bowed at her feet and took the leavings of her food. All these were considered his duty.

At the time of returning to the householder's life he was expected to offer the preceptor a fee in accordance with the demand. But who can possibly repay the preceptor's debt? The *Sāmaveda* says: The debt to the preceptor cannot be cleared even if the world with all its treasure be given to him. For one is still under an obligation to give the same. But to pay the fee as demanded by the teacher is neither easy nor possible. The story in the *Raghuvamsam* relates how Kautsa, the pupil of Varatantu, was ordered to pay fourteen crores in gold for the fourteen branches of learning acquired by him. Hence there was provision for commutation such as the gift of a cow. For a text of the *Shruti* says that there is no measure of the value of a cow. By a process of gradual reduction the commutation at last took the form of any gift to the satisfaction of the preceptor.

Many were the rules governing the diet of a student celibate; meat and honey were forbidden to him. If invited along with the preceptor, he often found himself in a difficulty. People would offer the former, the honey-mixture with meat, and present to him scents and garlands. The father or the eldest brother also might be inclined to give him the remainder of his food. But there was no objection to his partaking of such leavings provided no eatable forbidden to the student celibate was in them.

There was the usage of the student celibate carrying a water-bowl before his terminal bath or after it till marriage. It was also prescribed for the third and fourth orders of life. In all these stages the Brahmin had to carry a water-bowl made of wood or burnt clay. Bathing and cleansing of impurity and ceremonial sipping had to be performed with the water of that bowl. But such water was impure for all others and unfit for their use. Water had to be poured into it to the accompaniment of certain *mantras* (sacred formulas). When

one was broken or otherwise lost, another had to be adopted with the utterance of similar *mantras*.

For the purpose of ceremonial sipping, the water had often to be collected from open fields. There were certain tests to determine the purity of the water lying on the ground or in the clefts of rocks. If drunk with pleasure by a cow it was accounted fit for such uses. In the rainy season after three days and in other seasons after ten days rain-water was prescribed as fit for use.

The second stage of life was that of the householder. Both wife and fire-chamber were needed in it. Although in certain Vedic schools the installation of the sacred fire was prescribed at the time of the performance of the natal ceremonies for the son, generally it commenced with either marriage or inheritance. The fire was to be tended so long as the wife lived. If the wife was deceased, marrying another was ordained for this purpose. For the reason is that one who is sonless and without the sacred fire is not entitled to pass on to the next order of life. To abandon the sacred fire was to incur the sin of slaying the son. He who did it was like a Sudra and required penance. The tending of the sacred fire was like a long sacrificial session. Its completion was in old age, death released one from this duty. But the maintenance of the fire is not possible for all and in all conditions of society. It was necessary that one should be in a position to lead his life, free from worries, at one place and this required the patronage of the king or of the rich. For this reason, long stay-away from home was forbidden to the householder in ancient times. It was also difficult of performance without proficiency in Vedic ritual and was in such a case expressly prohibited.

For the performance of *shāstric* duties like the tending of the sacred fire, a wife of the same caste and married according to the sacraments was needed. There was, however, the usage of the three twice-born castes of taking wives from other castes as well. It was only forbidden to take a wife from a higher caste. Hence for the four castes from the Brahmin downward the *shāstras* allowed the taking of wives from 4, 3, 2 and 1 caste respectively. The sage *Ushanas* says that a son begotten by a Brahmin on a Kshatriya wife, or by a Kshatriya on a Vaishya wife, or by a Vaishya on a Sudra wife belongs to the father's caste. According to the code of *Vishnu* such a son is of the mother's caste. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya in his *History of Medieval India* shows that Kshatriyas in all parts of India other than the middle

country frequently wedded wives of castes different from their own. Hence pure Kshatriyas disappeared in those parts. And for this reason, through the influence of the *Smārtas* of the South, the doctrine spread that in this age there are no castes other than the first and the last—the Brahmin and the Sudra. For kindling the sacrificial fire, blowing with the mouth was the rule. This related only to the sacred fire lit at the time of a sacrifice but in other cases such as lighting the domestic fire that was prohibited. At present, both being prohibited, the use of a wooden pipe or of a fan at a sacrifice is a practice commonly followed. For pouring the oblation into the fire two wooden ladles—one large and another small in size—were required. Clarified butter and like offerings were first taken in the small ladle and with it poured into the large one and then dropped into the fire. The small one was called *sruva* and the large one *sruk*. At the end of the sacrifice the practice was to lick the large ladle called *sruk* for what remained of the oblation. But as it was a sacrificial utensil, it did not require scrubbing or washing. This was known as the use of the licked ladle.

Sacrifices were of three kinds—according as they involved cake-offering, animal-offering or *soma*-offering. The performance of the *soma*-sacrifice was a matter of great glory. A Brahmin that had three years' provisions stored up was entitled to drink *soma*. The *soma*-seller also was a Brahmin but he was very ill treated. The *soma* plant was bought in exchange of a cow. But after he had been paid the price of *soma* in the shape of the cow, the animal was forcibly snatched away from him and kept in the cattle-shed. And if the seller objected in any way, he was beaten with a speckled cane and driven away.

The Brahmin was entitled to drink the *soma*-juice but forbidden to drink liquor. A departure from this rule was in the sacrifice called *sautrāmani*. *Sutrāmā* is another name of Indra. The sacrifice was so called after its deity. *Sautrāmani* was a kind of animal sacrifice. The animal prescribed for it was the bull. In place of *soma*, liquor was prescribed in it. There was also provision for the performance of this sacrifice as a means of purification from excess in *soma*-drinking. But liquor being prohibited for Brahmins, there was a provision for vicarious drinking by Kshatriyas or Vaishyas who were initiated into the sacrifice as substitutes for that purpose only. As a substitute for liquor, milk was also used. In animal sacrifices, the

priest had to kill the animal. The priest who performed this function went by a special name—the *shamitā*. The sacrificial animal was suffocated and then done to death by blows with the fist. This was called *samjñapana*.

Among animal sacrifices, the most startling to the modern Hindu mind are the human sacrifice, the cow-sacrifice and the horse-sacrifice. The cow-sacrifice had various names and forms—the *gosava*, the *gosatra*, the *shūlagova*. About the actual prevalence of human sacrifice in Aryan India opinions differ among scholars. The thirtieth chapter of the *White Yajurveda* contains provisions for the sacrifice of different classes of men for different purposes and for attaining diverse kinds of boons. With regard to the special merit of human sacrifice both the *Smarta* and the *Tantric* schools have all along cherished a strong faith. In the *Smṛiti* digests, the worship of Vishnu incarnated as the *Vāmana* or the Dwarf is prescribed on the tenth day of the bright fortnight in the month of *asharha* as yielding the fruit of human sacrifice. In the *Aitareya* and *Kausītaki Brāhmanas* we find the story of king Harischandra's son Rohita persuading the poor Brahmin Ajeegarta to slay with his own hand his only son *Sunahsepa*. *Sunahsepa*, however, gained his release by hymning the god Varuna and came to be known as *Devarāta*. He was then adopted as the eldest son by the sage Vishvāmitra. This narrative proves the unlimited power of the father over the son, the usage of adoption and the special privileges of the eldest son. A sacrifice spread over a long time was called a *satra*. Its performance lasted for not less than twelve days. We meet with descriptions of *satras* completed in twelve, one hundred, or one thousand *samvatsaras* (years). In these cases, *samvatsara* is a technical word signifying a day. Priests numbering from seventeen to twenty-four were engaged in these sacrifices. And the devotee (or *yajamāna*) also joined the priests. That the performance of these elaborate sacrifices was a difficult affair may be easily understood. Hence in one place it is said—To perform a sacrifice which lasts a year is like crossing the ocean.

Religious ministry was one of the main occupations of a Brahmin. Hence an account of the Vedic rites comes up at the outset of the householder's life. Another usage in this connection needs mention. In the time of the prevalence of the worship of idols, the priest had sometimes to undertake the charge of worshipping a deity



for his whole life and in some cases a solemn vow was taken with Dharma as witness. A worshipper of Shiva on these terms was called a Haradwija and that of Vishnu, a Vaikhānasa. They used to be regarded as socially inferior like the *Devalas* or paid priests serving in the temples.

Hospitality was the duty of a householder. There was a particular custom as regards the welcoming of an honoured guest. By an honoured guest was understood a sage, a learned scholar, a king, a bridegroom or a priest present at a sacred function and a maternal uncle who appeared after one year. For all these the honey-mixture (*madhuparka*) was prescribed. The words "a she-calf eaten up with a crackling sound" occurring in the *Uttararāmacharita* may be recalled here. Animals fit for honey-offering meant the cow, the ox and the goat. But the slaying of the beast depended upon the pleasure of the guest. Either he would say—Om ! (yes) kill it—and therewith repeat the formula—Destroyed is my sin. Or he would say—The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, the navel of immortality, and indeed Aditi herself—do not slay this innocent cow." This second text is cited by the Smārtas to prove that cow-killing is prohibited in the Vedas.

Another duty of a householder is the performance of *shrāddha* or exequial rites. Slaying of animals was prescribed at *shrāddhas*. At the four *ashtamis* (eighth lunar phases) of the four dark fortnights of Hemanta and winter seasons he had to perform the *Ashtakā shrāddha*. And therein cakes, meat and green vegetables were offered to Indra, Vishvadeva, Prajāpati and the *Manes*. In certain Vedic schools, cow-killing being prohibited, the *ashtakā shrāddha* also has fallen into desuetude.

In ancient times different means of livelihood were prescribed for the several castes. For the Brahmin were prescribed the priestly office, teaching and acceptance of gifts. Failing these three the Kshatriya's and, in default thereof, the Vaishya's occupation were also permitted but not without certain restrictions. Hence one sage says that the warrior's life is too cruel and is not fit to be adopted by a Brahmin. And if he took up the occupation of a Vaishya, *i.e.*, trade, it was not worthy of him to deal in all kinds of articles. And even though he resorted to agriculture, he had to see to it that as large a number as possible of beasts were yoked to the plough. Service, the occupation of a Sudra, was in no case to be embraced by him. Such is

the view of many sages. Rather he should minister as a priest to men of low castes or accept gifts of them. But all these are deemed distress-occupations.

The ideals for a householder were avoidance of greed and of hoarding of worldly goods. He who kept to the best means of livelihood consistent with these ideals was called *yāyāvara*. For he fares (*yāti*) by the best (*vara*) mode of life. He who lays up for a year is called *kusūladhānya*, he who stores up for six months is called *kumbhādhānya*. He who gathers by sheaves from the field is *uncchavritti*, he who picks up by single ears is called *shīlavritti*. He who makes no provision for the morrow is called *ashvastianika*. Among these, each succeeding type excels the preceding one.

In these days cook and Brahmin have almost come to be synonyms among Hindus. But there was a time when a Sudra cook was engaged in the houses of the three regenerate castes. He was required to observe certain rules of cleanliness, such as frequent shaving and daily bathing. This usage obtained for a long time. Later, however, the digest-writers endeavoured to reconcile the ancient injunctions and subsequent practices by introducing many distinctions between cooked and uncooked, dry and boiled food, approved and unapproved Sudras, etc. Vijnāneshwara, a commentator on the code of *Yājñavalkya* who flourished in the 12th century, has laid down without any demurrer that cooked food may be accepted of certain denominations of Sudras such as a slave, a cowherd, a family-friend and a co-sharer tiller of the soil.

Births and deaths are daily occurrences of our earthly life. In the Hindu mind the idea rooted through the ages has been that these cause incapacity for performance of sacred duties. At the present day the periods of impurity are definitely fixed. But in former times they could be modified on different grounds. One sage says—A priest initiated into a sacrifice, a student celibate and a king suffer no impurity, for these are installed in the seat of Indra and become as Brahman. Artists and craftsmen, employees of the king, confectioners, physicians, barbers, etc., enjoyed the privilege of instantaneous purification—their impurity ended as soon as it began. Another usage was the picking of bones and throwing them into a sacred river like the Ganges upon expiry of one-third of the period of impurity. And thereafter eating at the houses of the agnates of the deceased was permitted.

After the second order of life, *i.e.*, the householder's, come the third and the fourth—the forest-life or asceticism and that of the recluse. According to the *Kāthaka-grihya* all the four stages are meant for the three regenerate castes. But *Vṛiddha-Yājñavalkya* says that for the four castes in the descending order, four, three, two and one are respectively ordained. The close of life was in India, under the Vedic dispensation, a period of severe ascetic discipline and preparation. The ancient ideal of our land was not to be caught helplessly in the clutches of Death while striving the utmost to avoid it. Death at will was an object of steady realisation. The third and fourth orders of life—asceticism and renunciation—were steps in that process.

According to one sage, to the life of renunciation the Brahmin alone is entitled and, according to another, all the three twice-born castes. *Sannyāsins* were of four kinds—*Kutichaka*, *Vahūdaka*, *Hamsa* and *Paramahamsa*. The first two carried staves made of three sticks and were somewhat like householders in their mode of life. The other two were really disgusted with the world and bore staves made of one stick. In cases of genuine disgust and spirit of renunciation, the ascetic life has in all ages been approved. Hence the prohibition of *Sannyāsa* that arose in later times relates to that which was distinguished by the carrying of the staff of three sticks. Another distinction is between *Sannyāsa* on the part of the knower and the inquirer, the man of realisation and the seeker—the man truly sick of the world and the man still practising the cult of renunciation. *Sannyāsa* of the former kind is commended in all ages and for the same reason. He who is sincerely detached from the world has the path open to him everywhere and in all ages. Or as the text of the Veda says—The very day that you are sick of the world, you should adopt the life of a recluse. Such is the subtle import of the ban on *sannyāsa* promulgated in later ages.

In the case of the householder it was necessary to make fine distinctions in the matter of acceptance of gifts—between givers worthy and unworthy. But it was not so in the case of the pious mendicant. The rule for him was to spend one night in the villages and five nights in towns and sacred places and to beg of all the four *varnas* with either his joined palms or his stomach as the vessel to carry the alms in and to leave out the outcast and the fallen. And it was further laid down that in the afternoon when the whole household had finished their meal and the sound of the pestle and mortar had ceased and the

embers in the oven had gone out, the pious mendicant should enter the village and take shelter in the house of a householder.

There was provision for voluntary death on the part of the old and decrepit. When the body was broken and out of gear—the journey to death or a leap into rushing water or fire or from a cliff was prescribed as a mode of self-immolation. Sometimes these modes of death were enjoined by way of expiation for heinous sin. There is an ancient tradition as to Bhatta Kumārila of the eighth century A.C. having shuffled off the mortal coil at Prayāga, the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, by flinging himself into husk-fire. A special variety of voluntary death as a penance for heinous offences was the sacrifice of oneself for the protection of the Brahmin and the cow. The delinquent might build a hut in the path of robbers and fight to the death to save a Brahmin, his property or the sacred animal. Perishing or surviving, he was purged of his sin.

The view of ancient Hindu life pieced out above is a thing of the past which will never again return. That picture is blotted out and will not be composed again. It is not merely time that has scrapped it. The practices included in it have been almost unanimously declared as invalid by the writers of the digests in the different provinces and as fit to be eschewed in the present age. It has already been remarked that the duties of the life of a Hindu are intimately connected under the common title of *Dharma*. And yet a sort of division is possible. The practices already mentioned relate to Vedic rites, duties of householders and ceremonial purity and expiation. In the nomenclature of *Yājñavalkya* they have their place in the chapters on *Āchāra* and *Prāyaschitta*. There remains one other, *viz.*, *Vyavahāra*, *i.e.* usages connected with litigation.

In this province of law also some instances might be cited to illustrate the change from archaic conditions. According to the ancient books of sacred law, the giving of evidence in actions between father and son was punishable. In that remote age the father's authority was unlimited, he was the repository of all the rights and interests of the family; he enjoyed, in other words, the *patria potestas*. Hence no dependent member of the family could possibly sue him in the king's court either by preferring a complaint or praying for adjudication of his rights. This is an incident of primitive law. In such actions the giving of testimony was an offence, just as their determination by the king was improper. That this state of things could not continue was realised

long ago as is proved by Kautilya's *Arthashāstra* which prescribes witnesses fit to testify in such cases. The digests of the 12th century clearly lay down that the ancient rule applied only where the cause of action was slight. But if the father exceeded the limits laid down in the sacred books in punishing the son or if he wasted the ancestral property without any justification, action in a court of law was legitimate. This incapacity to depose has now come to be a mere memory of the past.

The sacred books in innumerable places enjoin that the Brahmin is not liable to the sentence of death, and that banishment is the penalty for him. But they also provide that a Brahmin assailant may be slain. This is an acknowledgment of the right of self-defence. An assailant means one who sets fire or gives poison, or attacks with a weapon, or seizes lands or valuable property or kidnaps a woman. A Brahmin might also be assailed in a dispute over the sacrificial fee. In the digests of the eighth century and after, there is a tendency to modify these ancient rules and to establish the immunity of a Brahmin from death-sentence. The *Kali* prohibition of the slaying of a Brahmin aggressor is a consequence thereof. It was imprinted on the social mind down to the inception of the British rule in this country. Thus in one of his minutes, Lord Bentinck writes : " To this day in all Hindu states, the life of a Brahmin is still held sacred." And the British government had to pass special laws to provide for the sentence of death in the case of Brahmin criminal offenders. And the story runs that at the time of the hanging of Raja Nandcoomer, many orthodox inhabitants of Calcutta plunged into the Ganges and swam across and took up residence in the villages on the western bank of the river.

The Brahmin in distress had a peculiar privilege. After starving for three days, he might steal, in the first instance from the lower castes, and, failing that, from the higher castes. If accused of theft, he had to frankly confess his guilt and the king was obliged to provide for his maintenance. The question whether he acquires any legal right to the thing thus stolen has been discussed with great subtlety by the digest-writers. In Hindu Law there are two schools of thought in regard to the accrual of right. According to one school, right is a secular entity and is acquired by secular means. According to the other, a man acquires title to property earned by one or other of the occupations prescribed for his caste by the sacred books. The secularistic

school cites the instance of the usage just mentioned to prove their contention that title accrues even to wealth acquired in ways other than those laid down in the sacred books, for, they say, undoubtedly a Brahmin famished for three days acquires a legal right to what he gains by such theft. In this degenerate age, however, that mode of acquisition of right to goods has been banned. But though prohibited, the ancient usage has not been altogether blotted out from the social life. Mr. Jayaswal remarks—"If a hungry man took a handful from a field, it is no theft. This is a living law in the villages up to this time."

In the ancient books of law there is a particular rule as to inheritance. It is the provision of an additional share for the eldest son called the preferential share or reservation upon division of heritage. At a remote time the father had unlimited power over the members of the family ; in him vested all their rights and interests. On his death all these descended to his eldest son who then stepped into the shoes of the father. In the Vedas, texts are met with favouring the sole heirship of the eldest as well as equal distribution of the heritage among all the sons. In course of time this special privilege of the eldest, *i.e.* primogeniture, was by degrees cut down and reduced to an additional twentieth part or a share double that of the other sons, or the award of certain valuable or choice articles. In certain Samhitās or metrical codes, there are provisions for different quota for the eldest, the intermediate and the youngest son respectively. The Mitāksharā holds that such unequal division of the heritage was not liked by the people. Certain other digest-writers, however, remark that it was approved by the people. This divergence of opinion has been ended by the texts on the *Kali* prohibitions.

In the sphere of law another prohibited usage is the filiation of different kinds of sons. In the ancient works of sacred law we meet with twelve kinds of sons. Of these four are self-begotten, *viz.*, (a) the legitimate or sacramental wife's son, the maiden's son, the remarried woman's son, the appointed daughter's son; three are begotten by another, *viz.*, (b) the wife's son, the secret-born son, and the pregnant bride's son. Sons obtained are of two varieties, *viz.*, (c) the discarded son and the self-given son. The optional variety includes three, *i.e.*, (d) the adopted, the artificial and the bought son. A few more kinds are also mentioned such as the appointed daughter, the son of a Sudra wife, the son of two fathers (*dvyāmushyāyana*) and the son begotten anywhere *i.e.*, promiscuously. Under the *Shāstraic* dispensation, all

the others being prohibited, these varieties have been reduced to two only in the present age. In the primitive stages of human society a son was a powerful helper. In course of time the necessity for such help was largely diminished. And the offering of the exequial oblation was felt to be the chief end. The *Brāhma* form of marriage among all types and the sacramental wife among all kinds of consorts were regarded as most preferable. With the disappearance of intercaste marriage, the right of the son by a Sudra wife was no longer acknowledged. The maiden-born son and the pregnant bride's son disappeared with the prevalence of infant-marriage and the wife's son and the secret-born son came to be repudiated as a result of the development of the conception of chastity. Widow-remarriage being prohibited, the twice-married woman's son fell into disuse. The remaining five, *i.e.*, the bought, the discarded, the self-given, the artificial and the adopted, pertain more or less to the same variety. The taking of an adopted son is a sacred rite and the adopted son is declared to be capable of conferring spiritual benefit. Hence the *dattaka* or adopted son is still valid along with the legitimate. And the other four though formally prohibited have not altogether dropped out, as is proved by social history and existing usages in different parts of India.

The account of ancient practices and usages set forth above is not a complete or full-size portrait of the Hindu society in the past. Nor is it likely that anybody would mistake it as such. Most Hindus, educated or otherwise, think of a few well-known prohibitions such as those of intercaste marriage, widow-marriage, or levirate in connection with the *Kali* prohibitions. But in reality the prohibited practices make up a long list as is amply indicated by the foregoing exposition. No doubt there were many other archaic usages which though not designated under this title, *i.e.*, *Kalivarjyas*—have dropped out of our social life. It cannot be hoped that the present discourse, viewed from this standpoint, will rouse much curiosity. When a whole palace has crumbled into debris, what is the good of trying to dig out and hold up to view a few beams and rafters, a few pieces of brick and stone? This is the query which remains to be briefly answered in the conclusion. Vedic society has faded into the dim past together with the customs and usages that marked it. There is nothing strange in it—for all ancient things drop off with the lapse of time and the change of circumstances. The function of History, however, is to trace these changes in conditions in the course

of time. But the bundle of usages here specially considered did not fall into the scrap-heap of the past merely through the lapse of time. The prohibitions herein discussed bear the marks of deliberation and conscious determination, of a change in ideas of social hygiene and ethics and of a process of adjustment to changed conditions. And they further contain hints as to the lines of advance and mode of transformation of the Hindu society. The promulgation of these prohibitions has been likened to a watershed rising between the ancient Hindu society and its later development. No ridge is found on the earth's surface which straightway lifts its head from the plains. Gradual ascent and descent are the law of Nature. The practices that are now extinct disappeared by degrees. And again there are many that though almost extinct and banned still peep at the corners of our social existence in an altered form.

It is necessary to indicate how and when these practices came to be prohibited. In regard to some a feeling of doubt, a sort of misgivings, appeared from the earliest times. In many places in the Vedas we find both approval and disapproval. In the *Rigveda*, for instance, the term *aghnyā* (unslayable) occurs eighteen times as a synonym for the cow. In the *Taittiriya-Samhitā* we find at one place—Indeed *Ashwamedha* is a decayed sacrifice; who knows whether it is fully performed or not? Hence to make up for the parts disused, the *Sanskriti* hymn was chanted. In regard to many practices, conflicting utterances are met with in the *Dharmasutras* and *Smṛiti-samhitās*. Thus *Baudhāyana* says—Sea-voyage is a reprehensible practice of the North and that of the South is the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter—current, no doubt, in those parts but elsewhere condemned. *Āpastamba* after laying down provisions for levirate remarks—Breach of the sacred law and violence are noticeable among the ancient sages but they incurred no sin owing to their superior lustre. A man of these days imitating them falls into sin. *Manu* says that in the nuptial rites the remarriage of widows is nowhere referred to. The *mantras* relating to the taking of the bride's hand apply only to virgins. *Yājñavalkya* says—Espousal of a wife from the Sudra caste by the twice-born has not my approval. In these texts is sounded a note of general censure and the idea that these are to be eschewed, particularly in the *Kali* age, though faintly hinted at here and there, is not explicit. According to Mr. Jayaswal *Sumati Bhārgava* the redactor of the current metrical



code of Manu flourished two centuries before Christ during the ascendancy of the Sungas. *Yājñavalkya* followed him a century and a half or two centuries later. A definite conception of the *Kali* age shows itself first in Manu. In the *Mahābhārata* and the later *Purāna* literature it is said in many places that in this age *svādhyāya* or daily recitation of the Vedas and Vedic rites will by degrees be discarded. The *Samhitās* of Kātyāyana and Parāshara are generally regarded as having been composed in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era. A comparison of the two proves that the controversy with regard to widow-remarriage was going on in that age. Most of the later *Smṛiti-samhitās* were composed in the period from the 4th to the 10th century. It is on the authority of the texts of the *Samhitās* of this period that many of the archaic usages are forbidden by the subsequent digest-writers. These texts not being cited in the *Asahāya Bhāṣya* (circ. 750 A.C.) of Nārada *Samhitā* and Visvarūpa's commentary (circ. 800-825) on *Yājñavalkya* should be considered as posterior to them. Ādityasena of the 7th century is well known in history as the last performer of *Asvamedha*. But the *Rājasthāna* says that Jaychānd of Kanauj also performed it. Jaychānd was defeated and slain by Mahammad Ghorī at Tarain in 1194. *Asvamedha* is for the first time prohibited along with six other practices by a text purporting to be cited from the *Brahmapurāṇa* in Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*. And a text of Shaunaka cited in the same commentary places the ban on subsidiary sons, *i.e.*, those other than the adopted and the legitimate. The long list of *Kali* prohibitions appears for the first time in the *Smṛityarthasāra* of Srīdhara composed at the end of the 12th century. And there these prohibitions are declared as based on *samāya* or convention. After some additions that accrued in the Southern digest *Smṛiti-Chandrikā* the list came to be finally complete in the *Chaturvarga-Chintāmani* of Hemadri compiled about 1260-70. Extracts from this list have been cited as texts of the *Purāṇas* by later digest-writers. It may hence be inferred that towards the end of the 12th century the leaders of the Hindu society met and consulted together and arrived at certain decisions. At about this date the Indian Ocean came to be infested by Arab pirates. Communications by sea with the outlying parts of Greater India were beset with dangers. With the Gaul knocking at the gate, ties of kinship with the outer world had naturally to be wound up. The total ban on sea-voyage and on social intercourse with sea-goers, even after expiation, was

the outcome of these conditions. *Pilgrimages to distant places* were prohibited. Self-preservation became the engrossing thought of the society. The prohibitions in the *Kali* age, surveyed as a whole, suggest this condition of the Hindu society.

The present discussion elicits also another truth about social evolution—*viz.*, that nothing becomes altogether a thing of the past in human history. The saying of the Upanishads, 'what exists can never be non-existent,' applies here also. At any rate the Hindu society has never advanced by totally discarding the past. Resting on one foot and moving with the other—this has been the law of its gradual evolution. Hence is it that though *agnihotra* was prohibited towards the end of the 12th century it is still kept alive under the sanction of other texts. Thus though Vyāsa cited in the *Smṛiti Chandrikā* has the text : "When 4,400 years of the *Kali* era shall have elapsed, a learned Brahmin shall not observe *agnihotra* or the tending of the threefold sacred fire and the life of the recluse," this was later qualified by a text of Devala to the effect that "so long as the system of four castes and the authority of the Vedas prevailed, both *Sannyasa* and *Agnihotra* should be practised in the *Kali* age." Making no provision for the morrow may seem to be an unreal fancy in these days. But we still find among the sects of *sādhus* that gather at sacred places that with the offerings of food that they get from their devotees they hold *bhāṇḍārās* and exhaust them in the course of the day by feeding all that approach them. And they take no thought for the morrow. Again, even to-day when the bridegroom steps within the courtyard before the marriage, the barber cries out, "The cow, the cow." It is said that the Path for the Last Journey in the Himālayas, closed to ordinary people, is still opened to some wayfarers after a severe test. Distress-occupations though prohibited are adopted and pursued by the greater part of the Brahmin community as normal, legitimate means of livelihood. Such instances may be easily multiplied.

An examination of these prohibited practices reveals to us how the Hindu social genius, ethical self or *ethos* has worked during the last millennium. In the first stage or the primitive ages, practices and institutions of all sorts are met with in every society. But in course of time owing to the strengthening of higher ideas of purity, both of the body and the mind, the emergence of sentiments of social prestige and respectability, and finer perception of cleanliness and morality,

and the growing complexity of social life, attempts at restraint and control appear. Hence the *total prohibition of surā* (spirituous liquor) even in the case of those to whom it had been formerly permitted (*Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas*), of admission into society of *ravished women* (for whom light penances had been prescribed by Devala) or of *men corrupted with low-caste women* or *guilty of the most heinous sins* (*mahāpātakas* other than theft of gold). The relaxation of the older stringent provisions as to *association with sinners* and the *abandonment of a corrupt mother* proves that rigidity of the social etiquette was not the sole aim of the *Kali* prohibitions which were determined both by the recognition of actualities and the refinement of sentiment. We also realise from this investigation how an ancient society attacked and hemmed in by foes from without resorts to the peculiar mode of life of the tortoise, how it preserves itself by drawing in all its limbs under the hard outer shell. But above all it furnishes proof of social self-determination and autonomy. In the remote past, in the age of the *Kalpasutras*, Āpastamba laid down the aphorism: "The criterion of pious conduct is twofold—convention or compact made by those learned in the sacred law and the Vedas." But the convention of the wise came to be an instrument almost forgotten in later times and the expositors of the *Smritis* in these days express themselves with the utmost caution on the employment of this instrument of social change and adjustment. Every living community adapts itself to changing conditions and the power to do so is a sign of life. The *Kalivarjya* dispensation is the last instance of such self-adjustment in Hindu social history.

In the judgments and precedents of British Courts of Law, these prohibitions have been presumed to be inviolable and literally obeyed by the Hindu community. Such a view is neither just nor well-founded, as is shown by the foregoing discussion. Marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been condemned by almost all the digest-writers of the North and the South for many, many centuries. And yet among the Nāmbudris—Brahmins of the highest rank who trace the great Sankaracharya in their line—this usage still prevails. In many Brahmin families of Madras and also in Rajput families permanently settled in Chota Nagpur and Bengal, it still obtains. Sons other than the legitimate and the adopted have been prohibited and yet the *pālaka-putra* or foster-son and the son of a Sudra by his female slave or concubine are not excluded from inheritance. The *kritrima* or

artificial son is still acknowledged in Madras, the Punjab and in Mithilā (Durbhanga) and the outlying parts. All these clearly show that in the days of Jones, Colebrooke and Wilson, when the sources of the Hindu law were made available through translations to the judges in British Courts, an adequate and close study of this subject was not made. These prohibitive texts were taken to be inviolable in accordance with the idea then prevalent in the Pandit community—which, though in the nature of a rough and uncritical generalisation, was accepted as correct. Later on by means of legislative acts some of the prohibitions have been over-ridden—witness the Acts for the Remarriage of Widows, the Civil Marriage Act amended in 1923 and 1928, the Caste Disabilities Removal Act. But in regard to others, their inviolability has been upheld in legal decisions and precedents.

As to the authority of the *Kali* prohibitions, the difficulty which confronts one at the very outset has not been properly discussed—that is, how practices the sources of which are laid in the Vedas can be later abrogated by the texts of the *Smritis*, by the conventions of the pious or by the provisions of the *Purānas*. To avoid all such controversies the Privy Council in the well-known Ramnad Case of 1866 declared—Clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law.

Hindu Law has since then been largely influenced by this basic principle. Accepted usage is the best rule of conduct and the measure of righteousness: this is not merely a maxim of our sacred books but a profound sociological truth as well. But the *Kali* prohibitions afford the best proof that Hindu custom and usage have not been static and unchangeable through the ages.

The highest jurists of the present times have unreservedly admitted this proposition. Thus Sir Gooroodas Banerjee writes, "The Hindu Law is a body of rules intimately mixed up with religion and it was originally administered for the most part by private tribunals. The system was highly elastic, and had been gradually growing up by the assimilation of new usages and the modification of ancient text-law under the guise of interpretation, when its spontaneous growth was suddenly arrested by the administration of the country passing to the hands of the English, and a degree of rigidity was given to it which it never before possessed."—*Marriage and Stridhan*. This remark is fully borne out by the consideration of the *Kali* prohibitions.

Calcutta.

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IN MEMORIAM  
DR. GANESH PRASAD

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(1876-1935)

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Far better 'tis, to die  
the death that flashes gladness  
than alone, in frigid dignity  
to live on high.  
Better, in burning sacrifice,  
be thrown against the world  
to perish, than the sky  
to circle endlessly  
a barren stone.

The eminent Hardinge Professor who has passed away with such tragic suddenness may be said to have taken the sentiment expressed in the lines above, of an unknown poet, for his motto in life. A born mathematician he lived the life of reason, poring over deep problems of pure mathematics. The Queen of Sciences is not easy of access to all and sundry, but to her devotee she is a benign sovereign. Dr. Ganesh Prasad was one of her finished courtiers. I recall a summer evening some thirty-four years back when a Cambridge mathematician asked me, in his rooms at Emmanuel College, whether I knew Dr. Prasad. The late Mr. Knapman (this mathematician was no other), the second wrangler of that year, a fellow student of Dr. Prasad, said repeatedly, "Dr. Prasad is a very clever man." (It may be noticed, in passing, that a Cambridge man is seldom lavish in praise of his competitors). Dr. Prasad always impressed his teachers and fellow students with his unique capacity for penetrating into the core of abstruse mathematical problems. It was on the recommendation of one of his teachers—the late Professor Hobson—that the Government of India stipend for studying mathematics abroad was extended to an additional year thus enabling Dr. Prasad to complete his studies in Germany. At Cambridge he read with the leaders of both branches of mathematics—pure and applied—Forsyth, Hobson, Baker and Mathews were his teachers on the pure side; Stokes, Larmor, Darwin and Thomson on the applied side. He was a finished product of Cambridge school (for in India, too, his teacher was a famous Cambridge man—Homersham Cox) when he left for Germany to study under Felix Klein, David Hilbert, A. Sommerfeld and a group of younger Göttingen mathematicians who, guided by Klein, were extending the domain of the Theory of Functions. Dr. Prasad took to this branch kindly as being most suited to his analytical bent of mind. At Göttingen his fame as a critical analyst soon became general. Klein himself wrote to him praising his extremely valuable contributions to the study of Fourier Series. Dr. Prasad, according to Klein, was the first mathematician to tackle the problem of heat-conduction as befits a consummate mathematician—for Nature has laid many a trap for the unwary and was it not the great Fourier himself who was caught napping at times? Dr. Prasad had the happy gift of picking up the essential part of a problem and never lost

sight of the wood for the trees. His range in pure mathematics was extensive, for although he devoted the latter part of his life to questions of asymptotic series and summation theorems, he never lost touch with the general questions of Integral Calculus and Differential Equations proper. This is not a place to give a technical account of his critical works but it may be generally laid down that he probed every mathematical problem he took up to its deepest depth. As an instance may be mentioned his mammoth paper (unfinished alas!) of about one hundred foolscap sheets dealing with expansions of arbitrary functions in infinite zeros. But perhaps I am "talking too much shop" and must stop.

As a man he lived the life of an Indian sage. His was a life given to pursuit of knowledge and knowledge alone. Truth in her ethereal beauty claimed him for her own. And this anchorite of true culture proved the value of plain living and high thinking in the only possible way—by practice. In him Calcutta University has lost a great teacher, the mathematicians a consulting brain, and the world a sturdy enthusiast for truth. But our only consolation is that he can justly say with Horace:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius  
regalique situ pyramidum altius  
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens  
possit diruere aut innumerabilis  
annorum series et fuga temporum.

S. C. BAGCHI,

# THE GREAT DESIGN IN THE UNIVERSE AROUND US \*

DR. SIR UPENDRANATH BRAHMACHARI, KT.,

M.A., M.D., PH.D., F.A.S.B., F.S.M.F.

This institution is dedicated to the sacred memory of one whose devotion to duty and nobility of character endeared him to all who knew him and who still lives as the inspiring genius to guide us.

His vast learning, his deep knowledge of the science, of law, his sense of justice, his integrity, his purity of character and loftiness of mind, his piety, his love for the religion of his ancestors coupled with catholicity and liberal ideas, his life of meditation and action, of sage-like austerity, his sense of duty and fearlessness in fighting for what he thought was right, were proverbial. He, I have no doubt, saw the *Great Design in the Universe around us* much better than I do, and mine is but a feeble attempt to deal with this vast topic which is the subject of my discourse.

If on a fine moonless autumnal night when the sky is free from clouds we gaze heavenwards, the magnitude and brilliance of the countless stars fill our mind with awe and reverence. Increasing our field of vision with the help of Galileo's telescope of the 17th century to the most recent one with a 100-inch reflector, we find that at each step of advance in the telescope, more and more of the brilliant diamonds of the spacious firmament on high come into view, till we begin to dream of eternity and feel that this little earth of ours is a negligible speck of ash.

When the astronomer takes us in the depths of space in the Milky Way and beyond, we see that the clusters of stars bounded by the former are like cities, as Sir James Jeans calls them, each with its own system of lights. There are nebulae either regular or very nearly so in shape, or they are completely irregular, forming by far the most impressive objects ever seen with the telescope. The latter generally look rather like drifting masses of smoke such as one sees when a jungle is on fire. They are like clouds of dust and luminous gas stretching from star to star within the confines of the Milky Way, and forming light and dark patches against the sky, similar to those formed by the smoke and flame of an ordinary fire. The former are the distant cities of stars beyond the Milky Way. They are so far away from us that they look singularly ineffective, even when viewed through a powerful telescope, and their faint light makes a very little impression on our eyes.

The astronomer teaches us that the remote spiral nebulae are, to all appearances, rushing away from the earth and presumably also from one another, at a terrific speed, which becomes greater and greater the further they recede into space. The last such nebula, investigated at Mount Wilson, one of the most distant, was found to be receding at a terrific speed of 15,000 miles a second.

A hundred years ago astronomy was mainly concerned with the sun, the planets and the moon, constituting a small colony and described as the sun's family. To-day astronomy is studying in detail the other stars and their colonies, the aggregate of which constitutes what has been named the Galatic System, whose rim is the Milky Way. This System is only one member of the system of star-cities in space. Nobody can say whether

\* An Address delivered at the Sir Gooroodas Institute, Narkeldanga, Calcutta on Sunday, the 24th February.

we shall find in future that the above system of star-cities only forms one unit in a still vaster assembly, or

Are there distant worlds and suns  
From whence no travelling ray  
Hath yet to us through ages past  
Had time to make its way !

We do not know what the telescope with a two-hundred-inch reflector that is in the making, may reveal, as it is likely to multiply sixteen-fold what one can see in the universe. We have, however, made enough progress in reading and interpreting the messages emanating from the stars to recognise that for all its gigantic dimensions, all the bewildering complexities of its structure and motions, all the endless variety of its contents, the universe, so far as it has come within our range of observation, is an organic whole, exhibiting an underlying structural unity, built up throughout more or less of the same elements and governed by the same great laws.

That man has been able to reach these great generalizations and through them to attain the power of predicting of occurrences in the universe, is a proof of order and rationality, of thought and more than thought within it, and is the expression of an infinite spirit pervading through space and time.

And now I pass on to tell you a few words about what modern physics teaches us, and I hope you will pardon me if I say only the little that I know.

Modern physics gives us detailed information of the constitution of the atoms which, the chemists one day thought, represented the ultimate indivisible particles of matter. We now know that an atom consists of a single nucleus and a number of electrons. The nucleus is charged with positive electricity and occupies the centre of the atom, while the electrons are charged with negative electricity and are in some way arranged around the central nucleus. The electrons of all atoms are similar to one another. But atoms of different elements have different units of positive charge in their nucleus and they contain different numbers of electrons, whose distribution is responsible for the majority of the physical and chemical properties of the elements.

The nucleus itself is a composite structure, which can be broken up in various ways. Certain atoms, particularly those of the highest atomic numbers, are described as radio-active, which means that their nuclei spontaneously disintegrate and eject particles and radiations. These particles are of two kinds  $\alpha$  (alpha) particles, which are identical with the nuclei of helium atoms ; and  $\beta$  (beta) particles, which are simply ordinary electrons. Apart from this spontaneous disintegration, the nuclei of most atoms can be broken up by subjecting them to a vigorous bombardment by rapidly moving particles. Still, further types of particles now appear. The commonest is the proton, which is found to be identical with the nucleus of the normal hydrogen atom, and so carries a charge equal to that of the electron but of opposite sign. Quite recently a new type of particle has been discovered—the neutron, which has approximately the same mass as the proton, but carries no electric charge at all. And when atoms are exposed to an even more intense bombardment, as by cosmic radiation, the most shattering type of bombardment known, another constituent appears. This is known as the positive electron or positron ; it carries the same positive charges as the proton and its mass is equal to that of the electron.



There is some evidence to indicate that cosmic radiation and hard  $\gamma$ -radiation can under certain circumstances be transformed into a positron and an electron, thus giving rise to a transformation of radiation into matter. It has been suggested that cosmic radiation may be responsible for the biological variations observed in evolution and turning fish into birds or apes into men.

I shall not detain you any further on the constitution of the elements. Every day is revealing new facts about it. I would only ask, does not the beautiful structure of the atom reveal the existence of a perfect mechanic behind it?

And now I come to another universe, that of living matter.

When we look through the simplest to the most recent of microscopes, such as Bernard's ultra-microscope, we begin to feel the wonders of life and living matter and to doubt whether this tiny earth of ours is so insignificant as to be considered negligible. The bacteriologist tells us that in 24 hours he can grow millions and millions of bacilli or that a single cholera bacillus may in one day produce a progeny of 50 million billions of bacilli. A star fish may produce two hundred millions of eggs in a year and flat worms may be kept stationary, or made to pass through nearly a score of generations.

I shall not enter here into the details of the physico-chemical mechanism of a living protein particle. Sir Gowland Hopkins in a recent address has pointed out that a living unit is equipped with catalysts, without which it would be converted into a static system. To claim that a description of its active chemical aspects must contribute to any adequate description of life is not to imply that a living organism is no more than a physico-chemical system. It only implies that at a definite and recognisable level of its dynamic organisation, an organism can be logically described in physico-chemical terms alone. At such level, indeed, we may hope ultimately to arrive at a description which is complete in itself, just as descriptions at the morphological level of organisation may be complete in themselves. But there may be yet higher levels calling for discussion in quite different terms and, as Sir Gowland states, there are other and higher levels of organisation where it is by no means certain that physico-chemical concepts will suffice for explaining all the phenomena of life.

When we consider the hormones, the enzymes, the auxines, the vitamins which all play important parts in the maintenance of life, we are met with most remarkable biochemical and biophysical problems which are beyond the limits of my thesis.

When we consider the effect of the infinitesimals upon living cells or the chemical mechanism of nerve action as has been recently demonstrated by Dale and others, when we consider many other remarkable facts that are being unfolded in biochemistry in recent times, we begin to wonder more and more at the mysteries of living matter and we feel that we have as yet an almost endless field to travel before we can reach the fringe of the solution of the problem of life.

But we see definite and well-regulated order is the keynote in biology. Let us assume that at some very distant bygone age life originated in the primordial matter somewhere in one of the great oceans of the earth and then passed through some of the various forms of life, such as, autotrophic bacteria or the purple bacteria or like the filter-passing virus or perhaps something of the nature of the bacteriophage, up to the highest evolution of living matter as in man. Let us try to fill up some of the various intermediate patterns of living bodies of more modern geological times which the palaeontologist may dig up from the earth's crust. We are inevitably

confronted with the oneness of life which can be explained as the work of a great Designer allowing the various patterns to form through the process of evolution.

From what the modern sciences tell us we learn that throughout the whole of the animal world there are expressions of something akin to our own mind. A stream of inner and subjective life runs from the amœba upwards. It includes feeling, imagining, purposing, as well as occasionally thinking and loving. We seem to detect shrinking and appetite even in the microscopic amœba, and Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, by a system of exquisitely sensitive electrical apparatus, has shown how even plants appear to be elated or depressed by the application of favourable or unfavourable substances, how they seem to shudder at this or writhe at that in a fashion suggestive of feeling.

The system of animate nature is instinct with mind, and it is this system which led to man, the measurer, in whose mirror it becomes ever more intelligible. We are led from our own mind, back and back to the Supreme Mind "without whom there was nothing made that was made."

The mechanism in plants and animals are indicative of design in nature. Their contrivance was made by a designer and artificer. Harmony and design exist all throughout the universe, be it animate or inanimate. Radiation, cosmic rays, protons, electrons, atoms, molecules, the largest stars in the universe, the algæ, the amœba, man or superman that may come to this earth or some other world, have been or will be evolved out of designs of the great Architect, who is a perfect mathematician, a perfect mechanic and has a perfect mind and whose increasing purpose runs through the ages. That spirit has made the laws of motion, the laws of relativity and the laws of evolution, the laws of chemistry, and others that will come to be known in the future. The more we know them and the more we study them, the more we conclude that this all-pervading intelligence governs the universe. His is an eternal mind pervading all space and time, of which ours are minute sparks and our bodies, their receptors. We cannot say how and when he came into existence, just as one cannot say how space, time and matter originated.

Now gentlemen, I come to tell you a few words about what has been termed the philosophy of science. Sir James Jeans has recently expressed his views about the limitations of theoretical physics. He tells us, in a survey of the recent advances of physics during the last 50 years, theoretical physics looks like a building gradually demolished by a series of earthquake shocks.

A time was, when a physicist of the last century would have been hardly suspected that he had yet effected the separation of physics from metaphysics. It was left for twentieth century physics, under the lead of Einstein, Bohr and Heisenberg, to discover how large a subjective tinge entered into the former's description of nature. Jeans tells us the story of the particle-picture and the wave-picture, the former for the materialist and the latter for the determinist. He tells us that when we view ourselves in space and time we are quite obviously distinct individuals, but when we pass beyond space and time we may form ingredients of a continuous stream of life.

Before I end my speech, may I say a few words about Man, whose mind is the most unique work of creation.

Some scientists have expressed the view that the appearance of man in the world is an accident, and Richet has spoken of his impotency and idiocy. These views are incorrect. He is not like the mites and midges on a cross-grown star, frail ephemerides that breed and crawl among the middens of this festering ball.

He is the finest product of the great Architect even when compared with the loveliest, the brightest and the most glorious of the stars and nebulae.

He has discovered television, wireless and aviation. He has been unfolding the mysteries of the expanding universe, and of the atom. He discovers the laws of motion, of relativity and of evolution. He, with his telescope and spectrograph, unfolds the constitution of the stars and the nebulae, millions and millions of miles away from the earth. He calculates their weight and temperature. He tells their ages. Though he is unable to find out when and how primordial life came into existence, yet he tells the story of the oldest man who existed in the earth, a million years ago, and gives the history of his evolution. He tells the story of Adam's ancestors. He digs up the bones of the oldest animal and tells his age. He determines the days of the oldest fossilized tree.

He discovers the minutest micro organisms of disease and the defensive mechanism against their attacks. He studies the specific carbohydrates and proteins. By means of his ultra-violet ultra-microscope, he studies the structure of the viruses and the bacteriophage. By means of his micro-manipulator he dissects the micro-organisms and studies their characters. By means of the oscillograph he records the electric changes of the brain cortex of conscious man in various cerebral states. He discovers the chromosomes and tries to find out the cells that are responsible for Mendelism. He studies the endocrine glands, or as some authors like to call them, the glands of destiny, and tries to synthesize their increretions. He may one day show that genius, intelligence, beauty, character, morality, modesty and other human characteristics are dependent upon diverse combinations of these substances, just as he has found that their deficiency or excess may give rise to disease. He may one day be able to say how the polypeptides of the protein particle of one man differs from that of another or of the bird or beast. He may one day be able to influence the sex of the embryo at his will.

He tells us the story of the constitution of the atoms, of the cosmic rays, of the wave-parable and the particle-parable. He may, one day, be able to determine the mathematics of the atom by means of his calculator.

His intellect will one day enable him to convert base metal into gold or record his thoughts and those of others on a sensitive plate. He may one day reveal the mysteries of life of which his own is composed and then may solve how life came into existence in this earth. He may one day make various patterns of aggregates of living protein molecules.

Though, Ponce de Leon might have been searching for the impossible and unattainable when he sought the fountain of eternal youth, yet, as I once said, a time may come when, thanks to the advancement of science, man will conquer old age and avert the terrible accident of death from disease. He will then evolve into a superman, unless it be argued that in the dim distant ages to come, man may be reduced to a degenerate creature after a million years, when the inevitable course of events will have reduced the earth's temperature by 23°C. It may be that a superman still may grow in this earth of ours under conditions which may become compatible with the life of the distant future.

The astrophysicist has been endeavouring to find living matter or living beings like man in the universe in other worlds than ours. Many have said that the so-called canals in Mars are not the works of intelligent beings as was once imagined but are mainly subjective illusions and the present-day idea is that there is no definite evidence of life, at least of

conscious life, in Mars or indeed anywhere else in the universe. If that be the case, then living matter and still more living man must be very rare in the universe and so very difficult to construct that he becomes still more remarkable in the whole of creation.

I say that man's existence and his intellect cannot be purposeless or accidental or a sign of disease. The evolution of his body and mind is the consummation of the highest work of the Almighty up to the present day. Though he is small when compared with other things that exist in this earth and very small when compared with the millions of worlds like ours, yet he is the most remarkable object that this world has ever seen, through millions of years of its existence. A mind that can traverse with infinite velocity through space and time must be a part of the Great Intellect that has created it.

Gentlemen, our ancestors hardly knew what the latest improvements of the microscope and of the telescope would lead to, as they have done to-day. The discoveries in medicine and its ancillary sciences during the last 50 years are phenomenal. Who knows what the future after one thousand or ten thousand years hence will reveal, with the help of more sensitive instruments or other new methods that are beyond the limits of our imagination. But whatever that may be it will no doubt be in the direction of the discovery of many more wonderful things of the handiwork of God, much more mysterious, much more beautiful and much more lovely than any known to-day.

Gentlemen, if one studies the story of evolution of man, one finds that his intellect is growing out of proportion to his body. The caveman was perhaps stronger in bodily strength than the strongest man of to-day. Though man may eventually conquer disease and death, is it possible that in the process of evolution, his mind and intellect will grow more and more and his body become smaller and smaller? Finally in the dim distant æons to come, man will perhaps merge into the eternal mind just as the disintegrated atoms merge into waves. But till then, I conceive slowly and slowly physical warfare will give place to warfare of intellect while love and beauty will be that of the mind and not of the body. There will be no jealousy, and superiority or inferiority complex will cease to exist. Slowly and slowly, till then, man will live not by the destruction of the lives of his neighbours and seizing their property, but by making every part of the world healthy, habitable and productive, as well as by proper control of the over-growth of population which is, to a great extent, responsible for many wars of the world. Economic depression and unemployment will then be reduced, thanks to the scientific development of newer industries, disease will cease to exist due to advances in medicine and hygiene, and men will spread over the world to live a life of health, happiness, contentment and ease, and there will be true fraternity all over the world.

I have made a digression and shall not speculate in this line any further. My theme is an endless one. Some of my ideas may be visionary. My incompetence and the shortness of the time at my disposal demand that I must stop and I end by saying that the waves, the atoms and the stars

In reason's ear all rejoice  
And utter forth a glorious voice  
For ever singing as they shine  
The hand that made us is divine.

## INDIAN ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITION AT CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

The All-India Exhibition of Indian Architectural Arts and Crafts which was opened at the Senate House, Calcutta University, in the middle of February last, by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, brought home to visitors what supreme excellence art and architecture had attained in India in pre-historic and historic ages. The entire history of Indian Architecture—beginning from the 3rd millennium B.C. down to the Mughal period, embracing a span of nearly 5,000 years—was graphically recorded, age by age, style by style, region by region, in the long vista of successive galleries.

Specimens of Indian town-planning and primitive architecture of the days of Mohen-jo-Daro as also the specimens of various types of monuments known during different epochs of Indian history from the earliest down to modern times in India itself and outside where Indian civilisation had travelled, were exhibited. They numbered over fifteen hundred and contained all possible varieties. Beautiful models of early Indian rock-cut caves and stupas were exhibited by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Deputy Director-General of Indian Archaeology. His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Archaeological Department occupied a large section which was controlled by Mr. K. Ahmed, M.A., LL.B., Curator of the Hyderabad Museum. The gallery was resplendent with the magic colours and spiritual grace of Ajanta, the rich treasures of Ellora and the inspiring ancient and modern mosques of Daulatabad, Golconda and Bidar. The Mediæval section contained representations and models of the architecture of Orissa, Khajuraho, Western and Southern India. A rich collection of photographs of antiquities sent by the Government of Gwalior and another set of Khiching monuments displayed by the Mayurbhanj State were striking. Mr. V. N. Tikoo of the Kashmir P. W. D. also sent architectural drawings of Pandrethan and several remarkable photos of ancient temples of Kashmir. The fine Art Seminar of Calcutta University supplied several large-sized drawings and pictures of Boro-Budur and Angkor. Representations of Ceylonese, Burmese and Tibetan art and architecture were primarily displayed by courtesy of the Mahabodhi Society and Dr. Nell, President of the Ceylon Archaeological Survey. Photographs of the magnificent architecture of Jaisalmer, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Chitor, Bikanir, and other parts of Rajputana and Northern India drew admiration from all eyes. The State of Jaisalmer exhibited a large number of big-sized drawings and photographs which were highly impressive. The Bengal room was furnished with large photographs of the temples of Mediæval Bengal and Assam.

In the Modern Section, there were sent by the Mysore and the Travancore School of Art and Craft some remarkable specimens of sculpture, painting, wood and ivory works. Special mention can be made of the great dancing *Saraswati*, carved out of black marble, by Silpa Siddanti Siddalinga Swamy, State Artist, Mysore. No less striking were the

specimens of the Buddhist fresco cartoons of the Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath, executed by the Japanese artist, Mr. K. Nasu.

From the numerous designs and photographs of merit and character sent by architects from Bombay, Rajputana, the Punjab, Kashmir, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Colombo, Bengal and elsewhere it was clear that present-day Indian architects and engineers are vieing with one another in trying to develop typically modern styles based on old traditions, yet consistent with modern requirements. The School of Indian Architecture, founded by Mr. Srischandra Chatterjee, General Secretary to the Exhibition, is making a valuable contribution trying as it is to tackle all problems connected with the evolution of modern Indian architecture. It has prepared designs and constructed structures in various styles, based on old Indian traditions and consistent with modern aims and purposes. It has made numerous specimens of terracotta, ornamental and carved bricks, panels, cement figures, statuettes, metal and wood works and carvings, models for fresco, furniture, and the like, which were all exhibited with a view to create interest in the modern architectural movement initiated by Mr. Chatterjee. The Ladies' Section with its charming Indian designs in embroidery, painting, carving, and fresco designs attracted much attention. Specimens of palaces and temples built in Indian style in recent years in Moscow, San Francisco, Tokio and Colombo were also exhibited. Among the private exhibitors, Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi, Mr. Ajit Ghose, Lady Pratima Mitter, Nawabzada A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mr. O. C. Ganguly, Sir Badridas Goenka, Seth Jugalkisore Birla and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji deserve special mention. His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares sent a large number of striking photographs illustrating the entire range of Benares ghats with all their artistic wealth and charm.

The Exhibition has been the first of its kind in India. Its cultural and educative value has been acknowledged by all. It has suggested an immense possibility for the development of all phases of Indian art and architecture even under the restricted opportunities of modern times. It has demonstrated that no fine art exhibition can be deemed complete unless it emphasises on architecture.

## Miscellany

[*Indian Influence in Chinese Culture (Taraknath Das)—The Library of Columbia University (Taraknath Das)—Is Academic Freedom going to disappear in Germany (An Advocate of Indo-German Cultural Co operation)*]

### INDIAN INFLUENCE IN CHINESE CULTURE

The *New York Times* of January 21, 1935, published the following interesting news-item :

*Lanchow, China, Jan. 20.*—In the shadow of a gigantic brass Buddha, excavators were hewing out to-day some historically important evidences of the beginnings of the Buddhist religion in Central Asia and possible connections with ancient Babylon. Hundreds of rolls of Buddhist classics, musty with the age of centuries, have been dug out from layers of wind-piled sands hiding the temples and courtyards of a monastery that flourished about 1,500 years ago. The classics, in Chinese and Sanskrit, make frequent references to the wonders and beauties of a far-off city believed to have been Babylon. In the same area archaeologists have found earthen ware strikingly similar to true Babylonian pottery.

Historians are particularly interested in finding out something about the Nestorians, the Christians who were active in Western China about the time the sands began to close about the monastery. The site of the discoveries is the district of Tung Huang, a once populous region now submerged in shifting sands blown by winds which create an eerie humming, a sound that is to the natives the sighing of the souls of Buddhist priests of old. A Taoist monk travelling over the waste in 1904 saw what appeared to be a brass table top. It was the crown of a brass Buddha 100 feet high, which was excavated. Later digging brought to light a series of caves with carven images, now known as the cave of the thousand Buddhas. The huge brass figure is related to the *Han dynasty of the early third century*. The monastery, not yet completely excavated, is said to compare in size with the famous Larbrang monastery of Tibet, one of the four largest in that region.

This news-item has a very great significance of cultural influence in China and Central India. It is to be hoped that Indian scholars of Buddhism will take special interest in reconstructing the cultural history of ancient India.

TARAKNATH DAS

### THE LIBRARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Thomas Carlyle once said that a University is a collection of good books. Undoubtedly without a good library a University cannot aid the cause of spread of learning and investigations—researches. For this reason all the great universities are anxious to increase the value of their libraries through collection of rare books and MSS. In this connection, the following news-item regarding the great library of Columbia University, New York, will be of some interest to the readers of the *Calcutta Review* :—

“ Columbia University acquired 37,779 volumes for its library during the last year and now has a total of more than 1,450,000 books, making it the third largest university library in the United States, Roger Howson, librarian of the university, said yesterday. Harvard and Yale have larger libraries.

The Columbia total, he explained, does not include about 1,000,000 pamphlets, reports and other items in the school of business and similar material in the school of engineering. The total recorded use of the Columbia libraries was 1,719,579 volumes during the year, Mr. Howson said. Among valuable additions to the library was a text-book, James Ferguson's "Lectures," published in London in 1764, which was used in the college by Philip Pell of the class of 1770. This was a gift from Howland Pell. Mr. Howson said the most important addition to the rare book department was a collection on photography and photo-mechanical processes of reproduction, presented by Edward A. Epstein. Mina Mason Van Sinderen gave Dr. William Mason's collection of autographs of musicians, besides one of George Washington and one of Schiller. Alfred A. Ellison presented fifty letters and documents dealing with American affairs in the eighteenth century. The library received 12,465 contributions from 122 officers of the university including 1,309 volumes from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler.

The Richard Worsam Meade collection, given by Mrs. Meade to the school of business library, will be of great value to students of motor transportation, according to Mr. Howson. The generosity of a number of Japanese was stressed by Mr. Howson as being responsible for the growth of the university's Japanese collection, of which Ryusaku Tsunoda is curator. The donors included Baron Iwasaki, Viscount Keizo, Shibuzawa and Professor Yukio Yashiro, director of the Institute of Art Research in Tokyo."

During recent years American Universities—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Chicago, and others—are taking universal interest in developing "Oriental Studies." Interest of "Oriental Studies" in German Universities in Sorbonne, in London as well as Rome is well known. Is it too much to expect that Calcutta University will take necessary steps to develop a school of Oriental Studies, which will have a very broad scope for promoting knowledge of oriental languages, and history including social and political institutions.

TARAKNATH DAS

#### IS ACADEMIC FREEDOM GOING TO DISAPPEAR IN GERMANY ?

Some 20 years ago I was a student in Berlin University and studied under such immortal as the late Edward Meyer the historian, one of the founders of the Deutsche Akademie. Here in the University of Berlin, I visualised the meaning of "academic freedom." I felt that the German Professors were free souls, who above all cared for "Truth and knowledge." In my imagination I compared them with the spirit of "Rishis" of ancient India. It seems that with the advent of National Socialist regime, academic freedom has been curtailed ; and on racial grounds many German professors of Jewish ancestry have been dismissed, from German Universities.

The *New York Times* of January 21, 1935, publishes the following news-item :

*Berlin, Jan. 20.*—The Minister of Education has forbidden all officials and teachers of German universities to attend the memorial service to Professor Fritz Haber, the famous chemist, that had been arranged by three leading German scientific institutions.

Professor Haber, whose invention of synthetic nitrate during the war prevented the early collapse of Germany, died in Switzerland last year after having resigned his academic posts as a protest against the Nazi anti-Jewish legislation.



Invitations to the memorial service on Jan. 29, the anniversary of his death, were issued jointly by the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for physical chemistry, the German Chemical Society and the German Society of Physics.

Last week, however, the rectors of all German universities received a circular from the Ministry of Education recalling that Professor Haber was "dismissed" in October, 1933, on account of his "inward attitude toward the German state of to-day." The circular described the conduct of the learned societies as "particularly challenging" to the National Socialist State since commemorations are accorded only in exceptional cases to "the greatest German of this day."

The organizers of the meeting are charged with additional provocation in having suggested that uniforms be worn at the memorial service.

I wish to pay my homage to the memory of late Professor Haber, who served his Fatherland more effectively than many "professional patriots" of the present-day Germany. I also extend my congratulations to the members of the learned society of Germany who have not lost the spirit of academic freedom and loyalty to the ideal of scholarship and scientific pursuit which does not know distinction of Race, Colour or Religion.

I have faith in the real greatness of German scientists and educators. I hope that their work will survive and overcome all forms of ignorant racial prejudice.

AN ADVOCATE OF INDO-GERMAN CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**The Cambridge Shorter History of India:** by J. Allan, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, Sir T. Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, H. H. Dodwell, M.A., Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia, the University of London. Edited by H. H. Dodwell, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1934, pp. 970. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

The Publishers and the Editor rightly recognised that no single scholar can successfully attempt to write the history of India as a whole. The happy days when an Elphinstone or a Vincent A. Smith could survey the history of this vast sub-continent and its complex religious thought and culture from the advent of the Aryans to the consolidation of the British power are gone for ever. The last twenty-five years witnessed a remarkable progress in Indian historical scholarship and it is quite in the fitness of things that an attempt should be made to compile in a handy volume the results of the latest investigations.

*The Cambridge Shorter History of India* was expected to supersede all previous publications of its class. The joint authors are all scholars of eminence. Mr. Allan is a numismatist of ability and experience. Sir Wolseley Haig is a recognised authority on South Indian Muslim History, and Prof. Dodwell's original contributions to the British period of Indian history are solid and important. It was fondly hoped that the wide learning and reputation of the authors would make this book indispensable to all students of Indian History. We regret to confess our disappointment. The work is ill conceived, ill edited and inaccurate. It is marred by unnecessary repetition and Mr. Allan and Sir Wolseley Haig's treatment of the minor Hindu and Muslim dynasties has made confusion worse confounded. Nearly half the available space has been devoted to the British period. But fateful as the last two centuries have undoubtedly proved it will be futile to assert that they outweigh the preceding two thousand years in importance. We learn from these pages nothing about the cultural achievements of the Hindus and the Muslims who shaped the history of India before the advent of the western people. The authors throw no light on the material progress of India under Hindu and Muslim guidance, we read nothing about the economic condition and the daily life of the dumb millions who tilled the fields and peopled the rural area of India from time immemorial. Even the glorious works of the Indo-Muslim architects, sculptors and painters receive little or no notice. We find in this volume a bare narrative of dynastic history, political intrigues and sanguine wars and even a tyro would not suggest that the Hindu and Muslim rulers of India had nothing else to their credit.

If the sins of omission are great the sins of commission are greater still. It could be reasonably expected that such well-known writers would be careful about their facts for the sake of their own reputation if not for anything else. But unhappily they took to their task too lightly and serious inaccuracies have crept into this ill-balanced work. It is not for the reviewer to compile an exhaustive list of all the errors and inaccuracies, for

the book needs careful and thorough revision. We believe it will suffice if we present the readers with a few characteristic samples. The diacritical marks are mostly misapplied. Āgra for Āgrā, Gāya for Gayā, Bāji Rāo for Bājī Rāo, Sīvājī for Śīvājī, Rāmnaṛāyn for Rāmnaṛāyan are a few examples cited at random. We are surprised to read of "Amarakosa, the lexicographer" (p. 99) and though the date of *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya must still remain a subject of controversy, it has been confidently attributed to the Gupta period. We should like to learn where Sir Wolseley found that Raziyya was responsible for promoting Yakut the African to the important office of master of the horse (p. 213). From the writings of Minhaj, the contemporary historian, it appears that Yakut already occupied that position when Raziyya was promoted to the throne. Sir Wolseley Haig seems to share the common error that Bir Narayan, son of Durgavati, was the Raja of Gondwana (p. 346). In reality there were four Goud principalities and not one, Bir Narayan was Raja of Garah, the remaining three being Chanda, Devgarh and Kherla. Sir Wolseley should have surmised that Mamtaj could not be the daughter of Asaf Khan and his sister Nurjehan at the same time (pp. 386 and 399). He goes on to tell us that at "Pāndharpur" Jai Singh concluded a convention with Sīvājī (p. 437). This is original indeed, for so long students of Maratha History have been labouring under the delusion that the treaty or convention was concluded at Purandar. Sir Wolseley would have done well to place the evidence on which this discovery is based before the scholarly public. Part III of the volume under review, comes from the pen of Prof. Dodwell and is undoubtedly very interesting reading. But Prof. Dodwell frequently stoops to special pleading. It is too late to assert that "The story of the Cartridges that precipitated the general unrest into open mutiny is probably a fable with the slenderest possible foundation in fact" (p. 738). Prof. Dodwell is of opinion that full freedom of the press should not have been conceded until 1919 (p. 867) and to illustrate its abuses he cites the multitude of leading articles in the Indian newspapers on the Ilbert Bill without any reference to the cry of "British Women in Danger" raised by those of his countrymen who disliked that measure. It is needless to discuss the Professor's views on current politics, they are uniformly adverse to Indian aspirations but one passage with reference to the war services of India will bear quotation. "Something of this must be ascribed to the unbalanced praise and strong exaggeration of the part which India had played. English newspapers and politicians alike wrote and spoke as though India had saved the empire, and as though her effort, great as it was, had been really comparable with the efforts of the allied states, involved in as desperate a struggle as any that stands upon record." Indians may very well retort that the unbalanced praise was unanimously given when Britain stood in need of India's co-operation and the Professor has come with his cautious estimate and balanced judgment only when India's claim to self-government is being seriously questioned by a section of British politicians. The effect of such language will always be unfortunate and tend to increase the bitterness that marks Anglo-Indian relations to-day.

If we are to judge by this much advertised volume, the standard of British scholarship in Indian History has of late considerably deteriorated and the time has arrived when Indian scholars must come forward to enlighten the civilised world about the past achievements and the present problems of India.

**The First Two Nawabs of Oudh**, by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., PH.D., with a foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, KT., M.A., C.I.E., Lucknow, the Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., pp. 301 + vi + vi.

This little volume is of strictly parochial interest. The curious reader will find in these pages many interesting anecdotes of Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang and minute details of their military and political career, but on the wider history of India the author throws no new light. We are frankly unable to comprehend his meaning when he says, "Emperor Aurangzib proved in fact the best friend of the Marathas whom he expelled from their barren home in the south only to found a greater Maharashtra in the north on the ruins of his empire." The Emperor undoubtedly attempted the subjugation of the Maratha land but it is certainly a new information to the great majority of Indians that he effected a wholesale expulsion of the Marathas from their native province. Nor did we find the term *Hindu pad Padshahi*, which formed the rallying cry of Baji Rao I, ever associated with the great Shivaji who dreamt of Hindu Swarajya and Maharashtra Padshahi. Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang were hardly the heroes to inspire sober students of history with enthusiasm. But our author is often tempted to overestimate their achievements and ability even at the expense of consistency. Yet we cannot wholly blame him. He placed himself under the guidance of Sir Jadunath "the greatest authority on the history of India" and had his manuscript revised by that famous scholar. We only wish that Sir Jadunath had pointed out the inconsistency of dilating upon the soldierly qualities of Saadat Khan after faithfully recounting all his military failures. The author begins with the statement that Saadat Khan was in normal circumstances loyal and grateful to his patrons and employers and ends by referring to his treachery to Husain Ali Khan and Muhammad Shah. His gratitude lasted only so long as it served his need and suited his interest, and we are afraid none but a blind admirer would make much of it. We are unable to agree with Dr. Srivastava that Nadir Shah would have to return from Karnal had Saadat Khan been appointed Mir Bakhshi. As a military leader the ruler of Oudh was no match for the Nizam, and he was certainly not the person to beat the dreaded Persian invader in a pitched battle. Sir Jadunath himself exaggerates the bravery of Saadat Khan and makes much of his victory over "Baji Rao's Maratha raiders." Immediately after that victory Delhi was completely at the mercy of the Maratha general. Unfortunately at the present moment there is a widespread belief among Indian students that everything written in Persian forms the original source of Indo Muslim history. Sir Jadunath refers in the foreword to the "fountain-head of original Persian annals and letters." Persian annals certainly cannot be placed in the same category with contemporary correspondence and records, and sooner this heresy is abandoned the better for the progress of historical studies in this country. To cite only one illustration, Dr. Srivastava asserts on the uncorroborated testimony of *Husain Shahi* that Ahmad Shah Durrani was born at Multan although this work is admittedly defective and full of half-truths and mis-statements. This is quite in keeping with Sir Jadunath's scientific method which finds no inconsistency in condemning an annal in one place and utilising its uncorroborated evidence at another.

We might conclude here, had the volume under review been an ordinary publication, but it is a Doctorate dissertation, and we may reasonably enquire whether it is fair for an outsider to serve on the board of examiners after supervising the work of the candidate? In some British Universities

supervisors are ex-officio members of the board of examiners, in others they are scrupulously excluded from that body. We should like to hear from an academic purist of Sir Jadunath's fame and experience whether any University provides for the appointment, as an external examiner, of a person who has actually supervised the work of the examinee. We should also like to learn whether the style and method of expression ought to be taken into consideration in awarding the highest Degree in the gift of a University. For, the volume under review abounds in grammatical errors and faulty expression. The author is apparently unaware of the difference between "personality" and "person" (p. 251). "An steadfast allay" (p. 248) would shock even a school-boy of immature years. Dr. Srivastava seems to suffer from an abnormal liking for certain favourite expressions—"wedded to women and wine," "wedded to a life of pleasure" and "wedded to a life of incessant military activity," follow in rapid succession. Some of the errors, however, must be attributed to the printer's devil.

AJAX

**The Genesis and Growth of English : a Philological Sketch for Indian Students :** by J. S. Armour, M.A., Indian Educational Service. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 190, limp cloth, price Rs. 2-12 as.

There is room for a really good book on English Linguistics for Indian Students, and one would be tempted to accord Mr. Armour's book a hearty welcome as the first attempt professedly made to fill this want. A little less than half the book (pages 1-71) is taken up with the history of Indo-European, dealt within nine out of the twenty chapters of the book. Mr. Armour has given a good discussion and a clear exposition of the following topics in these nine chapters—I. The Formal Language-types, II. Language Families, III. The Indo-European Family, IV. The Discovery of Indo-European, V. Later Research, VI. Language and Race, VII. First Appearance of the Indo-European Speakers, VIII. Characteristics of Indo-European and IX. Indo-European Dialects. Then come chapters on Germanic, on Old English and on the subsequent history of English. Mr. Armour is orthodox in more ways than one. In the first instance he is orthodox in having nothing to do with *Phonetics*; and *Phonetics* is the pivot of present-day Linguistics. He is quoting Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Gothic Old English and other words, but he ignores length-marks for vowels, ignores a proper transliteration; and what would be particularly necessary for Indian students, there is no indication as to the pronunciation of these foreign classical words. One would suspect that he regarded both vowel length and transliteration a nuisance, of which the details are to be avoided as far as possible. The book is printed in England, under the auspices of the Oxford University Press, too, and yet we have the objectionable and misleading 'a e' for 'æ' of Old English, and 'th' for the dental spirants, voiced and unvoiced, of Old English, Gothic and Germanic, which should be properly represented by the Old English letters *thorn* and *edh*. In spite of Mr. Armour's pains, and his admirable summary, it is doubtful if Indian students will find from him the light they need for the appreciation of the properly linguistic problems of Indo-European, Germanic and Old English. Unfortunately there is no reference to the Indian aspects of the Indo-European problems, no attention to the special requirements of Indian students. An exceedingly slipshod and happy-go-lucky thing about the book is its typography. We expected better performance from the Oxford University Press, accustomed as we are to the conspicuous typographic excellences of, say, Wright's books on the historical and

comparative grammars of Greek, Gothic, Old English, German, etc. The same type has been used for both the text and the examples from different languages, and this certainly does not make reading easy or pleasurable. Mistakes are abundant in the words and forms quoted from the various classical languages and from reconstructed speeches: picking more or less at random, we find, *e. g.*, at p. 80, Indo-European *petr*, Skt. *pacu*, *panj*; Greek *nepodes. podis*; p. 81, Indo-European *actau*, Sanskrit *kapal*, *loig*, Lithuanian *Szudis*, Greek *ekaton*; p. 82, Skt. *daca*, Gk. *odontem, podem, jugon*; p. 83, Persian *gandum* as cognate with English *corn*; Skt. *bhandh*; p. 84, Indo-European *gastiz*; etc. At p. 101, *palace* has been given as an Old English word. Further quotations need not be made: Indo-European and Germanic linguistics evidently is not a strong point with our author, as there are a number of inaccuracies in details. A thorough revision of the examples given is necessary. There is evidence that the proofs were carelessly seen. The actual history of English is rather perfunctorily treated. Have *hartal* and *harijan* as Indian loan-words in English obtained a place in English lexicons? Some of the 'Renaissance words' (?) (p. 172) are really Old English in origin.

S. K. C.

**Bulletins of the Madras Government Museum: New Series, General Section:**

(i) Vol. I, Part 3. Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples, with appendices on Jaina Units of Measurement and Time, Cosmology and Classification of Souls: by T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Government Museum, Madras: pp. 260, with 37 plates. Price Rs. 11 4 as.

(ii) Vol. III, Part I: The Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture recognised by the Silpa-śāstras, by F. H. Graveley, D.Sc. and T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., pp. 26, with 2 plates. Price Re. 1.

Students of Indology, particularly of Indian art and architecture will welcome these two volumes as they embody a noteworthy addition to our knowledge of these sides of Indian culture. The Madras Government Museum Bulletins have already obtained an honoured place among publications relating to Indian art and archaeology, with works like those by Messrs. Graveley and Ramachandran on the South Indian Bronzes and on the Goli sculptures.

(i) In the first of the two works noted above, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, etc., Mr. Ramachandran has given a detailed account of the temples at the place of that name, which is two miles from the city of Conjeeveram and formed the ancient *Jina-Kāñcī*, which side by side with *Viṣṇu-Kāñcī* and *Siva-Kāñcī* was a part of the ancient city of *Kāñcīpura*. The author first gives a short history of *Kāñcīpura* and of Jainism in South India, based primarily on epigraphical sources, and then describes the temples. These are two in number: one—the *Candraprabha* temple (in honour of the 8th *tirthāṅkara*) dating from the Pallava period (7th century A.D.), and the other, the *Vardhamāna* temple (in honour of the 24th *Tirthāṅkara*, known also as *Mahāvīra*) dating from the Cola period (9th-13th centuries) and continued down to the Vijayanagara period (15th century). The history of these temples is sufficiently clearly indicated in their architecture, which shows the contribution of many centuries. Plates I-V give architectural details of the temples. There are inscriptions in them dating from the time of the Cola kings, and these are given in the original and commented upon.

But the special importance of the work would appear to consist in its study of [the frescoes in the Vardhamāna temple giving

scenes from the life or legend of the Jaina *Tirthaṅkaras* *Rṣabhadeva* (or *Trailokyānātha*) (First *Tirthaṅkara*), *Vardhamāna* and *Neminātha* and of *Kṛṣṇa* (the popular hero of Brahmanism, incarnation of Viṣṇu, is the cousin of Neminātha, the 22nd Jaina *Tirthaṅkara*, according to Jaina mythology). These frescoes are illustrated in a fine set of plates (Nos. VI-XXX), forming an important mass of material for the history of painting in South India. We know so very little of the painting of Southern India that any fresh addition to our knowledge is welcome. South India has a tradition of painting which has been traced as far back as the Pallava period (7th century A.D.) which is the date of the well-known Sittannavāsāl frescoes. After that we have some paintings of the 11th century at Tirumalai in North Arcot District. When all our available materials for the early and late periods have been collected, we shall be able to form some idea of the various schools or groups, chronologically and regionally. The paintings of the Vardhamāna temple are late, dating from the 17th-18th centuries. The earlier paintings have a quality we see in Siamese and Cambodian paintings. The later ones are a bit stiff and formal, the groupings being as in a sculptured frieze, and recalling the arrangement of figures one sees in Ceylonese frescoes on the one hand, and mediæval Orissan and Bengali paintings, on book-covers, as well as early Rajput paintings of Northern India on the other. We have here a purer form of the traditional temple or religious painting still lingering as a form of religious art at Tanjore, Madura, and elsewhere in the Tamil country. There are inscriptions in Modern Tamil characters in the later paintings which give indications as to the subjects; but as these are not always clear or easy to read, Mr. Ramachandran has taken help from two Jaina Purāṇas called the *Śrī-Purāṇa*, and the *Vardhamāna Purāṇa*, both still in MS., in identifying the various scenes. This identification he has done very carefully with close attention to all details, and here we see how painstaking and conscientious has been Mr. Ramachandran's work.

In three appendices Mr. Ramachandran has given an exposition of certain aspects of Jaina Cosmology (Measurement and Divisions of Time, the three Worlds, and various kinds of Beings), covering a good part of the book (pp. 165-236). This portion of Mr. Ramachandran's book came out as a result of his studies in Jaina mythology and legend to explain the paintings, and it is based largely on original sources, some of which are still in MS. It could easily have formed a separate work, and it presents a useful handbook on the subject. To illustrate this section, Mr. Ramachandran has given some plates (Nos. XXXI-XXXVI) of reproductions of Jaina images of gods (*Yakṣas*, etc.) and Jinas in bronze from Tiruparuttikunram. These are Jaina counterparts of the characteristic Hindu bronzes of South India, typically Jaina being the nude figures of *Pārśvanātha*, *Vardhamāna*, *Bāhubali* and *Ananthanātha*, to which the nudity has given a certain vigorous simplicity lacking in the draped figures which appear to be just plain spiritless imitations of Hindu bronzes of recent times. There is a cosmological diagram from the temples to illustrate the second appendix.

(ii) The object of this monograph is "to correct, in the light of literal translations of the original texts, the current identification of the *Nāgara*, *Vēśara* and *Drāviḍa* styles of temple architecture." The threefold classification of Indian temple architecture inaugurated by the European students of the subject into *Indo-Aryan*, *Chalukyan* and *Dravidian*, on the whole still holds, but it is only recently that we are paying attention to Sanskrit and other Indian treatises on architecture to find out what the temple-builders themselves have to say on their own creations. The term *Vēśara* remains obscure: but Messrs. Graveley and Ramachandran, after having discussed the problem of the *Vēśara* style both with reference to the Sanskrit texts and

actual architectural remains, come to the conclusion that the *Vēsara* style is really the one which has been so long erroneously called *Nāgara* (or, in other words, the so-called *Indo-Aryan* or *Nāgara* style should properly be called the *Vēsara* style, if we are to follow the old texts). The term *Nāgara* strictly speaking should be applied to what is usually described as *Chalukyan* ; while the term *Dravida* or *Dravidian* has so far been correctly employed. The monograph in question makes a detailed examination of the question, and forms a valuable addition to the literature in Indian architecture.

We can only end this brief review by congratulating the Government Museum of Madras and Messrs. F. H. Graveley and T. N. Ramachandran on this fine record of work as presented by these monographs, and by expressing the hope that other equally or perhaps more interesting series of similar monographs will be coming out as a testimony to the scholarship and industry of the Archaeological Survey in the province of Madras ; and if we were permitted to give our preference in this matter, we would like to have from Mr. Ramachandran, or some equally competent scholar, a monograph on painting in South India from the oldest period.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

**Proud Man** : by Murray Constantine. Published by Boriswood Limited, London, 1934, pp. 318. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This book deserves more than a passing notice. Its publishers have introduced it as a novel ; but this description is hardly correct. It would be more appropriate to call it a work of social criticism which appears as impressions on the mind of "an observer, a visitor (to England) from a world of to-morrow." The first part contains the observer's views on the social and the political condition of the civilised races in general and of the English people in particular, while the other three parts merely illustrate these views in three separate and unconnected stories.

The author's observations are certainly thought-provoking. He has tried to probe deep into the complex life of to-day and to unravel its tangled skein. Our pet ideas and cherished convictions in the domain of art, morality, and religion and our political and social systems have all been subjected by him to a searching examination from a viewpoint which has at least the merit of novelty. Unfortunately, the criticism he has offered is mostly negative. Even the value of this negative criticism is very often obscured by a spirit of light hearted cynicism. Murray Constantine, according to the publishers, is a pseudonym which veils the identity of the author. It is significant that the real meaning of the book and the message of its author also remain, in one sense, obscure like his identity.

According to the author, our world is inhabited by a sub-human race. Its much-vaunted civilisation is a sort of chaos and falls far short of the ideal. The life of every 'sub-human' is full of misery, pain and conflict. He is a "half-conscious being with a split mind," and not "a fully conscious being with a whole mind," as a normal specimen of humanity should be. Total unconsciousness, like ignorance, is a great bliss and if the 'sub-humans' had been completely unconscious like animals, they would have been happy and free from pain, misery and mental disquiet like animals.

The semi-conscious minds of the 'sub-humans' are really responsible for their inability to effect the true adjustment between the self and the not-self. Nations that are regarded as civilized by them, are even more cruel, predatory and dishonest than primitive peoples. They multiply heedlessly and starve in thousands ; they fight in millions for a higher standard



of life and yet fail to effect the slightest improvement of their condition. Liberty and equality are the watchwords of many sub-human nations, but their societies are based on *privilege* and are designed to perpetuate class-dominance and class-warfare. Privilege is based on sex, colour, wealth, etc. As it is essentially unjust, there are periods of "reversal of privilege" when revolutions break out, which are either ruthlessly suppressed or lead to the downfall of the dominant group. But the group that grasps the power is as unjust as its predecessor. Having no conception of the relation between the self and the not-self, all 'sub-humans' love power, and "the idea of a world where no individual had, or wished to have, any power whatever except over itself, is incomprehensible to them." Though fear and greed are the prominent characteristics of 'sub-humans,' it is surprising that they are ready to make sacrifices and to face dangers for winning what they call glory. What removes the dread of war is the love of glory in sub-human soldiers. Females always want their lovers to win glory and in England "every conceivable mental pressure, including the most revolting moral cruelty by the females, was brought to bear upon them to make them go to the war" (of 1914-18).

The problem of sex amongst sub-humans is, according to our observer, perplexing and is largely responsible for their mental aberrations and social anomalies. Sub-humans are of two sexes and reproduction depends on their co-operation. They are not therefore *persons*, for "a person is an entity independent of others both physically and emotionally who is self-fertilising, and can produce young, if it wishes to, alone and without help." The conception of a *person* is not absurd or impossible; on the contrary, it is eminently rational. "If evolution is a fact, the whole course of human evolution would seem to be from a single-sexed unconscious being, such as an amoeba, to a single-sexed fully conscious being such as you or I. The sub-humans were beyond the animal stage, as they were certainly partially conscious, but they were still two-sexed mammals" (p. 22). Though bisexuality has made males and females inter-dependent for purposes of reproduction, the larger part played in it by the latter has invested them with greater biological importance. The child lives in the mother's womb for 10 months and it derives its nutrition from the mother. When brought forth, the mother gives suck to it and takes care of it till it can look after itself. Males cannot possibly be blind to all these and they come to entertain "a deep-rooted jealousy of the female's greater biological importance." A sense of perpetual inferiority is unbearable, because self-esteem is an important factor of happiness and mental peace. Thus "an attempt to get power seems to be a natural consequence of a feeling, whether conscious or unconscious, of inferiority." Consequently the sub-human males have everywhere seized power and reduced their females to a position of dependence and subjection. But this has not fully removed their misery and obliterated their sense of inferiority. They have therefore tried to cut off all connection with females and to be absolutely independent of them and invented avenues of escape, viz., religion, art and war. "Side alleys of war are land-grabbing and empire-building; exploring, that is going about in places where the inhabitants are strange or non-existent; mountain-climbing; long-distance flying, which they have to do in machines; the exercise of civic or personal power and sport." Priests and religious people shun females and preach that they are abominable creatures. "Though they are totally unable to do what would seem a simple thing, which is to be happy and live at peace with their mates, they hotly maintain that they can be divine, that is partake

of the nature of God." "The creator of the art gets the best of this escape, but those who merely look at the creation, or listen to it, enjoy the escape vicariously."

These are some of the main ideas in the book and psychologists will find ample food for thought in them. There will certainly be difference of opinion about the soundness of some of the theories advanced. Few will agree in the view that man is jealous of the greater biological importance of woman. Freudian psychologists will readily admit that art, religion and war are the means of sublimation of the sex-impulse, but they will certainly hesitate to believe that they are escapes from man's sense of inferiority to woman in the biological sphere. The author's views and mentality seem to be the product of a variety of factors—some of the most important being Freudian psychology, post-war attitude towards militarism, class-warfare, ideals of female emancipation in various spheres of life and a hankering for simpler social systems based on the feelings of love and equality amongst human beings. While many things are faintly suggested as influencing human life and happiness, the regulation of sex-impulse is held up as its most decisive factor. The clear relief into which it has been brought against the dim background of uncertain thought and suggestion, serves to invest sex-urge with an importance to which many will take exception. The author seems to see everything in sex as, to quote an English critic, "Malbranche saw all things in God." Simple solutions of complex problems are very often unsatisfactory and human life and social organisation are certainly very complicated phenomena. From time to time enthusiasts and ardent spirits have suggested simple panaceas for human misery and social evils, and each of them has, for a period, been widely accepted and then quietly laid aside. Natural Religion, Revelation, Science, Renunciation, Will to Power, Culture—all these have had their worshippers. Sex-impulse is now being put up on the pedestal from which all these idols have, one after another, been pulled down. But, we must never forget the lines of Tennyson:—

Our little systems have their day,  
They have their day and cease to be.

The importance of sex-urge cannot, of course, be denied, but to regard it as the one arbiter of man's destiny, is to be blind to the endless and baffling complexity of existence—the real nature of the sphinx-riddle, as Carlyle put it.

Parts II-IV of *Proud Man* illustrate the views of the author as set forth in Part I and deal with the avenues of escape from the sense of inferiority from which the sub-human males suffer. The observer is a person, i.e., "an entity independent of others both physically and emotionally" and "a single-sexed fully conscious being." Her (or his) mind is therefore free from the sense of inferiority and from conflict and misery. In Part II she (or he) serves as a foil to the Priest who has cut the Gordian knot of the problem of life by renouncing the world and taking refuge in the bosom of the Church. In his case Religion is the 'escape.' He gives the name of Verona to the observer. In Part III Verona comes in contact with Leonora. She has been forsaken by her lover and her only child is dead. She therefore devotes herself to painting and Art serves in her case as a means of escape from the evils of bisexuality and the consequent miseries and conflicts. She goes back to her lover as soon as he reappears and gives up her profession. Philip Mitchell, the eminent painter, is also an illustration of the 'art escape.' Gilbert in Part IV is an example of the 'war escape.' The history of his early life explains his abhorrence of the

female sex and his blood-thirstiness is supposed to be the result of sexual repression.

M. M. BHATTACHARJEE

**Upavana-vinoda**, edited by Girija Prasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. Published by the Indian Research Institute, 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, 1935. Rs. 2-8.

This is a Sanskrit treatise on arbori-horticulture included in the *Sarṅga-dhara-paddhati*, a miscellaneous anthology compiled in the thirteenth century. *Upavana-vinoda* itself deals with a variety of topics, classification of plants, selection of soil, process of planting, treatment of plants in health and disease, etc., all interesting in their own way and distinctly utilitarian in their purpose. The text, consisting of as many as 237 *ślokas*, has been beautifully printed, just as it stood in Peterson's edition, while the reader has been left free to choose and select from Dr. Gananath Sen's learned readings carefully given in the footnotes. In this Mr. Majumdar has been well advised, because he has least interfered with and offered the old text, though Dr. Sen's readings are sometimes better and more correct than Peterson's. Parallel passages from miscellaneous treatises, Vedic, Pauranic, Samhita, etc., have been abundantly referred to. An English translation of the text which follows will be of use to those readers who are more acquainted with English than Sanskrit, while additional texts bearing on the subject have been given in the appendix. A modest bibliography and an index of plants with their scientific names (in the case of indigenous plants only where English synonyms are not known) further enhance the value of the publication for reference, and Sir Brajendra Nath Seal has honoured the publication with a foreword.

One comes across a number of misprints but they are of minor importance, and the Indian Research Institute has reasons to congratulate itself on opening its *Indian Positive Sciences series* with an eminently readable book suited to the interest and capacity of readers, both scholarly and general.

P. R. SEN

**The Yogadarshana** (comprising the sūtras of Patañjali—with the Bhāṣya of Vyāsa) translated into English with notes, by Ganganath Jha (second edition—thoroughly revised). Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1934. Double Crown 1/16, pp. lxvi + 263. Price Rs. 3.

The present work from the hands of a veteran Sanskritist like Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha needs no certificate from a reviewer. His long and wide acquaintance with different departments of ancient Indian literature is a sufficient guarantee of its reliability. But a critical scholar should always go to the sources he is directly concerned with; a translation however good should not give him an opportunity for indulging in laziness. A strict adherence to this principle would save us from amateurish writings that are often published about ancient Indian history and culture. Learned notes by the translator has enhanced the value of the work. It may be hoped that any one not knowing Sanskrit will have a fairly dependable account of the Yoga-system from a perusal of this work. The Introduction to the work will also prove to be a great help in this direction.

The work lacks an index. Its printing and get-up is quite good for a moderately-priced book like this. Both the translator and the publishers are to be congratulated upon bringing out this neat little volume.

M. GHOSH

# Abstract

## MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

Oriya literature is a thing of recent growth, and though the amount of original output in prose and poetry is not considerable, nor of very high quality, Orissa nevertheless may legitimately claim to have taken her own share in the general renaissance among Indian vernaculars. Considering the disabilities under which the Oriyas have had to live for the last two hundred years, their contribution to the literature of their land and to the history of Indian vernaculars is considerable. In Orissa, English education which has been a great impetus to the growth of Bengali literature, began to spread nearly half-a-century later than in Bengal. The Oriyas, it is well known, are a very poor people ; their country is practically portioned out in three provinces where they are a neglected minority, and moreover, three-fourths of Orissa are comprised in Native States where national life is non-existent. All these have been responsible for the backwardness in education which the Oriyas suffer from ; and literature hardly thrives amongst a people where education lags behind. Notwithstanding, the Oriyas have given a good account of themselves, and their literature is now a force to be reckoned with in their national life. A good account of this literature is given in the current issue of the *Indian Review* (Madras, Monthly) by Mr. Mayadhar Mansingh, M.A., D.Ed., from which we are glad to reproduce the following extracts :

Modern Oriya literature had a painful birth and was a child of many prayers and petitions. In the middle of the last century, there began an unseemly attempt from the Bengalee officials in Orissa, who were vastly influential at that time, to abolish Oriya altogether from all schools in Orissa and introduce Bengalee in its place. A Bengali Pandit at Calcutta had actually published a book with the title "*Odiya swatantra vasa nay*"— 'Oriya is not a separate language'—and great efforts were made in high official circles to prove that Oriya is but a dialect of Bengalee and should, therefore, be abolished to make room for its parent-language. Fortunately for the Oriyas, however, Mr. John Beams, the then District Magistrate of Balasore, to whom the matter was referred, decided in favour of Oriya language. It is gratifying to note, however, that among those who fought for Oriya as against Bengalee in the public press in Orissa at that time was a Bengalee, long domiciled in the land—the late lamented Gowri Shankar Roy who, as the editor of *Utkal Dipika*, fought valiantly to prove the integrity of Oriya language and literature.

Just at this juncture, there met at Balasore three young friends who, with their original genius and untiring effort, were soon to recreate a new literature in an ancient language. The 'trio' were the now famous Radhanath, Madhusudan and Fakirmohan, who by chance had gathered at

Balasore which by their presence now became the fountain-head of the new literature in Orissa for years. Of the three, Fakirmohan had the nimblest brain, which has displayed itself in hundred and one ways, including literature. He was the first man to make efforts to start an Oriya printing press, and although he failed at first, later on he not only set up a press but started a weekly journal which, for years, was the main vehicle of the new literature.

Fakirmohan, however, is more famous for his novels than for anything else and is often compared with Bankim Chandra by critics in Orissa. But although they trod on the same ground, their ways lay in different directions, and their only affinity lies in the versatility of their talents. The vastness of Fakirmohan's genius may be clearly understood when we come to know that besides writing his famous novels, he has translated the whole of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in verse, written a large number of lyrics as well as an original epic, written text-books on history, on mathematics and other subjects and numerous articles in magazines besides.

He has written a lot of short stories also. He was the first short story writer as well as the first novelist in Orissa which have a homely touch of their own, although they never have that universal appeal nor the delicate artistry of Tagore's short stories. He has written one historical novel also, the best in Oriya literature, describing the activities of marauding Bargees in Bengal and Orissa, who had their conflicts with the forces of Nawab Ali Vardy Khan. It is gratifying to note that most of his novels have been translated into Hindi and are widely read.

Radhanath and Madhusudan often remind us of Wordsworth and Coleridge so far as their literary friendship goes. They met at Puri, where Radhanath was a teacher in the local High School, and Madhusudan the best boy thereof. The acquaintance picked up there ripened into a friendship that has become famous in the land. But it is surprising to find that their mental equipment as well as their personal character were widely divergent. Radhanath was a true poet, sensuous to a remarkable degree, while his student was a *Bhakta* and *Sadhak*, having little sensitiveness to the physical beauty and to the colour and music of language.

While at Balasore, both the student and teacher put their heads together and published a collection of poems that went by the name of *Chandra Mala* which captured the intelligentsia of Orissa by storm. It was to all intents and purposes the lyrical ballads of Oriya literature, inaugurating a new epoch in an ancient language. It was at once introduced into schools and its poems were on the lips of every educated Oriya.

The majority of these poems came from the pen of Madhusudan. Radhanath's genius was rather epical than lyrical, he having produced a number of long poems which are rich in imagery and ringing with music. What was most remarkable in the poetry of both the teacher and his student, was the freedom from ornamentation which was the bane of medieval Oriya poetry, and the expression of ideas in an elegant way suiting the new-fangled taste of the English-educated. Apart from the manners of expression, they also introduced an altogether new note in the literature. It was the poetry of nature which is conspicuous by its absence in old Oriya poetry. Radhanath loved nature with the sensuous perception of a Keats and has made the wonderful beauties of the dales, the moors, the forests, the mountains, the lakes, and the rivers of Orissa, immortal in immortal lines.

His student was Wordsworthian in his conception and saw the Divine Power immanent in objective nature. His poems, lyrics, and sonnets

remind us at every step of the presence of an All-pervading Spirit who is ever guiding our destiny. He was a Brahmo by religion, and his hymns, rich with emotion, are sung not only at Brahmo services but in all schools and hostels of Orissa. His poem *Rishi Prane Devabataran*—God's descension unto the soul of a saint—is really a matchless masterpiece, wherein nature and human soul are depicted mingling in cosmic harmony in a language that recalls the Vedic Chants and calls up a comparison with Miltonic sublimity. This poem was translated into Bengali and was published in the *Bharati* which was then being edited by Rabindranath, and the great poet himself showered on it his feeling encomiums. For the strong devotional note in his poetry, Madhusudan is generally known in Orissa as the *Bhakta Kavi*.

Radhanath's poetry is rich in beauty, but sadly deficient in truth and goodness, for which he is lately being criticised by many. His contribution consists of metrical romances with sensuous description of Nature and man, written in faultless rhymes but lacking in those delicate touches that in poetry strike the innermost chords of human heart. It is no wonder that he had immense fascination for the masses as he took up semi-historical legends prevalent in the country and described the natural beauties as well as the historical glories of ancient Orissa. He had wonderful precision of expression which has made many of his lines pass into proverbs. His *Chilika* describing the dreamy beauties of the famous lake of that name is a masterpiece of word-picture, and one is never tired of reading it again and again for its rolling music of words and lines. No other poem of his stirs the mind of an Oriya so much as this matchless lyrical outburst, which may be taken as a splendid hymn to Mother Nature.

On the whole, however, the credit of beginning a new age in Orissan poetry goes surely to Radhanath. He has opened our eyes to the wondrous beauties of our own land and has left behind an amount of nature-poetry that can safely challenge comparison with anything of its kind in any literature.

Around Radhanath, Madhusudan and Fakirmohan, there were many lesser lights imitating the masters and producing a considerable amount of poetry and prose. Of many, two names stand out as prominent—those of Nanda Kishore Bal and Gangadhar Meher. Gangadhar's poems possess a colour of their own, classical in their dignity, strong in their conceptions and delicate in their perceptions. At many a passage, he reminds us of Kalidas whose poetry he knew well, and some fragments of whose genius this poor weaver of Sambalpur seemed to have possessed. Had he had an English education, we know not how his genius might have blossomed forth, but whose possibilities can be perceived by any intelligent reader. In fact, in point of absolute originality Gangadhar's is the greatest poetical genius in modern Oriya literature.

Nanda Kishore Bal may be taken as the poet of the village. He belonged to the Khandayat caste which, in Orissa, has served as a militia in times of war during Hindu period and as tillers of soil in times of peace, and thus has been strongly bound up with the soil of the land for centuries. Nanda Kishore and Fakirmohan both belonged to this caste, and in the writings of both, we find the heart-beats of the rural masses who live and die in the poor tiny villages of Orissa, loving intensely their home and hearth and intensely united to the soil as children to their mother. Nanda Kishore's *Palli-Chitra* is a poetic pen-picture of the Oriya village with their peculiar old-world atmosphere, their manners and institutions including such as the priest, the house-wife, the barber as well as the temple and the

village school. His *Nirjharini* is a collection of poems which have the ancient folk-songs of the land as their basis and which recall strange memories of home and childhood in every Oriya's mind. Nanda Kishore has written a large number of lyrics and poems, many of which are but imitations of Radhanath and Madhusudan. His chief contribution, lies in the rural associations that he has introduced into the Oriya literature.

In prose, Fakirmohan undoubtedly stands foremost as a writer of prose fiction. But prose of common kind also has advanced considerably and has had a few masters. S. J. Gopal Chandra Praharaj had made an enviable name as a prose satirist, possessing a style replete with telling colloquialism. But the name that is the greatest in prose of modern Oriya language, is that of Pandit Gopabandhu Das of hallowed memory. Pandit Gopabandhu started his public career as a poet, and till he left college, had produced a number of poems that had attracted the kind attention of Radhanath. His sacrifices in the services of his people are too well known to people outside Orissa to be mentioned here. To educate the masses on proper lines, he started a weekly named the *Samaj*, which has ultimately become the most widely read paper in the province. As its editor, he began to write leaders and other articles which were eagerly read by every educated man throughout Orissa. They have become standards of a prose style which has had a host of imitations but no parallel.

It was again from the Satyabadi School, an Orissan Santinekatan which Gopabandhu founded, that there grew up a school of poetry, having the Orissan folklore and history as its basis that has brought fresh treasures into the Oriya literature in the shape of historical plays and poems, and matchless ballads from the pens of Messrs. Nilakantha Das and Godavarish Misra, who were serving as teachers there.

In the meantime new forces have come up mostly inspired by the dazzling genius of Tagore and the rich sister literature of Bengal. The leaders are mostly young men, whose achievements are still in the embryo of the future. However what little the Oriyas as yet have produced in the field of literature in half a century is far from negligible. With their cruel dismemberment into four provinces that has crippled their national life for centuries, with a lamentably narrow reading circle; with three-fourths of the land being occupied by Native States, where national life is practically non-existent, what more could be expected of the Oriyas?

# News and Views

*[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]*

## Physical Training in Schools, Bengal

The report on physical education in schools in Bengal, recently issued, says that with the initiative taken by the Government in regard to physical education, there has been a welcome change in the outlook of the people during the last five years.

The report says that it is now more generally recognized that regular physical exercise promotes a vigorous mind and vigorous body, and that success at examinations is useless if it leads to a weak body and constant ill-health. The old objections so often brought forward by schools, such as lack of space, cost of apparatus, difficulty of finding skilled organizers (and of paying them), prejudice due to convention or caste, fear of neglect of studies or of injury during games, and many others are gradually disappearing. Hygiene has been made a compulsory subject in the primary and secondary school curriculum except for the two top classes in the latter. At the same time, medical examination of the students has been arranged for. Altogether 16,700 boys and 524 girls have been medically examined during the last few years on the initiative of the Public Health Department. Of the boys examined 23 per cent. were found to be well nourished, 53 per cent. fairly nourished and 24 per cent. illnourished. Of the total number examined 67 per cent. were found to be suffering from bodily defects and 14·7 per cent. from eye troubles. In primary schools 26,292 pupils have been medically examined under the supervision of the District Health Officers. Of these 59 per cent. were found to be defectives.

In 1932-33, the Medical Board attached to the Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University examined 2,743 students (including 500 recalled for special examination). A disquieting increase in the incidence of malnutrition was noticed. Since February, 1933, the medical examination of school children in Calcutta has been carried on by three part-time medical officers under the Education Department. Of the 5,000 boys examined in Calcutta high and middle English schools in 1933-34, 35 per cent. were found to be under-nourished, 50 per cent. defectives and 30 per cent. with eye defects.

Preparations are now almost complete for the establishment of a central clinic at which defective children who are poor may receive free treatment. Free spectacles are supplied to deserving cases.

## Government of India on Education

The Government of India have addressed all local Governments and Administrations (including Aden) inviting their opinions on educational reconstruction so that they may be forwarded to the Inter-University Board as soon as possible.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, in his letter says :

“ In recent years notice has been given in the Indian Legislature of a number of resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the present system of education in India and desiring that the Government of India should take early steps to render it ‘ more practical and useful.’ ”



"For one reason or another these resolutions have not been moved, but even if they had been moved the Government of India would have felt themselves precluded by their constitutional position from assuming more than advisory responsibility in regard to a matter which primarily concerns local Governments.

"In forwarding the proceedings of the third conference of Indian Universities held in Delhi in March last, the Inter-University Board drew the attention of the Government of India in particular to the two following resolutions which had been passed unanimously after valuable and protracted discussion :—'A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted on the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the universities to improve their standard of admission.

"In the second resolution the conference developed in greater detail their theme of school reconstruction and pointed to the necessity of dividing the school system into certain definite stages, each of them self-contained and with a clearly defined objective untrammelled by university requirements. 'With a view to effecting such improvement in secondary education the Conference is of the opinion that the period of study in a university for a pass degree should be at least three years, although the normal length of the period during which a pupil is under instruction should not be increased, and is also of the opinion that this period should be divided into four definite stages (a) primary, (b) middle, (c) higher secondary, and (d) university education, covering five (or four), five, three and at least three years, respectively, there being a formal examination at the end of each stage, thus avoiding the abuse of too frequent formal examinations.'

"The Government of India have observed that many provincial Governments have been reviewing the system of school education and have been considering the possibilities of its reconstruction somewhat on the lines suggested by the Universities' Conference. For example the recent Punjab University Committee represented that a scheme of school reconstruction is a vital preliminary to the improvement of university teaching. The conference which was summoned to Calcutta by the Governor of Bengal discussed means whereby the University of Calcutta could be placed on firmer school foundations and the Government of India themselves have invited opinions from the University of Delhi on the proposals made by the Universities' Conference.

"The Government of the United Provinces have gone further and, in a resolution dated August 8 last, have worked out in greater detail these proposals 'with a view to eliciting public opinion thereon.'

"The publication of this resolution has attracted much attention in the Press and elsewhere and the replies will be watched with much interest, not only in the United Provinces but throughout India.

"An interesting feature of the resolution is the quotation of several extracts from the opinions voiced by educationists and by men distinguished in public life. These quotations definitely suggest that 'the value of the university education is impaired by the presence in universities of a large number of students who are unfit for higher literary or scientific education, that these students cannot hope to obtain employment which would justify the expense of their education, and that the only feasible remedy is to divert them to a practical pursuit in the pre-university stage.'

"The Government of India are cognisant of the fact that in the present constitution these, and indeed most other educational questions, come within the purview of provincial Governments, and therefore feel that it would be not only unconstitutional but also inadvisable for them to seek to impose a rigid and uniform system of education throughout India.

"In education more than in most other walks of life, there should be rich scope for experiment and also for a variety of treatment and practice. Local initiative is preferable to inert centralization. Perhaps the most valuable contribution which the Government of India can make towards the right development of education (a matter which is of vital importance to the future of India) is the provision of a clearing-house of ideas and a reservoir of information.

"The Government of India are of the opinion that the time has arrived for reviving the central advisory board and, therefore, they propose doing so in the next financial year.

"In view of the widespread interest taken in these matters and of the dissatisfaction expressed in the Legislative Assembly and elsewhere, and also of the desire of Inter-University Board that these resolutions of the Universities' Conference should be promulgated as widely as possible, the Government of India feel justified to bring these important resolutions to the attention of provincial Governments and through them to the notice of a wider public.

"I am also directed to make a few general observations mainly for the purpose of stimulating discussion on a number of aspects which appear to the Government of India to be of importance.

"The Government of India are particularly anxious that the purport of these discussions should not be liable to misunderstanding and that they should not be interpreted as a desire to restrict in any way the benefits of education. It is neither equitable nor advisable that children should be denied facilities for education, but such facilities should be adjusted to their aptitudes. For such pupils as have little or no bent for a literary form of education, other forms of training should be made available. All children who pass beyond the primary stage require a wider measure of general education whether it be preparation for advanced literary or scientific studies or for vocational training, in one form or another. The latter forms of training can only be successful if they are based on a sure foundation of general knowledge and attainments. Educational statistics indicate, however, that many pupils prolong unduly their literary studies and are thereby in danger of losing their bent for more practical pursuits.

"On this and other grounds the proposals of the Universities' Conference, which have been generally endorsed by the Government of the United Provinces, deserve serious consideration.

"The Government of India realize that education by itself cannot create new industries and thereby increase opportunities for employment, but boys who complete a shortened secondary course as proposed and subsequently benefit by a form of vocational training would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupation and to make the most of industrial opportunities than many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at a comparatively advanced age. In any case, they would probably receive an education better adapted to their capabilities.

"A feature of the scheme of school reconstruction as proposed by the Universities' Conference and suggested by the Government of the United Provinces, is that pupils would be relieved to some extent from the burden of frequent examinations. It is urged by some that these examinations militate against a continuity of study. From an early age Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of public examinations.

"On the other hand it is contended that these examinations at any rate fulfil the purpose of keeping the staffs and pupils up to the mark and discourage apathy. Whatever may be the view held on the value of examinations an undoubted advantage in the tentative scheme proposed by the Government of the United Provinces would be that each examination will take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and will thereby test whether the pupils have attained the objective of that stage. For this reason examinations would have a more clearly defined purpose than they have now."

#### **Punjab Students' Conference.**

The Fifth Session of the Punjab Students' Conference was held at Bradlaugh Hall on February 15, last, under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

After the inaugural speech by Dr. S. K. Datta, Principal, Forman Christian College, and the chairman's address of welcome, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore delivered his presidential address in which he dealt with the highest purpose of education, nationalism and patriotism (the idolatry of geography), civilisation and the meeting of the East and the West, good and bad, in India's inheritance and above all his educative mission in life in which connection he made frequent references to "Viswa Bharati." "Know thyself" was his message to the students and he said that his own task was to lift the people who had been submerged in centuries of degradation, to help them to find themselves and be freed from the bondage of indignity. He deprecated the great gulf between the so-called enlightened and the unenlightened in India and said that where a greater part of human resources lay buried and unused none could ever hope to realise the great human wealth which was freedom. In an inspiring plea for "a living mind" with the courage and power to create, the poet said "Our true claim to be proud depends upon our capacity to give and not in any display

of foreign feathers, however, gorgeous they may be." That India after long ages of spiritual and intellectual magnanimity should be allowed to carry on a penurious existence eking out her living by gleanings in foreign fields of harvest was an insult to their ancestors, said Dr. Tagore. "It comes from utter forgetfulness, the origin of which is in our persistently turning our face away from our own inheritance."

A spirited defence of the English language as a medium of instruction by no less a nationalist than Mrs. Sarojini Naidu enlivened the second day's discussions when the subject of the debate was "Some Aspects of University Reform." Mrs. Naidu said that the introduction of English had been a boon to the people of India and Macaulay had done "a great service to us by teaching us English. If it has done nothing else it has brought within our vision the true ideals of liberty. A common language was perhaps the greatest solution of the communal differences, and if to-day we are able to ventilate our grievances with a united voice from Peshawar to Cape Comorin it is because our common bond is English." She had no sympathy with narrow nationalism, which would exclude even ennobling influences on grounds of exclusive patriotism. Nor was Government to be blamed, because Indians themselves seemed to love English and did not reject this treasured medium. Of course she agreed that the present system of education was entirely wrong and should be overhauled.

#### City College, Calcutta

On the 6th instant the fifty-sixth anniversary of the foundation of City College was observed solemnly with divine service conducted by Principal Herambachandra Maitra. About seven hundred people were present, among them being some ladies.

In course of his impressive address, Dr. Maitra referred to the lives and preachings of the late Mr. A. M. Bose, Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Mr. Umeschandra Datta and Professor Kaliprasanna Chattoraj whose portraits were unveiled by Mr. Krishnakumar Mitra, a member of the Governing Body of the college. Dr. Maitra exhorted the students to emulate the examples of those illustrious souls whose very intimate association with the college should guide and inspire those who had come to receive instructions there. He said:

In English and American Universities students are proud of the distinguished men who have helped to build up the institutions to which they belong, and their influence continues to inspire students for generations. A visitor to Christ's College, Cambridge, has Milton's favourite walk and his favourite tree pointed out with pride by those who belong to the staff or pursue their studies there. Newton's statue at Trinity College, Cambridge, inspired two of the noblest lines of Wordsworth. And I appeal to you all to cultivate the same ennobling pride and the same spirit of reverence for the distinguished men whose memories are inseparably associated with the annals of this college. This college is poor in the riches of this world. It has not enriched any man out of its scanty revenues, it has impoverished many. But it is ennobled by the spirit of selfless service in which the staff have given of their best to its cause, by a sincere endeavour on their part to exercise a wholesome influence on their students, and finally by the memories of men whose noble lives have been woven into the texture of the history of this institution. May the name of God and the cause of the Brahma Samaj be glorified by the loving co-operation, the diligence and the integrity of my colleagues and our students!

# Ourselves

[I. The late Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan.—II. The late Dr. Ganesh Prasad.—III. The late Rai Narendranath Sen, Bahadur.—IV. Inter-University Board, Calcutta Session.—V. Government Grant and the University.—VI. University Recognition of Leaving Certificate of I.M.M.S. "Dufferin."—VII. Law Examinations, January, 1935.—VIII. Special University Reader in Oriental Art.—IX. International Folk Dance Festival at London.—X. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta.—XI. University Athletic Club.—XII. International Congress of Scientific Management.—XIII. New Fellows.—XIV.—All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health.—XV. University Representatives on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca.—XVI. Royal Commissioners' Exhibition Scholarships.—XVII. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Arts, 1934.—XVIII. Mr. P. C. Ghosh's Generous Offer.—XIX. Affiliation of the Jātiya Āyurvijñān Vidyā-laya.]

## I. THE LATE PANDIT RAJENDRANATH VIDYABHUSHAN

The death of Pandit Rajendranath Vidyabhushan has come as a shock not only to this University but also to those who have reverence for Sanskrit learning. Pandit Vidyabhushan's connection with this University was long and varied. As a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Bengali in the Post-Graduate Department, as an author, as a speaker and above all as a man of keen intelligence and sound common sense he made his mark among his compeers who had nothing but admiration for his wonderful genius. His vast erudition in *Kāvya* and *Alaṃkāra* is admitted on all hands. His *Kālidāsa* and *Śrīkaṇṭha*, to mention two only of his numerous works, are still regarded as the best specimens of literary criticism. The Sanskrit College, Calcutta where he had in his early days held a substantive appointment, will ever cherish the memory of a dear Pandit who was actively associated with its academic life. Pandit Vidyabhushan had settled in the holy city of Benares after retiring from University service. His literary activities even in retirement won for him an appointment as Lecturer in the Benares Hindu University, which will also mourn his loss.

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## II. THE LATE DR. GANESH PRASAD

We have to record with deep regret the sudden death of Professor Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc., Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, on March 10, at Agra where he was attending a meeting of the Executive Council of the Agra University. His death removes a distinguished personality from the field of Mathematical Research. As Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics (1914-1917) and as Hardinge Professor (1923-1935) of Higher Mathematics he succeeded in inspiring a large number of students to take up original investigation with enthusiasm, and his vast erudition, coupled with his wide range of knowledge and intellectual acuteness, was of great help in putting them on the path of success. His simple life, untiring energy and phenomenal capacity for work were greatly appreciated by his colleagues

and students alike. His death has removed a striking personality from the Professoriate of the University and the loss sustained is irreparable.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate on the 14th March last placed on record their profound sense of sorrow at the sad death of Professor Ganesh Prasad, who as an eminent professor of Mathematics and in other capacities had rendered valuable services to the University and to the cause of education in this country. Reference was also made by the Vice-Chancellor at the meeting of the Senate on the 30th March last.

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### III. THE LATE RAI NARENDRANATH SEN BAHADUR

Close upon the death of Professor Ganesh Prasad comes the stunning news of the sad and untimely demise of Rai Narendranath Sen, Bahadur, M.A., B.Sc., Controller of Examinations. Originally attached to the Registrar's department, the late Rai Bahadur had risen by dint of merit to the eminent position which he came to occupy late in life. Of him it is said that there is no kind of work in the University with which he was not conversant. A man of profound departmental experience and aptitude, he also officiated as Registrar for some time. Those who came in contact with him could not but be impressed by his extreme kindness and urbanity of manners, which marked him out as a typical gentleman. He was made a Rai Bahadur in 1933.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, before proceeding to the regular business of the Syndicate on the 19th March last, recorded their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the late Rai Bahadur to the University. Reference was also made by the Vice-Chancellor at the meeting of the Senate on the 30th March last.

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### IV. INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, CALCUTTA SESSION

The tenth annual meeting of the Inter-University Board, India, was held in the Durbhanga Library Building of our University on 26th, 27th and 28th February last. Professor A. R. Wadia, Secretary to the Board, presided, and the meeting was attended by almost all the members of the Board.

The official report of the proceedings have not yet been forwarded to us. The programme, we understand, was heavy. The following are some of the important questions which were tabled for discussion :

University education of women, Interchange of professors between Indian Universities, Sending an Indian Debating Team to England, Uniformity in the standards of pre-medical studies for the medical degrees of different Indian Universities, An Economic Survey of India, Position of Indians born in one Province but domiciled in

another, Founding an Institute of Applied Psychology, Power to the Universities to recommend candidates for the examinations conducted by the Public Service Commission, Participation of students of Indian Universities in the scholarships annually awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, Desirability of instituting a degree for Physical Education in every University, Desirability of instituting a degree or diploma in Journalism in Indian Universities, Desirability of introducing Military Training as a subject at Intermediate Examination and of making use of the University Training Corps facilities in this connection, and How to prevent the unnecessary wastage due to the same subjects being taught in the different Universities.

Besides the above, the Board also considered a resolution sponsored by the University of Dacca, asking them to "protest against the principle approved by the Government of India regarding the disposal of antiquities found in the course of archæological excavations undertaken by foreign bodies in protected areas in India."

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#### V. GOVERNMENT GRANT AND THE UNIVERSITY

This University has been in correspondence with the Government of Bengal since June 1934 on the subject of the necessity of revising the existing arrangement regarding the recurring grant. The University, as we had occasion to note in these pages (*vide Calcutta Review*, Nov., 1934, p. 260), will, according to the terms of the last financial settlement, not have the benefit of the full amount of Rs. 3,60,000 but will be entitled to a reduced grant of Rs. 2,36,000 only. It was pointed out to Government that unless the full amount was restored, the University could not meet the cost of the various schemes which have been approved both by Government and the University, especially the proposals for revising the grades of pay of the Professors, Lecturers and of the office staff. Unfortunately, Government have not found it possible to give effect to these proposals. They have again been addressed on the subject. The Registrar's letter speaks for itself and we reproduce it below.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

*Senate House, the 26th February, 1935.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 157-Edn., dated the 14th January, 1935, on the subject of an additional grant of Rs. 75,920 applied for in this office letter No. A. 1679, dated the 8th/9th June, 1934, for giving effect to certain schemes which have already been approved both by Government and the University. In this connection I am also to invite your attention to this office letter No. A. 557, dated the 24th September, 1934, on the subject of financial assistance from Government and Government reply thereto, dated the 22nd January, 1935 (letter No. 331-Edn.).

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate note with regret that although the Government grant would not have exceeded Rs. 3,60,000, in order to meet the cost of the various schemes, Government have not found it possible to give effect to the proposals for revising the grades of pay of the Professors, Lecturers and of the office staff, which were approved by them in 1931. In view of the decision of Government it does not seem likely that they can be given effect to in the near future.

Government enquire in the letter under reply whether it will be possible for the University to meet the cost of the proposed re-organisation of the system of invigilation at examinations, out of the increased surplus of the Fee Fund during the last two years. In reply I am to state that this will not be possible. It is true that the income of the Fee Fund has increased but the expenditure of the Fund also has substantially increased. Part of this has been the inevitable result of the increased income itself. For instance, the printing expenses of the University have increased by more than Rs. 50,000 during the last three years. Taking the current year's figure the increase will amount to about Rs. 64,000. Similarly the examination expenses increased by about Rs. 35,000 last year and this year they are expected to be about Rs. 59,000 more than what they were four years ago. Further there has been increased expenditure on gratuity and pension charges to the extent of about Rs. 13,000 and also on several other items. As the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate have already pointed out to Government, the expenditure side was not properly considered at the time when the present financial arrangements were sanctioned.

Again, I am desired to point out that if at the instance of Government the University are to increase their recurring expenditure on certain heads to be paid by the University out of their own funds during the current year or the next, Government will have to undertake to bear the cost, if at a future date the income of the University decreases.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate have already addressed Government regarding the conditions of the present financial assistance received from the public revenues. I am to emphasise in this connection that the grant of Rs. 3,60,000 sanctioned in 1932 represented the first year's deficit only. As was pointed out in your letter No. 907-Edn., dated the 15th March, 1932, the deficits for the succeeding years would substantially increase. During the first year of the new financial settlement the University effected considerable retrenchments as they were not certain how far the decision of Government to sanction a recurring grant representing the first year's deficit would affect the University's finances. Such reductions in 1932-33 amounted to Rs. 50,500. Fortunately for the University the fee income has increased. But this does not certainly mean that the grant should be reduced or Government should not accept liability for schemes of re-organisation which they themselves considered urgent in 1932, particularly when they could be given effect to within the grant of Rs. 3,60,000.

The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate do not desire to enumerate in this letter all the various schemes which Government have already approved. They are before Government. Since 1932 the University have been considering these and other proposals affecting the future growth and welfare of the University. If the University are to be conducted on efficient lines, if their activities are not to become stagnant, they must be encouraged to move with the times and to introduce reforms which are so vitally necessary. The University have undertaken capital expenditure to the extent of about a lakh and twenty thousand rupees for improvement of accommodation for the library and for increased facilities in this connection. The University are also trying to expand the activities affecting the health and welfare of the students. They celebrated the Foundation Day in January last and spent about Rs. 3,500 for the purpose. The success which it achieved and the response which the University received on the occasion make it incumbent upon them to devise means for affording larger facilities to students in future and this matter is now under their consideration. The University are about to spend nearly Rs. 25,000 for erecting a suitable house for the University Rowing Club which, thanks to the Calcutta Improvement Trust, has now been provided with land near the Dhakuria Lake. Again, the University have to consider the immediate necessity of providing arrangements for the training of teachers, a question which is now assuming great importance in view of the recent changes in the Matriculation Regulations.

As pointed out in previous letters, steps must also be taken to build up a Reserve Fund for the University which the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate feel cannot be done unless the present conditions of Government grant are altered.

The items noted above indicate only some of the activities of the University. It will be lamentable if these and other similar schemes are not carried into effect for want of funds. The University have now an increased fee-income. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate are anxious that the conditions under which the Government grant of Rs. 3,60,000 was sanctioned in 1932 should be reconsidered in a manner which, while not increasing the financial burden of Government undertaken in 1932, would make it

possible for the University with the joint help of Government grant and an increased fee-income to carry on a progressive policy of reform and reconstruction, the need for which is acknowledged by all who are interested in the welfare of this province. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate would conclude by saying that it will indeed be regrettable if the present opportunity for reconstruction is not taken advantage of and if Government insist on reducing their grant on technical grounds.

I have the honour to be,  
SIR,  
Your most obedient servant,  
J. CHAKRAVORTI,  
*Registrar.*

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## VI. UNIVERSITY RECOGNITION OF LEAVING CERTIFICATE OF I.M.M.T.S. "DUFFERIN."

In pursuance of the policy of training officers for the Indian Mercantile Marine, the Government of India, Department of Commerce, have of late extended the sphere of work of the I.M.M. Training ship "Dufferin" and have included the training of cadets intending to go to sea as Engineering Officers, when fully qualified, in addition to the training of cadets for the Executive Branch of that profession. It will be recalled that in June, 1929, the Syndicate, on the report of the Committee which considered the question of recognition of the Leaving Certificate for the Executive cadets of the said Training ship as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination Certificate of this University, sanctioned admission of the student who passed the ship's examination into the 1st-year Class of a college, affiliated to this University, provided he passed in one of the Vernaculars mentioned in Section 9 (4) of Chapter XXX of the Regulations, before proceeding to the Intermediate Examination of this University. Recently the question of a similar recognition for the Engineering cadets of the said Training ship came before the Syndicate on the representation of the Secretary, Governing Body, I.M.M.T.S. "Dufferin." We are informed that the Syndicate have granted the same recognition as they extended to the Executive cadets.

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## VII. LAW EXAMINATIONS, JANUARY, 1935.

A report of the result of the Final Examination in Law held in January last was published in the March number of the *Review*. The results of the Preliminary and the Intermediate Examinations which are now to hand, are reported below:—

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law held in January last was 596 of whom 56 were absent. 540 candidates actually sat for the examination and 324 passed. Of these 17 were placed in Class I and 307 in Class II, the percentage of pass being 60.



The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law held in January last was 397 of whom 40 were absent. 357 candidates actually sat for the examination and 239 passed. Of these 23 were placed in Class I and 216 in Class II, the percentage of pass being 66.6.

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#### VIII. SPECIAL UNIVERSITY READER IN ORIENTAL ART

Professor Zoltan de Takaes, Director, Francis Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Budapest, Hungary has been appointed a special University Reader to deliver a course of lectures on one or more topics on Oriental Art.

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#### IX. INTERNATIONAL FOLK DANCE FESTIVAL AT LONDON

Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder-President, All-India Folk Dance and Song Society, who is proceeding to London in May next, has been requested by this University to attend the International Folk Dance Festival as its representative.

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#### X. DR. S. N. DASGUPTA

The University of Rome has invited Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., PH.D. (Cal.), PH.D. (Cantab.), Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, to deliver a course of lectures at the Istituto Italiano per il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente. Dr. Dasgupta has also been invited to deliver lectures at the Universities of Vienna, Copenhagen, Lund, Upsala and Madrid. The University has placed him on deputation.

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#### XI. UNIVERSITY ATHLETIC CLUB

Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., Secretary, Councils of Post-Graduate in Arts and Science, and Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar, have been appointed Chairman and Treasurer respectively of the Committee of Management of the University Athletic Club for the year 1935-36.

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#### XII. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

The Sixth International Congress of Scientific Management will be held in London in July, 1935. Dr. Jogendrachandra Bardhan, D.Sc., Sir Rashbehary Ghose Fellow, who will be in London at the time of the Congress, will, we understand, act as the representative of this University on the Congress.

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## XIII. NEW FELLOWS

Mr. H. A. Stark, B.A., Dr. T. Ahmed, M.B., D.O.M.S., F.R.C.S., Professor Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.), and Professor J. P. Niyogi, M.A., PH.D., have been appointed Ordinary Fellows of this University.

We extend a cordial welcome to the new Fellows.

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## XIV. ALL-INDIA INSTITUTE OF HYGIENE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

We understand that from the commencement of the session 1935-36 the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, will be affiliated to this University to impart instruction in subjects for the D.P.H. and will also be recognised as an institution under Sec. 2 (b) Chap. L-A, of the Regulations (D. Sc. in Public Health). A great opportunity will thus be afforded to local physicians to study systematically and under ideal conditions the problem of public health which is the supreme problem now exercising the minds of our countrymen. The public health of Bengal has gone from bad to worse and the condition here is more deplorable than in other provinces. It will be a blessing indeed if the Institute, though it ministers to all-India requirements, be specially mindful of what ought to be its first and foremost concern, the amelioration of the health of the province where it is situated.

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## XV. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, DACCA

The undermentioned gentlemen have been appointed to represent this University on the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Dacca, for the year 1935-36 :—

Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D.  
Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.

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## XVI. ROYAL COMMISSIONERS' EXHIBITION SCHOLARSHIPS

In our issue of June, 1934, we had occasion to advert to the subject of participation of qualified Indian students in the scholarships annually awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. It will be recalled that last year the Registrar addressed a letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of

Education, who was requested to move the Government of India to take early steps so that Indian Universities might no longer be denied the privilege of recommending qualified students for one or more of the aforesaid scholarships. Unfortunately, the Commissioners, while they fully realise that the Universities of India are producing the type of students which the scheme is intended to benefit, have not found it possible to assign even one award to India.

We reproduce below the correspondence that passed on the subject:—

(i) FROM

THE REGISTRAR,  
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, WRITERS' BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA.

*Senate House, dated the 17th May, 1934.*

SIR,

With reference to the correspondence resting with your letter No. 1340-Edn., dated the 13th April, 1934, regarding the participation of the students of Indian Universities in the scholarships annually awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, I am desired by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to inform you that the Inter-University Board had already been addressed on the subject and the matter will be considered by the Board at its next meeting. The University, however, feel that it will be more effective if the Government of Bengal also move in the matter.

In this connection it may be pointed out that since 1922 these scholarships have been divided into two categories, viz., (1) overseas scholarships, and (2) senior studentships. Under the present arrangements Indians are entitled to senior studentships only, if recommended by any British University, while the overseas scholarships are altogether denied to them although these were originally intended to be awarded to selected students of 'overseas' Universities—(obviously including Indian Universities), who had already completed full University course and given evidence of capacity for scientific research. There is no denying the fact that the Universities of India have already produced scientists of great eminence and their advanced students are holding their own against those of any other University. So far as the 'overseas' Universities of the British Empire are concerned, the position of the Indian Universities can, therefore, be no longer regarded as inferior in any way to that of any other University. This differential treatment meted out to the Indian Universities may be due to the fact that when as far back as 1891, these scholarships were awarded for the first time, the position of the Indian Universities in the field of scientific studies and research was not what it is to-day. In view of the provision made by Indian Universities for higher studies and research and also of the admittedly high standard attained by Indian students in this respect, it is but natural to expect that the decision made by the Commissioners nearly half a century ago should now be modified so as to admit Indian students to the privilege so long denied to them. The authorities of the University feel confident that a proper representation of the case to the Royal Commissioners—specially by the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, in view of the all-India character of the question—will result in the removal of an invidious distinction.

I am, therefore, to request that the Government of Bengal will be so good as to move the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, on the subject.

I have, etc.,

J. CHAKRAVORTY,  
Registrar.

(ii) FROM

G. S. BAJPAI, Esq., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

To

HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

SERVICES AND GENERAL DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

*Participation of students of Indian Universities in the Scholarships annually awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, London.*

*Simla, dated the 26th July, 1934.*

SIR,

I am directed to forward for the information of the Secretary of State a copy of a letter from the Government of Bengal, No 633-T. Edn., dated the 11th June, 1934, together with its enclosures, on the subject mentioned above.

The scholarships awarded by the Royal Commissioners for the exhibition of 1851, London, are intended to enable selected students of overseas Universities, who have already completed a full university course and given evidence of capacity for scientific investigation, to devote themselves for two years to research work under conditions most likely to equip them for practical service in the scientific life of the British Empire. The Government of India agree with Calcutta University that the Universities of India have already produced scientists of great eminence, and they are confident that there are Indian science students who reach the very high standard required for these scholarships. The task of selecting such students will be rendered easier by the recent decision of the Inter-University Board to undertake the preparation of a bibliography of the Doctorate theses in Arts and Science written in India provided that such theses have been accepted by recognised Indian Universities as being suitable for publication.

It has not been considered advisable to collect the opinions of provincial Governments and of universities on this proposal as such action would take time; and the Government of India are confident that the views of Calcutta University would be shared by all concerned. If, however, the Secretary of State is of opinion that their views should be specifically ascertained, such action will be taken.

I am accordingly to request that, if the Secretary of State has no objection, the proposal of Calcutta University may be placed before the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

I have, etc.,

G. S. BAJPAI,  
Secretary.

(iii)

INDIA OFFICE.

WHITEHALL.

S. W. I.

*The 29th September, 1934.*

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to forward for the consideration of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, copy of a letter from the Government of India transmitting, with their support, a request by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta that Indian Universities may be permitted to nominate candidates for the scholarships awarded annually by the Commissioners to selected students from Overseas Universities.

In the opinion of the Secretary of State in Council the Government of India are justified in their view that the Universities of India are capable of producing science students of the standard demanded of candidates for the scholarships in question and he therefore trusts that the Commissioners may be able to see their way to accede to the request.

I am, etc.,

F. W. H. SMITH.

To Secretary to the Royal Commission for the  
Exhibition of 1851, 1 Lowther Gardens,  
Exhibition Road, S. Kensington, S. Q. 7.

(iv)

1 Lowther Gardens,  
Exhibition Road, S. W. 7.  
The 22nd November, 1934.

SIR,

I am directed by the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 to transmit for the information of the Secretary of State for India in Council the following reply to your letter S. & G. 2838-34, dated the 29th September last, with enclosures, on the subject of the participation of India in the annual allotment of the Commissioners' Overseas scholarships.

The Commissioners have the fullest sympathy with India's desire to be included in their Overseas scholarships Scheme, because it is realised, and has been realised for some years, that the Universities of India are producing the type of student which the scheme is intended to benefit.

Unfortunately, however, with the limited fund available for these scholarships, the Commissioners cannot see their way to increasing the number of the awards and the scheme of allotment in its present form does not lend itself to any such adjustment as would be necessary in order to assign even one award to India.

Moreover, even their present scholarship expenditure may have to be curtailed in order to meet a substantial engagement to H. M. Government in connection with building operations at South Kensington.

While, therefore, the Commissioners regret that they can hold out no immediate hope of their being able to accede to the request of the Government of India, they wish the Secretary of State to be assured that it would give them great pleasure to include India in the distribution of their scholarship awards, should their financial position at any time improve.

I am, etc.,

M. SHAW.

Secretary.

The Under-Secretary of State for India,  
Services and General Department,  
India Office, Whitehall, S. W. I.

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## XVII. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN ARTS, 1934

Mr. Jyotsnakanta Basu, M.A., and Mr. Dineschandra Sarkar, M.A., have just been admitted to the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1934. Mr. Basu's subject of dissertation was (i) *The Aimol Kukis of Manipur*, and (ii) *The Marings of Manipur*, while Mr. Sarkar submitted his thesis on *Dynastic History of the Eastern Deccan from 200 A.D. to 600 A.D.*

We offer them our warmest congratulations.

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## XVIII. MR. P. C. GHOSH'S GENEROUS OFFER

We are glad to announce that one of our distinguished scholars, Professor Praphulla Chandra Ghosh of the Presidency College, who is also a Lecturer in English in the Post Graduate Classes, has offered a sum of Rs. 30,000 to this University to form a special fund for translation into Bengali of standard works in Sanskrit, Pali and other oriental classical languages. The offer is doubly welcome, first, because it seeks to commemorate a monumental work of Rai Saheb Ishan Chandra Ghosh, the donor's father, whose contribution to Bengali literature has been most valuable, and secondly, because it comes at the most opportune moment when the bounds of our vernacular literature are being enlarged and the need of funds is keenly felt. The letter which Mr. Ghosh has addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, is set out below.

1/3, Prem Chand Boral Street,  
Calcutta.

March 29, 1935.

DEAR MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I intend making over to the University  $3\frac{1}{2}$  % G. P. Notes of the face value of Rupees Thirty thousand to form a special fund of translation into Bengali, by competent scholars, of standard works in Sanskrit, Pali and other oriental classical languages. If I live to see good results of the scheme proposed, I may add to the amount to make it work better.

I shall be thankful if you will kindly let me know if the University will favour me by accepting this humble offer on the following terms :—

(1) The series, which the University will undertake to print and publish, are to be named "*Īśān Anurādamālā*" (Isan Translation Series) after my father, Srijukta Isānchandra Ghosh, in recognition of his monumental translation into Bengali of the entire Jatakas from Pali, which involved more than sixteen years' hard, single-handed labour.

(2) The series are to be classified according to the original languages (somewhat after the fashion of the Loeb Classical Series in which the Greek and the Latin books are distinguished even externally by green and by red binding cloth).

May I suggest in this connexion that the profits arising from the sale of "*Jātakamañjarī*," recently prepared by my father as a gift to the University, be set apart and amalgamated with the fund I propose to endow?

Details of the working of the scheme may be settled by the University after my offer is accepted.

Yours sincerely,

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA GHOSH.

The Senate has accepted the generous offer with thanks.

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## XIX. AFFILIATION OF THE JĀTĪYA ĀYURVIJÑĀN VIDYĀLAYA

After a heated debate, the Senate at its meeting held on the 30th March last, granted affiliation to the Jāṭīya Āyurvijñān Vidyālaya up to the Preliminary Scientific M. B. standard with effect from the commencement of the next session. The institution has been in existence for fifteen years. For the last ten years, it has been preparing students for the State Faculty of Medicine. Besides possessing the necessary qualifications of an up-to-date medical institution, it enjoys an annual grant of Rs. 54,000 from the city corporation. It has also obtained help from Government from time to time and from various other sources.

## NOTIFICATIONS.

### I. LADY TATA MEMORIAL TRUST.

#### *Scientific Research Scholarships, 1935-36.*

1. Applications are invited for Ten Scientific Research Scholarships of the value of Rs. 150 per month each for the year 1935-36.

2. The Scholarships are open to men and women and will be tenable for a period of twelve months commencing from the 1st July, 1935. Any or all the Scholarships may be extended for a further period of twelve months, within the discretion of the Trustees. All old scholars who desire renewal should re-apply.

3. Applicants, who must be of Indian nationality, must be Graduates in Medicine or Science of a recognised University. They must undertake to work whole-time and will be debarred from private practice. In the duration of the period of his scholarship or award the recipient of the benefit shall devote himself to the work before him to the entire satisfaction of the Trustees, who reserve the right to withhold payment on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee.

4. The subject of scientific investigation which they may select must have a bearing directly or indirectly on the alleviation of human suffering by disease.

5. Applications must be forwarded through the Director of a recognised Research Institute or Laboratory where the candidate proposes to work and must be accompanied by a letter from the Director stating that he has critically examined the details of the proposed Research that he approves of the general plan and that he is willing, as far as possible, to guide and direct the investigation and give laboratory facilities.

6. Candidates will be required to furnish the following additional information in their application, along with certificates of physical fitness and character:—

- (a) Full Name;
- (b) Age;
- (c) Sex;
- (d) Permanent Address;
- (e) Details of Academic Career;
- (f) Particulars of their past and present Research qualifications;
- (g) Particulars of the proposed Research;
- (h) What other emoluments, scholarships and pay they are in receipt and the amount, if any.

7. Applicants must give (a) a short résumé on the subject indicating present state of knowledge and (b) details of the proposed research indicating (i) the methods intended to be employed, (ii) previous experience in the use of these methods and (iii) the experiments to be carried out.

8. Applications, which must be typed, must give full particulars in the order indicated above and must be addressed to the Secretary, THE LADY TATA MEMORIAL TRUST, BOMBAY HOUSE, BRUCE STREET, FORT, BOMBAY, so as to reach him *not later than 15th April, 1935.*

9. Applicants are warned that any canvassing, direct or indirect of the Trustees or Members of the Selection Committee, will entail disqualification, and also that the scholarships are liable to be terminated without any notice on receipt of any unfavourable report from the Director under whom a scholar may be working.

10. The result of the selection will be announced on the 18th June 1935 and the successful candidates will be required to report themselves for duty, to their respective Directors, on the 1st July, 1935.

11. Scholars will be required to submit periodical progress report every six months to the Secretary of the Trust through the Directors and with their remarks of the work done.

## II. ROYAL ITALIAN UNIVERSITY FOR FOREIGNERS' PERUGIA.

The Royal Italian University for Foreigners, Perugia, have made provisions of the following courses for foreigners :

- (1) Courses in advance culture : Politics, History, Literature, Art, and Scientific thought in Italy.
- (2) Special courses in Etruscology.
- (3) Courses of Italian Language.
- (4) Courses of Italian Literature, Political History and the History of Art.

The students can live in families at 12-25 lire per day and in Student's Hostel at 360 lire per month. It is well known that the Italian Steamer Companies and the Railway Authorities offer concessions to foreign students travelling to Italy. Those interested in these courses may consult the necessary papers at the office of the University Students' Information Bureau, Senate House, Calcutta.

In Germany during the summer holidays the different Universities, viz., Berlin, Bonn, Dresden, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Jena, Koln, Munchen, etc., have arranged the following courses of studies :

General Language and Culture growth in Germany, Medicine, Music, General Sciences, Genetics, Technology, Theology, and Law.

Interested students will have access to the details at the University Students' Information Bureau Office, Senate House, Calcutta.

## III. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION (INDIA).

(i) Applications are invited for the post of a Chief Mining Engineer for the Northern India Salt Revenue Department. Candidates should hold a diploma or degree of a recognised school of mines, should have a thorough knowledge of geology and must have at least five years' experience in a mine. Knowledge of the principles of commercial accounting will be considered an additional qualification. Pay Rs. 1,000-50-1,400. Age between 30 and 40 years. Appointment for five years, terminable by six months' notice on either side. Probation six months. Government servants eligible if permitted to apply by their Departments. *Last date for receipt of applications 22nd April, 1935.* Prescribed application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Delhi. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

(ii) Applications are invited for the post of Physiological Chemist attached to the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research at its sub-station at Bangalore. (Women not eligible.) 2. Government servants eligible if permitted to apply by their Departments. 3. Candidates should (a) have a post-graduate degree in Chemistry or its equivalent ; (b) have published



original papers dealing with research of the Chemistry of animal nutrition ; and (c) have had considerable experience (preferably not less than five years) of work at a laboratory dealing with the chemical problems of animal nutrition. 4. Pay (for persons other than members of the Indian Agricultural Service) Rs. 275-300 (Probationary Period)-325-25-650 (Efficiency Bar)-85-1,000 *plus* special pay of Rs. 150, per mensem. Initial pay according to age, qualifications and experience. If an officer already in permanent Government service is appointed, his pay will be fixed with due regard to the substantive pay which he is drawing, and if he is also a member of the Indian Agricultural Service he will be given an additional pay in the scale of Rs. 200-50-400. 5. Post permanent. Probation two years. 6. *Last date for receipt of applications 16th April, 1935.* Prescribed application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary. Public Service Commission, Delhi. Applicants for forms must mention the name of the post.

#### IV. SPECIAL GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING.

The following letter has been addressed by the Physical Director, Bengal, to the Principals of all Aided Colleges in Bengal.

FROM

The Physical Director, Bengal,

TO

Principals of all aided Colleges in Bengal.

*Calcutta, the 21st February, 1935.*

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to the subject of physical education for College students, and to state that during the year 1935-36 Government have allotted special grants amounting to Rs. 20 per month for Aided Colleges, which meet the following conditions :—

(a) Employ graduate instructors who hold the diploma of the Madras College of Physical Education or of the Bengal Government Training Centre in Physical Education, and pay them a salary of not less than Rs. 70 per month.

(b) Make physical education compulsory for first-year students.

(c) Impose sports fee of not less than Rs. 4 (Rupees four) per annum.

Should you desire such a grant, you should apply to this office giving full particulars of the Instructor appointed and the salary paid.

2. I have also to state that during the year 1935-36 special stipends of Rs. 20 each per month will be available for young graduates of proved athletic ability deputed by Aided Colleges for training at the Government of Bengal Training Centre in Physical Education, Calcutta. An application for deputation should be made before the end of April, 1935, if it is desired to send a candidate.

A copy of the prospectus of the Government Training Centre in Physical Education is enclosed herewith, for your information.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

K. N. Roy,

*Physical Director, Bengal (in Charge).*

#### V. ADMISSION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS TO THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY AND OTHER HIGH SCHOOLS IN EGYPT.

Several Eastern Governments have expressed the desire that facilities be accorded to those of their nationals who, having completed their secondary

studies in their own respective countries would be willing to pursue their higher instruction in Egypt. The Egyptian Ministry of Education with a view to meeting that desire and enabling such foreign students to benefit from the educational resources of Egypt, has decided to allow them to be admitted into the Egyptian University and other Higher Schools on the following conditions :—

1. That the demand for admission should be recommended by the Government of the country to which the student belongs, and accompanied by the diploma already obtained.
2. The demand will be examined by the Egyptian University or High School in order to ascertain if the student is able to follow its teaching, and a probation examination will be set if necessary.
3. The student must pass a medical examination.
4. If the student wishes to specialize in one or several subjects, the University must approve of his choice, and he must pass the same examination as other students.
5. The student should be present in September in order not to miss any part of the syllabus.

The Government of India will afford the necessary facilities to such students whose applications may be submitted to them by the local Governments concerned for transmission, through the proper channels, to the Egyptian Government. Students intending to proceed to Egypt for higher studies should, of course, only be granted passports if they are considered personally and otherwise suitable.



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1935

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## Platonic Ideas in Spenser

BY

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE,  
M.A., Ph.D.

Lecturer in English, Calcutta University

with a Foreword by

ÉMILE LEGOUIS

Honorary Professor of English Literature,  
The Sorbonne, Paris.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1935

## THE ROYAL HOUSE AND OUR UNIVERSITY

ON the sixth May, 1935, will be celebrated throughout the British Empire the Silver Jubilee of the accession of King George V, Emperor of India. The public mind throughout the Empire will recall with renewed interest the noble part which Their Majesties have played in the events of the past quarter of the century. We of this University heartily join in the rejoicings of the great occasion and in the homage of loyalty that is to be paid to Their Imperial Majesties. On such an occasion as this our memory naturally dwells upon the long and intimate association with the Royal House which it has been the privilege of this University to enjoy, an association which possesses, in the words of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, "a hereditary character."

On the 3rd January, 1876, our University had the honour and privilege to confer, for the first time in her history, the Degree of Doctor of Law, *Honoris causa*, on His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (subsequently, King Edward VII) who was pleased to come to India on a gracious visit. It was a memorable day for this University, for it was with his signature that the University Register of Honorary Degrees was opened.

Thirty years later, on the 5th January 1906, the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law was conferred on King Edward's Heir-Apparent, His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales, as our present King-Emperor then was. Six years later when he visited India once\* more as His Imperial Majesty King George V, to celebrate his Coronation at Delhi, His Majesty was graciously pleased to receive an Address from the University at Government House, Calcutta, on the 6th January, 1912. To that Address he gave a memorable reply. Hardly had ten years elapsed when the University again had the opportunity of welcoming another representative of the Royal House. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law was conferred upon the present Prince of Wales when His Royal Highness visited India in 1921.

We reproduce below from the University records the Address that was presented to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress of India and His Majesty's Reply. We also reproduce in chronological order the Special Convocation Addresses delivered on the occasion of the conferment of Honorary Degrees on the Princes of Wales, in 1876, 1906 and 1921. The Reply by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, in 1921, is also reproduced. We also publish the *facsimile* of the portions of our Register of Honorary Degrees containing the signatures of Their Royal Highnesses. The two autographed portraits of Their Majesties presented to the University in 1912 are reproduced as *frontispieces*.

## I

### PRESENTATION OF THE UNIVERSITY ADDRESS TO THEIR IMPERIAL MAJESTIES THE KING-EMPEROR AND QUEEN-EMPRESS

*The 6th January, 1912*

His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor having signified his pleasure to receive an Address from the University at the Government House on Saturday, the 6th January, 1912, at 10-30 A.M., invitations were issued by the Registrar to the Fellows of the University to attend the function. With the gracious permission of the King-Emperor, the

Registered Graduates of the University were also invited to attend by way of a special privilege. At a quarter past 10 A.M. the Fellows of the University, headed by His Honour the Rector and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, assembled in the Throne Room in full academic robes, while the Registered Graduates wearing University Gowns and hoods of their respective Degrees were accommodated in the adjoining Marble Hall.

Before entering the Throne Room, the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to call for the Vice-Chancellor and to present to him portraits of Their Imperial Majesties to be preserved by the University as mementoes of Their Majesties' visit to Calcutta.

At 10-30 A.M., His Excellency the Viceroy wearing the robe of the Chancellor of the University joined the assembly in the Throne Room, and a few minutes later His Majesty the King-Emperor entered and was received by His Excellency the Chancellor, His Honour the Rector and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, the whole assembly rising from their seats and the Band playing the National Anthem.

His Excellency the Chancellor having obtained permission of the King-Emperor, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., read the Address, which was as follows :

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIES,

“ It is with feelings of the deepest devotion and loyalty that we, the representatives of the University of Calcutta, avail ourselves of the high privilege of approaching Your Gracious Majesties with an Address. With all Indians we share the enthusiastic gratitude due to the great Sovereign and his Consort who have vouchsafed to give to their affection and regard for our beloved country the most powerful and eloquent expression by coming to celebrate in India at our old Imperial city, the Coronation which took place in London last June. In addition we, the members of the Calcutta University, remember with special pride and gratitude the time, now six years ago, when Your Imperial Majesty, then Prince of Wales, graciously consented to join the ranks of our Honorary Doctors of Law. Nor do we fail to recall to mind the occasion when Your Gracious Majesty's august father, King Edward VII of revered memory, conferred on the University a similar high honour and thereby inaugurated a connexion between the Royal House and our University which, we are proud to think, thus already possesses a hereditary character.

“ We, however, on the present auspicious occasion, may perhaps venture to claim that we represent not the University of Calcutta



only, but the entire body of the Indian Universities, and taking an even wider view of the situation, that entire, ever increasing, section of the Indian people which has had a University education. In this widely representative capacity we humbly crave leave to give expression to a special feeling of gratitude. The inestimable advantages and blessings, for which India is indebted to its connexion with Great Britain, are of so manifold a nature that we cannot undertake even to touch on them as a whole ; but there is one boon, and this surely one of the greatest, to which the representatives of the Universities feel entitled, nay bound, to refer specially—we mean the access which the union of the two countries has given us to the priceless treasures of modern Western knowledge and culture, literature and science. We Indians, no doubt, look back with pride and reverence to what, in the days of old, our forefathers accomplished in the fields of thought and knowledge ; but we at the same time fully realize that, in order to advance the greatness and happiness of our country and to re-conquer for it an honourable place among the great progressive nations of the world, we must, in the first place, strenuously endeavour to arm ourselves with all the knowledge, all the science, all the skill of the West. When, therefore, appearing before our Gracious King-Emperor, who symbolizes to us in his own person as it were the happy union between Great Britain and India and all the blessings springing from it, we, the representatives of the Indian Universities, feel strongly urged to give expression to a feeling of deep gratitude—gratitude to Providence for the kind dispensation which has tied the fates of India to those of a Western country so advanced and enlightened as Great Britain,—gratitude to our rulers who long ago initiated and ever since have adhered to a far-sighted and sympathetic policy of public instruction and education through the beneficent action of which the light of modern knowledge is gradually spreading through the whole length and breadth of the land. And with this expression of gratitude it behoves us to couple a further assurance. We humbly request permission to assure Your Gracious Majesties that the Indian Universities, which are the leaders in the great intellectual movement that at present is reshaping India, are vividly conscious of the very weighty responsibilities which this their place and function impose on them. They realize that it is their duty not only to promote and foster but also to guide and control the country's advance on the paths of enlightenment and knowledge, and to provide safeguards as far as it is in their power, so that the enthusiasm which a sudden widening of the intellectual

horizon is apt to engender in youthful minds may not tend to impair or weaken those great conservative forces without the constant silent action of which no nation can achieve true greatness and well-being—the forces of respect for order, reverence for law and good custom, loyalty to established authority. We venture to assure Your Gracious Majesties that the Indian Universities, while ambitious to be leaders in a boundless intellectual advance, are no less anxious to act as centres of stability—moral, social and political; that they will ever view it as a supreme duty to strengthen the bonds which connect India with Great Britain and the Royal House; and that they rejoice in the thought that it may be given to them to contribute their share towards the successful accomplishment, under Providence, of that great task which the world-wide British Empire has taken upon itself for the good of Humanity.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

YOUR MAJESTIES'

Most loyal and most obedient subjects,

Hardinge of Penshurst, *Chancellor*

F. W. Duke, *Rector*

Asutosh Mookerjee, *Vice-Chancellor*

G. Thibaut, *Registrar*

L. Jenkins  
R. S. Copleston  
Guy Fleetwood Wilson  
R. W. Carlyle  
J. L. Jenkins  
Harcourt Butler  
Syed Ali Imam  
G. W. Küchler  
Gooroo Dass Banerjee  
Ahmad  
Mahendranath Ray  
Kailaschandra Bose  
Nilratan Sircar  
Phanibhushan Mukerji  
J. N. Das Gupta  
S. C. Mahalanobis  
Paul Brühl  
Muhammad Yusoof  
C. P. Lukis  
Lalmohan Doss

Krishnachandra Banerji  
Prafullachandra Ray  
Satischandra Vidyabhushan  
Leonard Rogers  
C. W. Peake  
F. A. Slacke  
Binayendranath Sen  
F. P. Maynard  
Jnanachandra Ghosh  
Harachandra Banerjee  
C. P. Caspersz  
A. Earle  
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E. O'Neill, s.j.  
Richard Harington  
R. N. Mukerjee  
Alexander Thomson  
E. P. Harrison  
Kumudinikanta Bandyopadhyay  
D. N. Mallik

Girindranath Mukerjee  
 S. C. Bagchi  
 H. H. Hayden  
 Herambachandra Maitra  
 Debaprasad Sarbadhikari  
 Bhupendranath Basu  
 Adharchandra Mukerjee  
 Chunilal Bose  
 Henry Stephen  
 George Francis Angelo Harris  
 Kedarnath Das  
 Upendranath Brahmachari  
 E. Denison Ross  
 Brajendranath Seal  
 Rajendrachandra Sastri  
 Francis James Drury  
 G. H. B. Kenrick  
 W. A. J. Archbold  
 Pandeya Ramavatara Sarma  
 Dineshchandra Sen  
 Lalitmohan Chatterjee  
 Manohar Lal  
 Janakinath Bhattacharyya

Phanindralal Gangooly  
 J. A. Murray  
 J. T. Calvert  
 E. H. Robertson  
 Annadaprasad Sircar  
 G. Findlay Shirras  
 W. B. MacCabe  
 C. R. M. Green  
 Jnanranjan Banerjee  
 Birajmohan Majumdar  
 Baidyanath Narayan Sinha  
 Kalipada Basu  
 Evan E. Biss  
 Kamalud Din Ahmad  
 B. K. Finnimore  
 R. J. Barrow  
 Bidhubhushan Goswami  
 Owston Smith  
 W. G. Brockway  
 F. W. Sudmersen  
 R. W. F. Shaw  
 R. G. Milburn "

\*

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\*

### HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR'S REPLY

" I recall with pleasure the occasion on which, six years ago, I received from the University of Calcutta the Honorary Degree of a Doctor of Law, and I am glad to have an opportunity to-day of showing my deep and earnest interest in the higher education of India. It is to the Universities of India that I look to assist in that gradual union and fusion of the culture and aspiration of Europeans and Indians on which the future well-being of India so greatly depends. I have watched with sympathy the measures that from time to time have been taken by the Universities of India to extend the scope and raise the standards of instruction. Much remains to be done. No University is now-a-days complete unless it is equipped with Teaching Faculties in all the more important branches of the Sciences and the Arts, and unless it provides ample opportunities for Research. You have to conserve the ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science. You have also to build up character, without which learning is of little value. You say that you recognise your great responsibilities. I bid you God-speed in the work that is

before you. Let your ideals be high and your efforts to pursue them unceasing and, under Providence, you will succeed.

“Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of Sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watchword of Hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life. Education has given you hope ; and through better and higher education you will build up higher and better hopes. The announcement was made at Delhi by my command that my Governor-General in Council will allot large sums for the expansion and improvement of education in India. It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart.

“It is gratifying to me to be assured of your devotion to Myself and to my House, of your desire to strengthen the bonds of union between Great Britain and India, and of your appreciation of the advantages which you enjoy under British Rule. I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address.”

## II

### SPECIAL CONVOCATION

*The 3rd January, 1876*

A Special Convocation was convened to confer the Degree of Doctor of Law, *Honoris causa*, on His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. The Hon'ble Arthur Hobhouse, q.c., the Vice-Chancellor, delivered the following speech :

“ MY LORD,

“ It devolves upon me as Vice-Chancellor of this University to present to Your Lordship His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to receive the Degree of Doctor in Law.

“ It is customary in our English Universities that the merits of each recipient of an Honorary Degree should be set forth by the official who presents him. In the case of the Heir-Apparent to the English Throne, I think that such eulogy may most fittingly be omitted. But I may yet say a few words suggested by the occasion of the first gift of an Honorary Degree by this University.

“ My Lord, it is often imputed to us English Rulers of India that we are in too great a hurry to introduce European ideas, and that we thus plant sickly exotics, which wither away because they have no root in the feelings of the people. How much there is of true and how much of false in that saying, I do not now ask ; for, no such objection, is, or can be, made to this University.

“ The statesmen who founded our University acted with the true insight of faith. They did not aim at this or that special political result. They considered it their duty towards their subjects to lead them to that which refines and ennobles all the world, to help them in cultivating what is highest and noblest in man, and in acquiring the knowledge and mental habits without which every society is but mutilated and feeble. And so acting, they have founded an Institution of extraordinary vitality and vigour of growth ; one pregnant with the life which no ruler can give, but which can spring only from close affinity with the wishes and aspirations of a people.

“ Though still less than 20 years old, our University has come to exercise a great influence on the education of Northern India. It already receives candidates for admission from some 270 schools, educating some 40,000 pupils. This year nearly 2,400 young men knocked at its door for admission, and nearly 300 have presented themselves for Bachelor's degree. Those who have the working of it, tell us that no event of the year excites more general interest in Indian households than the examinations of our University, and all this notwithstanding that our managers have now and again raised the standards of learning, and have made admission to membership continually more difficult. What may be the political and social results of this great mental stimulus, those may tell who are here many years after we are gone. But it is certain that our founders have given to the people of India an instrument which they want, and are determined to use. That it is being used, and will continue to be used for good, I for one do not doubt.

“ My Lord, it is an auspicious day for this University when we are able to open our book of Honorary Degrees with the name of the Prince



*Facsimile Reproduction from the*  
REGISTER OF HONORARY DEGREES  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Recipient of Degree</i>	<i>Signature</i>
<i>1876</i>	<i>3 January</i>	<i>Doctor in Law</i>	<i>His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales</i>	<i>Alfred Howard?</i>

Signature of H R H Albert Edward Prince of Wales

of Wales. As I before intimated, we are still in our infancy, and, like other infants, we may have chequered fortunes before us ; but I think that nothing will ever happen to make His Royal Highness regret his fellowship with us. If the past ratio of progress be continued, he may, at the end of another 20 years, find himself a member of the largest University in the world, and one of the most influential on the people among whom it works. And I speak with confidence when I say that among the roll of our graduates, either Honorary or Ordinary, there will then be names of whose company, no personage, however exalted, need feel ashamed."

His Excellency the Chancellor, the Right Hon'ble Edward Robert Lytton, Bulwer-Lytton, Baron Lytton, then delivered the diploma of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law to His Royal Highness and admitted him to the Degree. His Royal Highness then signed the Register of Honorary Degrees conferred by the University.

### III

#### SPECIAL CONVOCATION

*The 5th January, 1906*

A Special Convocation was convened to confer the Degree of Doctor of Law, *Honoris causa*, on His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales. Sir Alexander Pedler, kt., C.I.E., F.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, delivered the following address :

" MY LORD,

" It devolves upon me as Vice-Chancellor of this University to present to Your Excellency as Chancellor His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to receive the Degree of Doctor in Law.

" The usual custom in English and Indian Universities is for the Vice-Chancellor who presents the recipients of Honorary Degrees to set forth in his speech their merits and the reasons for granting such degrees. On such a special occasion as this, however, it would be out of place for me to follow this custom and I will merely state in the language of our new Indian Universities Act, that His Royal Highness by reason of eminent position and attainments is a fit and proper person to receive the Degree of Doctor in Law of this University.



“ I would remind Your Excellency and His Royal Highness of the coincidence that 30 years ago His Majesty the King-Emperor was present in this Hall and was the first recipient of an Honorary Degree of an Indian University. Indeed if our Convocation had been held on Wednesday instead of to-day it would have been the thirtieth anniversary of the day on which the King-Emperor was made a Doctor in Law in this University.

“ At that time the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, enlarged on the position of this University as then beginning to have great influence on the life of a very large section of the Indian public, and he predicted that 20 years after that day, if its rate of progress was continued, His Majesty the King-Emperor might find himself a member of the largest University in the world. These words have almost come true. The expansion of the influence of this University has been even more rapid than was anticipated. The number of those appearing for its Examinations has increased more than fourfold in the last 30 years. Thus while in 1875 the number of candidates appearing for the Calcutta University Examinations was 3,503, in 1905 this number has increased to 14,468. There are indeed no Universities in the Eastern hemisphere, if even in the world, where figures approaching to these can be found.

“ During the half century that this University has existed, the educational condition of the inhabitants of Bengal, and of other parts of India has been entirely changed. Facilities for education from the highest to the lowest stages now exist broadcast in Bengal, and the children under education in this Province are numbered by millions. Yet from the smallest *Patsalas* in villages to the close network of Arts and other Colleges, which now exist in Bengal and to a smaller extent in Assam and Burma, all educational institutions and methods have been and are being influenced by the work of this University.

“ In order to provide for the development of modern ideas and methods in University education, it has been found necessary to pass a new Indian Universities Act, under which it is hoped that education in Bengal will attain a much higher level than has been possible under the former constitution and powers of the University.

“ The new Indian Universities Act, indeed, commences a new era in the history of our University, and the ceremony of to-day is a



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UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Signature</i>
1906	24 January	Doctor in Law	His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales	George V.

Source: <https://www.uklii.org/uk/other/uklii-uk/cambridge/degrees/>  
(U.K. II. General Index, 1906-1907, Page 4, Web  
(U.K. Mod. Law, 1906-1907, Page 4))

hopeful augury for the success of our work in the future. For the parallel is now complete. His Majesty the King-Emperor thirty years ago became the first Honorary Doctor in Law of this University under the former Act, and we now desire to add the name of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales as the first Doctor in Law under the new conditions.

“I need not dilate on the great honour which His Royal Highness confers on this University by thus accepting our Degree, nor need I add anything as to the enthusiasm and gratefulness which I know every Indian and European gentleman in connection with this University feels for the honour which is being done to us.

“In conclusion I will merely ask Your Excellency to confer the Degree of D.L. to His Royal Highness.”

His Excellency the Chancellor the Right Hon'ble Sir Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynynmound, P.C., G.C.M.G., Earl of Minto, then delivered the diploma of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law to His Royal Highness and admitted him to the Degree. His Royal Highness then signed the Register of Honorary Degrees conferred by the University.

#### IV

### SPECIAL CONVOCATION

*The 27th December, 1921*

A Special Convocation was convened to confer the Degree of Doctor of Law, *Honoris causa*, upon His Royal Highness Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, Prince of Wales. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, delivered the following address:

“YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

“On occasions when Honorary Degrees are conferred in this University, the Vice-Chancellor is expected to dwell at some length on the eminent position and attainments of the distinguished recipients; but whatever may verily be pleaded in defence of this time-honoured custom, a departure may well be sanctioned when we are assembled to show our regard for the Heir-Apparent to the Throne. The event

may rightly be interpreted as possessing a significance rather national and imperial than scholastic and academic. We rejoice to think that now forty-six years ago, when the Senate of this University desired to honour His Royal Highness Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, whom Queen Victoria of loved and revered memory had sent out in our midst in token of her deep affection for the millions of her subjects in her Indian Empire, we were authorised to give expression to our feelings in a manner befitting an academic body and to open our Roll of Honorary Graduates with his illustrious name. We remember, again, with pride and pleasure that thirty years later His Royal Highness George Frederic Ernest Albert, Prince of Wales, graciously consented, like his august father, to join the rank of our Honorary Doctors of Law. We recall, further, with gratitude and exultation, the memorable day when, six years later, our great Sovereign and his Consort vouchsafed to us the high privilege of approaching Their Gracious Majesties on this very spot, with a dutiful address expressive of our deepest feelings of loyalty and devotion. It is thus appropriate in the highest degree that on the present auspicious occasion we should be anxious to extend to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales such enthusiastic welcome as lies in our power and thereby to renew a connection between the Royal House and our University which, to our joy, already possesses a hereditary character.

“ But let me emphasise that there are additional weighty reasons of a personal nature, why we are gratified by this opportunity to give outward expression to our feelings of esteem and admiration. Though still in the threshold of what is bound to prove a career of signal beneficence, His Royal Highness has given abundant proof of true nobility of soul. Whether amidst the peaceful life of an ancient seat of learning and culture, or amidst the storm and stress of a battle-field in the greatest of wars recorded in modern history, his high sense of duty and good comradeship secured for him the affectionate regard of all who were brought into contact with him. To their surprise and delight, he united inexhaustible courtesy with chivalrous courage, and untiring energy with unfailing serenity of temper. It is no wonder that a Prince of the Royal House, so richly endowed by Nature, gifted with an ever-radiant smile, warmly interested in the welfare of the rising generation, anxious to meet and mingle with youth and to understand their hopes and aspirations, ever ready to open out his mind to them and to give them an insight into the ideas he holds in

reverence as true and honourable—it is surely no wonder that such a Prince should, by universal testimony, conquer all hearts wherever he might go, in the Dominion of Canada, in the Australasian Colonies, in the United States of America, and, let me couple without hesitation the name of my motherland, India.

“ What then can be more eminently befitting than that he should prove to be one of the greatest of ambassadors that have ever served the British People,—the founders of commonwealths, the pioneers of progress, the stubborn defenders of liberty ? What, again, can be more natural than that we should, with pride and pleasure, invite him who symbolises in his person all that is best in the traditions of that race, to enter the portals of our Academy, which has been charged by our Gracious Sovereign to conserve our ancient learning and simultaneously to push forward Western science ? It is, indeed, by a wise dispensation of Providence that the destinies of India have been united to those of a Western nation so progressive and enlightened as Great Britain ; this has rendered it possible for us to maintain and develop our highly cherished national culture, intellectual and spiritual, and, at the same time, to take full advantage of the immense opportunities of advancement afforded by all the knowledge, all the science, all the skill of the West. But while we realise the truth that the destiny of men is in their own hands, that their future is for themselves to shape, we look for comradeship to the nation which has been a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind,—that comradeship which is the key to all well-being and happiness in the democratic life of the British Empire to-day, comradeship between nation and nation, between race and race, between people of all ranks in all walks of life. We have been taught to believe that every man and woman under the law should have an equal chance and equal hope, and that individuals and society will have their highest development and the largest allotment of human happiness where this is secured by the spread of education along with liberty under law—liberty, not license, civilisation, not barbarism, liberty clad in the celestial robe of law, that law which alone is the authoritative expression of the will of the people. The dynamic effect of the fusion of Ideals, Eastern and Western, is already visible over this vast continent, the repository of an ancient and glorious civilisation. If I may be permitted to recall the language of our Gracious Sovereign, when ten years ago he gave us the watchword of Hope, ‘ on every side I

trace the sign and stirrings of new life,' I see, indeed, the majestic vision which unfolded itself to that great Puritan poet, the mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies, the God-gifted organ-voice of England: 'Methinks, I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing itself like a strong man after his sleep and shaking her invincible locks.' To have thus roused India from the slumber of ages and now to help her to reconquer for herself her position as a leading nation of the civilised world by assigning to her an honourable place of equality amongst the members of the commonwealth of Britain, will be not only the final realisation of the beneficent purpose of Providence, but also the crowning glory, the noblest achievement of the British race—the race that has secured from unwilling kings the charters of its political rights, the race that has afforded incontestable proof of its humanity by the abolition of slavery within its world-wide territories. The truest course, the surest course, for every member of that great commonwealth to follow is, I doubt not, to recognise that Indians, like Englishmen, are high-spirited and fearless; both alike will do justice, will have justice, and will put up with nothing but justice from each other and from the nations at large. Weld them together, more and evermore, in a comradeship for defence of liberty under law. Their union of heart and purpose will record the triumph of justice and humanity, and will leave its indelible mark upon the pages of the history of freedom in every sphere of activity of civilised man. We fervently hope that no sullen clouds of coldness or estrangement may ever obscure our fair relations and that the action or inaction of men who meditate disunion may not succeed to mar the benevolent purpose of Providence; and we venture respectfully to charge the future King of the British People with a cordial message of good-will from us, assuring them of our desire to strengthen the golden link which connects India with Great Britain and the Royal House.

“My Lord, I trust I shall be forgiven if I bring my Address to a close on a personal note. On the occasion when forty-six years ago, an Honorary Degree was first conferred on a Prince of Wales, the distinguished graduates of this University were invited to witness the ceremony. One of the earliest graduates was permitted as an act of special favour to bring his little boy into the Senate House to have a glimpse of the Prince. The tumultuous acclamation which greeted His Royal Highness as he entered the hall made an ever-lasting impression on the mind of the boy. Thirty years later, the boy had developed into a Syndic and recorded his concurrence in a proposal to confer





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<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Degree</i>	<i>Recipient</i>	<i>Signature</i>
1921	27 <sup>th</sup> Decem <sup>r</sup>	Doctor of Law	His Royal Highness Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David Prince of Wales.	<i>Edward</i>

Signature of H. K. L. Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David Prince of Wales.

an Honorary Degree on the second Prince of Wales. Six years later, this very Syndic as Vice-Chancellor of this University and as the spokesman of the Senate had the high privilege to present a loyal and dutiful address to his Most Gracious Sovereign. By a singular turn of events, he now stands before you and has the supreme satisfaction to invite Your Excellency, as Chancellor of this University, to confer an Honorary Degree on the third Prince of Wales."

His Excellency the Chancellor, the Right Hon'ble Lawrence John Lumley Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay, D.Litt., G.C.I.E., then delivered the diploma of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law to His Royal Highness and admitted him to the Degree. His Royal Highness then signed the Register of Honorary Degrees conferred by the University.

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#### THE REPLY BY H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

"YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

"I thank you for the very high honour which you have conferred on me by granting me an honorary degree of your University.

"My father, His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, received this honour at your hands in 1906, and six years later recalled the pleasure which the ceremony had afforded to him, in his reply to a loyal address presented to him by the representatives of your University.

"On the latter occasion His Majesty dwelt on the high ideals which should animate Universities in India, and on his confidence that the labours of your governing body would be inspired by those noble standards and that you would shoulder your high responsibilities with a courage which would command success. At the same time His Majesty's deep interest in the cause of education was shown by his special commands to his Governor-General regarding the expansion and improvement of education generally in India.

"I am gratified to hear that his wishes in the latter respect have borne fruit. It will be of interest to His Majesty to learn from me that his confidence in you was not misplaced ; and that in the rapid

expansion of educational facilities, which has occurred, one of the important features has been the co-operation of bodies such as your University, in measures calculated to extend and improve the system of higher education in India in proportion to the expansion and progress which is taking place in other departments of education in this country. That this co-operation is cheerfully given in the face of financial and other difficulties redounds to your credit.

“Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I trust that the honorary degree with which you have presented me to-day, will form a real bond of union between me and the University of Calcutta.”

# MAETERLINCK'S SCOPE AS A DRAMATIST

JNANENDRANATH CHAUDHURI, M.A.

*Lecturer in English, Dacca University.*

HAMLET, perhaps speaking for Shakespeare, put in a nutshell the function of the drama as holding up the mirror, as it were, to nature. Ever since its birth, the drama has held up, or tried to hold up, the mirror to nature; and as nature has never stood still but changed from age to age, the character of the drama also has correspondingly changed. Those days are gone beyond recall when gods and goddesses took a keen interest and occasionally even an active part in the affairs of men, and land and water and mountains and trees were peopled with spiritual presences, benign or malign. The oracles are dumb and a wife may now murder her husband or a son his mother without hearing the voice of God. No sphinx now proposes a riddle by solving which one can gain a kingdom and a queen's hand, and no centaur prescribes a potion to anxious love. The gardens of the Hesperides have vanished from the face of the earth. No calm on the ocean's bosom can to-day prevent a ship from reaching its destination, and no torch is burnt on hill-tops to carry the message of one land to another. The Pegasus of modern times has to fly much lower than in the glorious days of classical antiquity. and the materials of poetry and drama, specially of drama, have now to be gathered from the lives of mortals whose contact with solid earth is scarcely, if ever, loosened by divine or supernatural intervention. The men and women of the tragedians of ancient Greece seem to walk on stilts; their adventures are different from the adventures of nineteenth- and twentieth-century men and they belong, so to speak, to a different order of humanity. We may go further and say that even the Elizabethan dramatists, not excluding Shakespeare, have a different scale for measurement of humanity from the dramatists of our times. Their *dramatis personae*, though moving in a world less god-ridden than the world of Agamemnon and Orestes and Electra and Antigone, have larger dimensions, in action and emotion, than characters of, say, Ibsen and Strindberg, Galsworthy and Shaw. Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, and Lear are all

Titans of a later day. By their side, a Helmer, a Stockmann, a Rosmer, even a Solness, a Captain Adolf, a Julia, a Falder, a Roberts, a Mrs. Warren or a Mavor Morell, all appear like pigmies, though they are our kin. But what distinguishes the modern drama from the Elizabethan or from the Classical is not mere dimension or *milieu*: the entire outlook on life has changed, or, perhaps, life itself has changed. We might with difficulty imagine an Othello or a Lear living in our midst, but is an Oedipus possible any longer? or an Orestes, or Iphigenia? It is not that human nature has changed beyond recognition so that a character of Aeschylus and a character of Ibsen, if they happened to meet, would fail to know each other to be members of the same species! but if we could suppose them to be able to exchange their ideas, they would find themselves standing worlds apart. They would find that their aims of life are different, their thoughts go different ways, and their passions do not run the same course. They would also find that what is virtue to one is perhaps vice to the other, what one dreads the other perhaps welcomes, and what appears as truth to one, to the other perhaps appears as an utter illusion. Affection, love, pity, jealousy, hatred, envy, greed, terror, awe, faith, piety, reverence still rule mankind as they ruled it in the world's infancy, but they no longer spring from the same cause, nor do they lead to the same consequence; the names only remain the same, but the abstract entities connoted by them in those primitive days have changed their character. With altered functions and altered surroundings, these entities have evolved other dramatic materials and necessitated other dramatic methods than those of old. As these new materials ultimately owe their origin to a loss of faith in the old order of things, the modern drama, in its treatment of these materials, is of necessity characterised by a deep questioning spirit. The supernatural which in the Classical drama takes the form of divinities like Apollo, Athena, the Muses, and the oracles, and which lingers in the Elizabethan drama as ghosts, apparitions, and witches, has now practically disappeared. If a God survives, he survives as a note of interrogation, as an object of grave doubt or at best as a Life Force. The life of man, seeking after truth amidst illusions and doubt, facing unaided the problems of social and individual existence, or trying to probe those depths of inner life which lie beyond all problems—that is the modern dramatist's inspiration and theme.

Social problems have pre-eminently engaged the attention of dramatists in modern times. In the West, where womanhood enjoys greater freedom of thought and liberty of action and where, consequently, manhood and womanhood come into more frequent conflicts involving individuals and sometimes families in tragic situations, these social problems have very largely centred round marital relations between the sexes. Problems of married life or of womanhood independently of man have figured in the modern drama from Dumas junior down to Shaw. Ibsen has enriched these problems by introducing questions of heredity which, in his case at least, has assumed almost the character of a modern fate; Galsworthy and Hauptmann have included questions of justice and labour, while Shaw has extended his range over social organisation and medical and evolutionary science. Maeterlinck began with an imitation of Elizabethan drama and, at intervals throughout the major part of his dramatic career, paid tribute to that drama through his own creation and through translation. In the tragedy of *Princess Maleine* and the romance of *Joyzelle* Maeterlinck is too palpably an imitator of the Elizabethan dramatists to be allowed much claim to originality. *Pelleas and Melisanda*, in spite of its thoroughly Maeterlinckian atmosphere and occasional Maeterlinckian tone, is also largely inspired by Elizabethan drama. Under the influence of Shakespeare and decadent Elizabethans like Beaumont and Fletcher and Webster, Maeterlinck, in *Princess Maleine* and *Pelleas and Melisanda*, revels in the presentation of intrigue, treachery, sinister love, jealousy, murder and bloodshed. *Joyzelle*, like *The Tempest*, is woven out of pure romance having only indirect points of contact with normal, matter-of-fact life. In the manner of *The Tempest* it also makes room for a type of the supernatural in which Maeterlinck has no faith. These imitations, however, must be taken as artistic experiments in which the poet merely tried his strength rather than as serious indications of his view of life and things. His admiration of Elizabethan drama is no doubt unbounded. He has compared it to a tumultuous and mad ocean throwing up jewels and dross at the same time and, not contented with imitations, transplanted into his own language *Macbeth* and another play which he considered to be a masterpiece, viz., Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*. But notwithstanding all this admiration and imitation, he seeks for truth in a side of life which is practically the reverse of that presented by the

Elizabethans. Elizabethan drama, in conformity with the spirit of the age, is pre-eminently a drama of physical action, more or less violent, and deals with that side of life which finds expression mainly through physical action. Shakespeare, in his tragedies, has sounded the profoundest depths of human passions, but even there we hear the rolling of drums and the clashing of swords. Hamlet, Shakespeare's most contemplative man, has to wield the rapier and kill. It is not to be thought for a moment that a drama is possible without any physical action at all ; but to insist on the physical character of action as the very basis of dramatic creation, is to misunderstand the fundamental constitution of human nature. The truth of life need not reveal itself in and through movements of the body only ; movements of the mind are equally important, if not more so, at least in modern life. The characteristic Maeterlinckian drama is very poor in physical action. It is at times almost a drama of inaction, if by action were meant only physical movement. Those who emphasise the etymological meaning of the word 'drama' and invoke the authority of Aristotle to hold that a drama of physical inaction is a contradiction in terms, would take Maeterlinck to task, as, in fact, he has been taken to task for attempting the impossible. But we may remember with advantage that according to Aristotle himself "the *πρᾶξις* that art seeks to reproduce is mainly an inward process, a psychical energy working outwards ; deeds, incidents, events, situations, being included under it so far as these spring from an inward act of will, or elicit some activity of thought or feeling." <sup>2</sup> We may also remember Dryden's words in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*: "Every alteration or crossing of a design, every new-sprung passion, and turn of it, is a part of the action, and much the noblest, except we conceive nothing to be action till the players come to blows." Maeterlinck's peculiarity as a dramatic artist lies in his attempt at evolving a drama of apparent inaction or at least a drama in which physical action, such as it is, has been pushed into the background to make room for the action of the mind and soul. Paucity of physical action is suicidal to drama as a

<sup>1</sup> "It is quite possible that Aristotle detected a tendency in the tragedy of his day which he held dangerous to the vitality of drama—the tendency to the merely statuesque, to motionless life. If so, his over-statement of the case for the other side was nothing less than a piece of practical wisdom. Even today this drama of motionless life beguiles some men to heresy ; M. Maeterlinck makes it his ideal in his "static theatre," the very negation of all drama."—*Times Literary Supplement*, 23rd May, 1902 (quoted in Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, Fourth Edition, p. 351).

<sup>2</sup> Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 4th Edn., p. 123.

popular art ; but if modern drama is to stand for modern reality as 'Greek drama stood for Greek reality, and the drama of the Renaissance for the reality of the Renaissance,'<sup>1</sup> then, according to Maeterlinck, such paucity is inevitable. Life, he holds, no longer reveals its truth and mission on the battle-field, in bloodshed, strangling, poisoning, and revenge. He refuses to believe that the soul flowers only on nights of storm, that we must roar like the Atrides before the Eternal God will reveal Himself in our life, that He is never by our side at times when the air is calm, and the lamp burns on, unflickering.<sup>2</sup> Life now runs a much smoother course than in the days of Greek antiquity or the Renaissance. Its gravest crises are faced in silence in a corner of one's room. "It is seldom that cries are heard now ; bloodshed is rare, and tears not often seen. It is in a small room, round a table, close to the fire, that the joys and sorrows of mankind are decided. We suffer, or make others suffer, we love, we die, there in our corner ; and it were the strangest chance should a door or a window suddenly, for an instant, fly open, beneath the pressure of extraordinary despair or rejoicing."<sup>3</sup> This is the modern reality that the modern drama must interpret. One has but to glance through Ibsen's social and psychological plays to see the truth of Maeterlinck's position. Torvald Helmer sits in his own room when the tragic end of his domestic life is tolled by the banging of a door ; Oswald Alving sinks into death in his mother's presence as the rising sun peeps into his room ; Johannes Rosmer meets all the vicissitudes of his tragic career in a couple of rooms, his study and his sitting-room ; Thomas Stockmann, likewise, struggles with all opposing forces surrounded by his family in his sitting-room or study ; Old Ekdal, like a wounded animal sneaking into its bush to avoid the pursuing hunter, retires into his secret garret and there faces his destiny, while poor Hjalmar Ekdal and his unfortunate wife Gina and still more unfortunate daughter Hedvig, all huddle together in a small room—young Ekdal's studio—as life gradually crushes them down under its heavy burden ; Hedda Gabler's brief career of frivolity, anxiety, and despair is run in a couple of rooms which were to be the home of her wedded life ; Halvard Solness, though his career ends in an extraordinarily romantic manner, has not to cross the threshold of his room to discover the

<sup>1</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 99, 101.

<sup>3</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 99.



sorcery of life. It is true that Ibsen has not been able to get rid of death in his presentation of life ; but that does not justify Shaw's charge that ' Ibsen seems to have succumbed without a struggle to the old notion that a play is not really a play unless it contains a murder, a suicide, or something else out of the Police Gazette.' <sup>1</sup> ' Death,' as William Archer retorted to Shaw, 'is, after all, one of the most important incidents of life, not only to him or her who dies, but to those who survive.'<sup>2</sup> A dramatist, therefore, who aims at a complete presentation of life, cannot exclude death from within his scope. The question is, not whether the dramatist makes use of death as an incident for his play, but how and for what purpose he uses it. If death comes as a matter of course, as a bringer of peace, as the inevitable consummation of a career of ceaseless anxieties, without the mediaeval horrors of strangling, poisoning, stabbing, there can be no legitimate objection to the use of death as a dramatic incident. The tragedy of the life of Strindberg's Captain Adolf runs its full course in the Captain's sitting-room where the miserable victim of domestic conspiracy gets peace in death or insanity on the very sofa on which he had presumably experienced the first raptures of married life. The only act of violence in this terrible tragedy is the throwing of a lamp by the maddened husband at his cold, cruel wife. The equally terrible tragedy of Captain Edgar in *The Dance of Death* evolves itself first within the four walls of the Captain's room and then at the house of his friend. The Captain's married life, a long period of misery and bitterness, ends in death in his favourite chair. The tragedy reaches its climax without any necessity of physical violence ; but, just before breathing his last, the Captain does a deed which reveals more abysmal depths of hatred and indignation than did Othello's smothering Desdemona to death : as his wife takes her face close to his to utter a few bitter words for the last time, he spits in her face ! It is hard to conceive a more tragic end to a married life extending over thirty years or more. And yet amidst what calm this end is reached ! The wonderful peace of death reigns around, wonderful as that solemn restlessness when a child comes into the

<sup>1</sup> Ibsen, by George Bernard Shaw, in the *Clarion*, June, 1906, quoted by Archibald Henderson in *George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Work*, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *About the Theatre*, by William Archer, in the *Tribune* (London), July 14th, 1906, quoted by Archibald Henderson in *George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Work*, p. 386.

world ; the Captain's wife can hear the silence and see on the floor the marks of the chair which carried him away. Miss Julia's tragedy of love takes place in a kitchen and what forces her to her doom is the bitterness of her lover's irony. The crisis is reached through words only ; of physical action there is but little in the play. The workings of the inner life of Gustav, Tekla and Adolph in *Creditors* are laid bare merely through dialogues in a single room in a hotel. The protagonist of Hauptmann's *Drayman Henschel* is relieved from the worries of life by a silent death and he leaves his unfaithful wife to answer for herself to God. The life presented here is devoid of all culture and refinement, but still it is remarkably quiet and what action it has is confined to a couple of rooms in an inn. In *Michael Kramer* the tragedy of the bereaved father's soul unfolds itself in his studio, not amidst the gnashing of teeth and the rending of hair but amidst philosophic contemplations that find the gentleness of love on the face of death. The prayer of Synge's *Maurya* attains a biblical grandeur and the majesty of universal truths as she kneels by the dead body of her sixth and last son lying on the floor of her cottage-kitchen. Galsworthny may occasionally take us to a court of justice or a prison-cell, and Shaw may take us even farther afield to an oasis in Mesopotamia ; but, generally speaking, they also place their decisive centres of action in a secluded flat or room where the characters gather round a table or near the hearth, and sit and talk or brood.

The illustrations here brought together in support of Maeterlinck's view are all products of naturalism in the drama ; but it is clear that he would bring all modern drama under the principle that life in modern times reveals its truth in silence and calm. It is better to acknowledge at once that this principle is not so thoroughly applicable to romantic drama as to naturalistic. While the naturalists try to exhibit the depths of life round the table or near the hearth, the romanticists may take us to forests and hill-tops and towered castles. Maeterlinck himself virtually cuts off his characters from contact with society in order to dive deeper into human consciousness. His idea is that, deprived of the ancient and mediaeval glamour of picturesque surroundings and of the solemn, tragic background created by an unquestioning faith in a God and the fates, the modern dramatist has to seek for the mystery, the appealing power, of life in its consciousness. He will have to probe deeper and deeper into its

depths. Maeterlinck concedes that up to the end of the nineteenth century the highest point of human consciousness had been attained by the dramas of Björnson, Hauptmann and, above all, Ibsen. It is not known what his opinion on the dramas of Strindberg, Galsworthy, and Shaw might be. Galsworthy and Shaw are not more introspective than Ibsen ; Strindberg probably is ; but even Strindberg does not leave the bound of social existence as Maeterlinck does in his artistic presentation of life. Maeterlinck takes his men and women far away from society and places them, generally, in a romantic world of his own where the sea roars at a distance with tall ships gliding toward the horizon, where sea-gulls flap and moan against silent cliffs, where solitude reigns all around disturbed only, it may be, by a passing flock of sheep, where a ruined building with a broken tower penetrates the sky, illumined at night with a solitary lamp visible from the sea and in daytime shut off from the light of the sun by age-old, rank vegetation. It is in a romantic world like this, which it would be hard to identify with any known land of any known period of human civilization, that Maeterlinck's men and women reveal the depths of their consciousness, the workings of their inner life. Is not this a violation of Maeterlinck's own principle ? At first sight it would seem so, in that the destiny of his characters is, more frequently than not, *not* decided in a corner of a room while the lamp burns on, unflickering ; but the violation in Maeterlinck's case at least, is only apparent. What he emphasises is that life in modern times reveals its truth in silence and calm and he carefully remembers this throughout. He is averse, as Ibsen and Strindberg, Hauptmann, Galsworthy and Shaw are all averse, to the old heroic conception of life ; he avoids with sustained rigour, as they avoid, the Elizabethan surfeit of physical action and the classical tumult of passions. His men and women are modern in their normal dimensions and quiet tenor of life ; only, unlike the creations of many or most of his dramatic contemporaries, they have to face no problem or complication of social life, ethical, economical, or political. *Monna Vanna* is his only play that tackles a problem and that problem is one of the relation between husband and wife viewed from different standpoints. *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue* also touches, allegorically, the question of the liberation of woman ; but neither of these two plays is a social drama in the true sense of the term. The action of *Monna Vanna* takes place in fifteenth century Pisa while

*Ardiane and Barbe Bleue* takes us to the castle of the legendary hero Blue Beard. The question of woman's independent individuality which forms the basis of both these dramas assumes in consequence a somewhat universal character rather than the character of a peculiarly modern social problem. A definite time and definite place have been assigned for the action of a few plays besides *Monna Vanna*; but there the psychological interest is all-important; the social or historical interest is virtually non-existent. In the typical Maeterlinckian plays, where the action is more spiritual than physical, we are shown things which had rather been felt than seen—the awe and suspense that await the approach of death; blind groping in search of a little guidance amidst inscrutable mystery; indefinite waiting and vague expectation burning out life's taper; the happy quietude of life arousing the jealousy of the future; affection snatched from affection trying to peep into the mystery of the here-after; the power that those exercise whom we call dead; the soul's journey in search of the secret of happiness; and jealousy that stings itself to death, and love that knows how to sacrifice itself. In his eagerness for gauging the depths of human consciousness, Maeterlinck has overlooked an entire aspect of life—its comic aspect. The solitary instance of *The Miracle of Saint Anthony* excepted, his plays are all tragic or at least serious in character. He does not laugh, nor does he make others laugh. It would be wrong to say that he has not the capacity to laugh or make others laugh. Besides the fine, lambent humour that pervades the entire play of *The Miracle of Saint Anthony*, we get evidence of his subtle sense of the ludicrous in places of *Princess Maleine*, *Pelleas and Melisanda*, *The Blue Bird*, *Mary Magdalene*, *The Burgomaster of Stilemonde*, and *The Power of the Dead*. If Maeterlinck had tried his hand in humorous sketches he would have probably resembled the creator of the Prioress who sang 'in hir nose ful semely' rather than the creator of Falstaff. But on the strength of a single play and some light bits of humour scattered here and there, one cannot claim for him the rank of a humorist. The reason why he virtually ignored the comic side of life, though he could have adequately presented it only if he willed, is that the truth of life reveals itself primarily in its tragic aspect. For the profundity of Shakespeare's thought and sentiment we have to go to his tragedies, not to *As You Like It* or *Twelfth Night*. Comedy, as Aristotle tells us, is an imitation of characters of a

lower type.<sup>1</sup> It may expose the superficial oddities and incongruities of life and thus serve as an effective instrument of edification as well as of amusement, but there is not much room for laughter in an attempt to reach what lies below the surface. This consideration must have determined the serious character of Maeterlinck's plays. Life, indeed, is not complete without laughter; but whatever completes does not necessarily contain the essence of a thing. A dramatist who presents both the tragic and comic aspects of life is entitled to a perfection which neither a mere tragedian nor a mere comedian can claim. If, however, there were to be any preference in selection of matter, the tragic aspect should have it. At any rate, it is this aspect that Maeterlinck has preferred to present in his dramatic creations.

The limited sphere of life that Maeterlinck has selected for artistic handling determines, of course, the limited range of his characterisation. In his plays we seek in vain for a good and adequate representation of that numerous class of people who represent the seamy side of life: thieves, robbers, bullies, liars, slanderers, flatterers, hypocrites, coxcombs, chatterboxes, blockheads, toppers, gluttons, and their like. Kings and queens, princes, princesses, ministers, courtiers, officers and warriors, standing usually for the violently active side of life, are also almost equally conspicuous by their absence from his genuine works. The royal figures in *The Seven Princesses* are mere shadows while the king in *Pelleas and Melisande* is really a philosopher with a Maeterlinckian bent of mind. *Monna Vanna*, with its mediaeval setting, presents a commander of a garrison, a general and two lieutenants, but these martial dignitaries are given no opportunity for use of the sword or the bullet; exchange of words is all that is needed to unlock their minds or bring about the crises of their souls. *The Burgomaster of Stilemonde* and its companion piece *The Salt of Life* are the only plays in which we come across some real military persons and the first of these two is the only play in which we hear a volley being fired. These two plays form a class by themselves among Maeterlinck's writings. Dealing with two intensely tragic episodes of the Great War, they prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that his mastery of the concrete facts of what we call normal life, with all its grossness, meanness, and

<sup>1</sup> Poetics, V. I. in Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, p. 21.

horror, is as thorough as of the subtle movements incessantly passing within the depths of conscious or subconscious life. Gifted with a rich measure of the sense of the ludicrous and of the concrete facts of normal existence, he has elected to study characters who have, so to speak, retired within their own selves: dreamers, sleepers, brooders, watchers, gropers, disembodied souls of men, animals, and things, persons who do not know their own minds, and persons of illumined consciousness who submit to life in silence. Characters that cannot be included under one or another of these categories are not altogether dispensed with; but they generally occupy places of secondary importance or no importance at all. To this class may be assigned such persons as servants, policemen, doctors, gardeners, beggars, neighbours, children, and infatuated lovers. Maeterlinck's characters, as also his situations, may appear somewhat abnormal not to those alone with whom Shakespeare is the standard of dramatic creation, but even to persons who believe that modern drama has found its initiation at the hands of Ibsen. But a dramatist, as in fact every creative artist, should be judged by his own artistic creed. One may, if one likes, find fault with Maeterlinck's creed; but if we accept the fundamental principle of that creed, that the truth of life now reveals itself in silence, we cannot escape characters and situations such as he has given. "I admire Othello," he says characteristically, "but he does not appear to me to live the august daily life of a Hamlet, who has the time to live, inasmuch as he does not act."<sup>1</sup> He has not accepted Shakespeare's ideal, nor even of Ibsen's. He acknowledges that Ibsen "often leads us far down into human consciousness," but adds that "nearly all the duties which form the active principle of Ibsen's tragedies are duties situated no longer within, but without, the healthy, illumined consciousness."<sup>2</sup> His ideal drama is still a thing of the future when life will be more illumined and, consequently, there will be less tears and more happiness and peace than at present. But while we wait for that ideal state, drama, he holds, must find its motive force in the struggle between egoism and ignorance on the one hand and the duty of charity and justice on the other such as we find, for instance, in his own play *Monna Vanna*.

Maeterlinck's conception of the ideal drama seems to be suicidal to drama as a distinct form of art. He hopes that with increasing

*The Treasure of the Humble*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 108.

illumination in the consciousness of mankind, life will be more and more free from inner and outer conflict. In the absence of this illumination mankind has so far<sup>2</sup> allowed pride, vanity, revenge, false honour, and a thousand other illusions to dictate its "duties" and these so-called duties have so far been the main springs of dramatic action; but there will be no room for such illusions in the fully illumined consciousness of future generations, and, consequently, no room for such "duties" in their life. In that state of perfect illumination life will be a life of harmony and goodwill which can lead only to the paralysis of the drama. In the poet's own expression, "When the sun has entered into the consciousness of him who is wise, as we may hope that some day it will enter into that of all men, it will reveal one duty, and one alone, which is that we should do the least possible harm and love others as we love ourselves; and from this duty no drama can spring."<sup>1</sup>

The possible extinction of the drama, though a logical consequence of the progressive enlightenment of human life, will, we might hope, for ever remain a matter of theory only. It is extremely difficult to share Maeterlinck's unbounded optimism and believe with him that humanity will ever attain perfect illumination of consciousness. The history of civilisation bears testimony to the fact that if there has been progress in some directions, there has been regress in others. Newer lights have brought newer shades in their train. It would not be presumptuous to say that human advancement has been rather in the direction of the intellect than in that of the spirit, and intellectual advancement does not always make for harmony and goodwill. A Socrates could be born before the birth of Christ while, two and a half thousand years after Socrates, the voice of a Rolland crying for peace is still like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. The children of light, the lovers of real peace and universal brotherhood, are still an insignificant minority, and in all probability they will remain a minority for ever, as salt is always an insignificant fraction of that which is to be salted. We may legitimately question whether even in the remotest future there will be enough spiritual salt on earth wherewith to salt entire humanity. Our joys and sorrows, it is true, are no longer decided, in the normal course of things, on the field of battle; but still these joys and sorrows may occasionally receive a shock from outside, as they received during the Great War. Notwith-

<sup>1</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 107.

standing all progress in the direction of silence and calm, our life is still at an incalculable distance from the perfect illumination that paralyses the drama.

But though the extinction of the drama is, for all practical purposes, out of the question, though Shaw may be right in hoping "Whatever Bastilles fall, the theatre will stand,"<sup>1</sup> it seems doubtful whether the drama will be able to retain in future the place of honour it has occupied in the past. If it is to reflect the progressively illumined life of future generations, it must depend more and more on words and proportionately less and less on physical action. But a theatrical audience, as Strindberg rightly points out, is mainly drawn from the middle classes<sup>2</sup> who care more for a spectacular presentation of concrete facts than for speculative depth. Such has been the case in the past and such will be the case in the future because, as we have just now supposed, life of the vast majority of mankind will perhaps never be thoroughly illumined. The dramatic artist, therefore, will be in a dilemmatic position: he will have either to ignore the enlightened minority in order to gain vitality and success for his drama, or to ignore the middle-class majority and thus forfeit the chance of vitality and success for his productions. Persons of a really illumined consciousness, though they will remain even in the distant future a small minority, will, however, gradually increase in number and form a class such as the past never saw. To ignore this class of persons would be to acknowledge a limitation; but the dramatist will have to ignore them or, at any rate, to bring them temporarily down to a lower level of intellect and spirit so that they may appreciate the dramatist's view and presentation of life. Maeterlinck acknowledges the possibility of such lowering of intellectual and spiritual level, even in a man of illumined consciousness witnessing the performance of a play. "With the rise of the curtain," he says, "the high intellectual desire within us undergoes transformation; and in place of the thinker, psychologist, mystic or moralist there stands the mere instinctive spectator, the man electrified negatively by the crowd, the man whose one desire is to see something happen."<sup>3</sup> But while this lowering is natural or even inevitable in the case of drama, such lowering need not be necessary in an appreciation

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Heartbreak House*.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *Miss Julia*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 102.



of music or painting. Unlike the dramatist, the musician and the painter have ample powers to rise to the highest point of illumination that the life of their hearer or spectator may have attained. The painter's and the musician's are essentially arts for individual appreciation and admit of the widest and highest possible range of contemplation; the dramatist's is essentially an art for collective appreciation and demands more of the sense of fact than of contemplation and reverie. The sense of fact, however indispensable for practical purposes of life, belongs to a lower level than contemplation in the kingdom of the spirit; and it is this kingdom that, the optimist believes, will increasingly assert itself in the affairs of men. Even the novel, in relation to the artist, has been given the dignity of "a lawful wife," while the stage has been dubbed merely "a noisy, flashy, and insolent mistress."<sup>1</sup> The dramatist's contest with the musician and the painter, as also with the novelist, will thus grow ever more keen and, we apprehend, he will come out the worse from the contest.

It may be noted that Strindberg, writing much earlier than Maeterlinck, anticipated the decline of the drama and the theatre on less subtle and philosophic grounds. He does not talk of the illumination of human consciousness. He finds the possibility of the decline of the drama in the growth of reflective powers of mankind. In the Preface to *Miss Julia* he says, "Like almost all other art, that of the stage has long seemed to me a sort of *Biblia Pauperum*, or a Bible in pictures for those who cannot read what is written or printed. And in the same way the playwright has seemed to me a lay preacher spreading the thoughts of his time in a form so popular that the middle classes, from which theatrical audiences are mainly drawn, can know what is being talked about without troubling their brains too much. For this reason the theatre has always served as a grammar-school to young people, women, and those who have acquired a little knowledge, all of whom retain the capacity for deceiving themselves and being deceived—which means again that they are susceptible to illusions produced by the suggestions of the author. And for the same reason I have had a feeling that, in our time, when the rudimentary, incomplete thought processes operating through our fancy seem to be developing into reflection, research and analysis, the theatre might

<sup>1</sup> Anton Tchekoff, quoted by Marian Fell in her Introduction to *Plays of Anton Tchekoff*, edition of 1920, p. 7.

stand on the verge of being abandoned as a decaying form, for the enjoyment of which we lack the requisite conditions."<sup>1</sup> If the growth of the powers of reflection, research, and analysis in the audience renders the production of illusions on the stage difficult, the growth of illumined consciousness in the audience renders such production of illusions increasingly impossible. One might recall here Lamb's condemnation of the stage as a medium of interpretation of Shakespeare's tragedies. That condemnation ultimately reduces itself to the position that profundity of thought and imagination is not compatible with stage-representation. If the stage fails to express adequately profound thoughts and imaginings, how much more difficult should it be for the stage to reflect those subtle waves of consciousness and sub-consciousness which constitute the inner life of a really enlightened man. And if the stage fails to interpret a drama, the drama itself, as drama, fails. Stage-representation being an integral part of the drama, a play which cannot be properly represented on the stage cannot be called a real drama ; it becomes a mere closet play and we might claim for it kinship with the novel.

Though the logical conclusion of Maeterlinck's theory of the drama is extinction or at least decline of the drama itself, in practice he only looks forward to a drama of peace, love, and justice and a 'theatre of peace, and of beauty without tears.'<sup>2</sup> While following the principle that modern drama must stand for modern reality which, for him, is based in peace, he has not been able to avoid altogether jealousy, cruelty, and tears ; but by far the largest part of his creation is devoted to bringing out the noiseless beauty and seriousness of life and its silent undercurrents that, flowing all unnoticed, yet determine the course of destiny. The depths of human consciousness, like the depths of the ocean, are inexhaustible. A dramatist can expect to explore but a small part of them. Maeterlinck has tried to explore a part which finds expression in silence and peace and it is as a creator of a drama of silence and peace that he should be judged.

*Dacca.*

<sup>1</sup> Edwin Björkman's translation (London, Duckworth & Co.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Double Garden*, p. 109.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS \*

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## MUSLIM APPRECIATION OF INDIA.

WE have already given enough proof of the familiarity of the Hindus and the Muslims with the language of each other. This familiarity, everyone would admit, presupposes the existence of a very close contact. Of the existence of such a contact we get further proofs in the writings of the Arab and Persian authors of that period. Authors like Mas'ūdī, Jāhiz, Maqdisī, Shahrastānī, Idrīsī and others have left their observations on the religious ideas and cultural attainments of the Hindus, which form, on the whole, the most important part of the material we have in hand for our present study. These Muslim authors possessed critical but broad and appreciative minds, and stated facts, as heard or observed, without distorting them in the least degree. They often tried to justify the Hindu point of view as far as it was possible for them to do. Every similarity or agreement in thought was very much appreciated and strongly brought to light. These Muslim authors repeatedly bring to our notice that the Hindus generally believe in one God, that they believe in the divine scheme of reward and retribution for human action in the after life, that they believe in Paradise and Hell, and so on.

As examples of the study of the Indian religious thought and customs by Muslims, a few passages from the early works of the Arabs and Persians should be of interest here. Thus, Mas'ūdī writes about the Buddhists :

“They are a sect known as ‘Samaniyyah,’ who worship in the same way as the Quarish (of Arabia) did before Islam. They worship and turn

their faces towards their idols in their prayers. Those who are sensible among them think that the custom is very much the same as the Muslim convention of praying with face turned towards the Qiblah. They also hold that their worship is really meant for the one God. And those who are ignorant consider these idols to be the Godhead itself and worship them as such.”<sup>1</sup>

Al-Jilī (born in 1365 A.D.) explains the faith of the idol-worshippers thus :

“Idolators worship Him as the Being who permeates every atom of the material world without infusion or commixture. God is the ‘truth’ of the idols which they worship, and they worship none but Him. This is the Mystery of their following the Truth in themselves, because their hearts bore witness to them that good lay in their so doing. On account of that spirit of belief in the reality of their worship, the thing as it really is shall be revealed to them in the next world. .... Therefore, even if the infidels had known the torments which they must suffer in consequence of their worship, they would have persisted in it by reason of the spiritual delight they experience therein.....”<sup>2</sup>

Al-Jilī was under the impression that the Brahmins were the followers of Abraham. He says that these Brahmins possessed five sacred books, the fifth being forbidden to most of them. “It is notorious among them,” he adds, “that those who read this fifth part invariably become Muslims. ....The Brahmans worship Him absolutely, without reference to prophets or apostles.”<sup>3</sup>

Mutahhar bin Tāhir, the author of the “Kitāb al-Bid‘wat-Tārikh,” i.e., the book of Creation and History, gives many passages on the religious ideas of the Hindus and their customs. Under the heading “Brahmans....,” he writes :

“Know that all people have a religion, a system of education and laws of their own ; it is their religion which assures the security of their life and their well-being. Their education is always one of the main-springs of their greatness, and it, together with their legal institutions, has formed their characteristic habits and customs.

“Certain people say that there are 900 different types of religious faiths in India; of these 99 are well-known, which are grouped into 42 sects and further grouped into 4 main divisions. These 4 main divisions

<sup>1</sup> *Murūj az-Zahab* (Paris), Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> *Insān ul-Kāmil*, quoted from Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 133.

again merge into 2 definite creeds, namely, the Brahmanic and the Buddhistic. The Buddhists are atheists, whereas among the Brahmins, some admit the unity of the existence of God, and some believe in the doctrine of rewards and punishments through transmigration of souls, and some believe neither in God nor in the prophets.....

“ They possess a system of calculation, astronomy, medicine, music, musical instruments, dance.....; they say that they employ charms in producing magical results, and have control over rain and cold ;.....To them the Muslims are impure, they do not touch them, nor do they touch things touched by them. To them beef is forbidden, they respect cows as they do their mothers. The man who kills a cow is always awarded capital punishment.”<sup>1</sup>

The same author gives descriptions of some of the chief Devatas and details of their worshippers. He describes Mahādeva, Kālī, Mahā-Kālī and their respective cults. Other sects mentioned are the worshippers of water and fire. In summing up the chapter he says:

“ And those who do not believe in prophethood and the day of Resurrection, believe, however, in the reward and punishment in the after life, through transmigration. And their excuse for idol-worship is that God being absolute is beyond human grasp and human conception.....”<sup>2</sup>

“ The Hindus, inspite of their differences, form into two groups: (I) The Buddhists—who do not attribute qualities to the Divinity; and, (II) the Unitarian Brahmins. Both of them admit the reward of good actions; that punishment of sins is not for eternity. The Buddhists declare that rewards and chastisement are received in this world, within our sense experiences; and whatever we acquire by action remains with us and acts as agent and causes the existence of the body. This is what continues to exist in the body. When separated, it does not revert to it but transmigrates in accordance with the result of its actions.....”<sup>3</sup>

“ But generally the Hindus believe in Divine retribution. They undergo severe self-mortifications; for example, they commit suicide by drowning themselves, by burning themselves; these actions, they believe, would transport them to heaven before their appointed time. And thus, I tell you, inspite of their ignorance and their heretical beliefs, they believe in Paradise.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Bid'wat-Tārikh*, Vol. IV, pp. 9-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 174.

“The Mahādēvists believe in Mahādēva. They think that all things originated from three allied elements. One of these agents of creation is Mahādēva. He outwitted his brother and threw him on the ground, and then separated his skin and spread it over the surface of the Earth. This world is his skin, its mountains his bones, the sheets of water his blood and the vegetable growth of the Earth his hair..... There is a sect among them which believes in the eternity of creation, that is, the world existed along with God from the beginning of Time.”<sup>1</sup>

Such passages as referring to Hindu religious beliefs can be multiplied indefinitely. I will restrict myself to a few more examples from different authors. Al-Jāhiz (869 A.D.), an earlier writer than the one mentioned above, is another author of much more importance whose comments on Hindus and their country we must consider next. He writes :

“The Hindus excel in astrology and mathematics, they have a special Indian script, they excel in medicine and possess some wonderful secrets of that art, in particular those remedies that are of the greatest use in the most dangerous diseases. They have developed to a perfection their arts like sculpture, painting and architecture. They are the inventors of chess.....They make good swords and know all the tricks of fencing. They know charms that can remove poison and pain from the body. Their music is pleasant.....and they have all sorts of dances.....They possess different systems of writing. They have collections of poetry.....philosophy, literature and the science of morals. From India we received that book, called *Kalilah wa Dimnah*. These people have judgment and are brave. In some virtues they surpass even the Chinese. They possess the virtue of cleanliness and purity. They are very good-looking people and have fine bodies. They have, in their country, frankincenses.....*Contemplation has originated with them.....*”<sup>2</sup>

Ya'qūbī (895 A.D.) observes :

“The Hindus are superior to all other nations in intelligence and thoughtfulness. They are more exact in astronomy and astrology than any other people. The Siddhānta is a good proof of their intellectual powers ; by this book the Greeks and the Persians have also profited. In medicine their opinion ranks first.....They have treatises on logic

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Bid'wat-Tārikh*, Vol. I, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Rasā'il*, p. 81.

and philosophy and on many other subjects, a description of which would lead us into lengthy details.”<sup>1</sup>

Al-Idrīsī (1154 A.D.), speaking of the accomplishments of the Hindus, says :

“Hindus are by nature inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and faithfulness to their promises are well-known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side.”

Qāzī Sa‘īd (1070 A.D.) observes :

“The Hindus have always been considered by all other people as the custodians of learning and wisdom. Their knowledge of God ascertains His unity and purity. They have different sects: Brahmins, star-worshippers, believers in the final destruction of Creation, believers in the eternity of Creation. They do not believe in prophets. To kill or to injure an animal is a sin with them.”<sup>2</sup>

Abul Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar, remarks :

“Shall I describe the steadfastness of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind ? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained ? Shall I tell you of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore ? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know no retreat from the field.....

“They are capable of mastering the difficulties of any subject in a short space of time and surpass their instructors, and to win the Divine favour they will spend body and soul and joyfully devote their lives thereunto. They one and all believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence they pay to images of stone and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so. The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God, are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering. While the worship of God alone is required as indispensable.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh ibn Ya‘qūbī*, Vol. II, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqāt ul-Umam*, pp. 11-15; ‘*Arab o-Hind ke Ta‘alluqāt*, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *The A‘īn i-Akbarī* (Jarret), Vol. III, pp. 7-8.

Āzād of Bilgrām (1704-1785 A.D.), in his *Ghizlānal-Hind* gives his appreciation of India in the following words:

“It befits that I should speak of India with reference to books such as the commentaries of the Qur’ān and the traditions of the Prophet.” He then quotes among other authors, the words of Shaikh ‘Alī Rūmī: “The country where books were first written and from where the fountains of wisdom originally flowed, was India.” He further observes:

“There is a consensus of opinion that the Greeks had excelled the learned of the world in the mathematical sciences, excepting in music and arithmetic, in which sciences Hindus excelled. They have reached inconceivable heights of perfection in these. The scholars of foreign countries have borrowed most of the laws of arithmetic from the Hindus, but not a single scholar of any country has as yet learnt the laws of the science of music.” “The learned of India have their own indigenous art of rhetoric, and have not borrowed anything from the Arabs, nor have they tasted a drop from the cup of the Persians. The antiquity of their sciences and the age in which their savants flourished, belong to a period of time the beginning of which is beyond human conception.”

Mirzā Jān jānān, Mazhar Shahīd (1717 A.D.), writes in a letter:

“You should know that it appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the *Bed* (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world, containing the news of the past and future, through an angel or divine spirit by the name of Bramha (Brahma), who is omnipotent and outside the creation of the universe.....”

“...All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God ; consider the world to be created ; believe in the destruction of the world ; in the reward for good and bad conduct, on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct). They are far advanced in theoretical and transcribed sciences, in austerity, in religious endeavours. They are eminent in searching after the sciences and revelations...So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated.<sup>1</sup>

#### MUSLIM ASSIMILATION OF INDIAN THOUGHT.

Long before the Muslim scholars translated Hindu works into Arabic or Persian, and before the Muslim travellers brought news from

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. XIX, 1924, pp. 238-39.



India, the Muslims had had some glimpses of India's religious conceptions—through Persian literature and also through the Buddhistic influence that still lingered in some of the most remote parts of Persia. The Muslims knew the Buddhists by the name 'Samaniyyah' (derived from *Sramana*). The word 'bud' or 'but' had long ago degenerated into the sense of 'idol' and conveyed no other meaning. Buzasaf, that is, *Bodhisattva*, was known to them as the founder of Buddhism. Buddhism had flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana, Khurāsān, Turkestan and Persia, and to some extent also in Iraq, before the Muslims conquered these countries. After these countries were converted to Islam, the Buddhist priests did not at once stop their propaganda. Their ascetic practices and atheistic philosophy continued to work, as before, among the new converts to Islam. The rosary is one of the objects that Muslims inherited from the Buddhists. In the spiritual field, the Sufic doctrine of *Fana*, i.e., of self-annihilation, is the *Nirvana* of the Buddhists. But the whole Sufic system of spiritual 'stations,' i.e., *maqāmāt* or *chakras*, that the seeker after illumination realizes on his way to 'extinction,' is of Buddhistic, in any case of Indian, origin.

The Persians of Balkh and Bukhārā had displayed a strong tendency to revert to their old Buddhistic habits of thought. It was most probably here that Buddhism had lasted longer than anywhere else. Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Narsakhī (943 A.D.) relates in his history of Bukhārā: "Every time the people of Bukhārā were conquered, they accepted Islam, and no sooner the Arabs retired than they gave it up again."<sup>1</sup> Referring to the old history of Bukhārā, the author says: "Twice a year there used to be held a bazaar in which people sold idols. On each market day the sale of idols used to amount to 50 thousand *dirhams*....The people of Bukhārā were idolators in the past, and the selling of idols, twice a year, had become an institution. Muhammad bin Ja'far (the original author of the history in Arabic), has written in his book that the bazaar has continued down to our times."<sup>2</sup> Such being the history, one may not be very far from truth in coming to the conclusion that, something more subtle and of the essential quality of Buddhism must have lingered in the minds of the people even after their conversion to Islam. That it was so, the rôle of the Barmakis in the Abbaside rule has proved beyond doubt.

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh i-Bukhārā* (ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 1892), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh i-Bukhārā*, pp. 18-19.

Balkh, the original home of the Barmakis, was conquered in the reign of the Kaliph 'Uthmān, in 652 A.D. The Barmak (*i.e.*, Sk. Paramukha), chief of the Buddhist temple, called Nau-bahār (*i.e.*, Navavihāra), was imprisoned and sent over to the Kaliph. He must have turned a Muslim there as he is known to have changed his faith on his return to Balkh again. But his people thought he had lost his original sanctity and deprived him of his priesthood and accepted his son as their religious head. When the Turk Buddhist king, Nizak Tarkhān, got the Barmak chief and his ten sons murdered by means of an underhand intrigue, the Barmak chief's wife with her youngest son made her escape to Kashmir. The young Barmak was trained at Kashmir, in medicine, astronomy and other Indian sciences. This young Barmak was eventually called back to Balkh, and given the charge of the temple.<sup>1</sup> Yahyā ibn Khālid, the prime minister of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, was a descendant of this Buddhist Barmaki family. And, "the man who during the Arab rule took an absorbing interest in India," says Ibn an-Nadīm, "was Yahyā ibn Khālid, the Barmaki, noted for inviting Hindu physicians and scholars from India."<sup>2</sup> It seems it had been a tradition with the Barmakis to send students to India, and it was in keeping with the same tradition that they had sent scholars to study the religions of India and invited Hindu Pandits and physicians.

There was a good number of thinkers amongst Muslims, especially in the Abbaside reign, who were, more or less, directly influenced by Buddhism. The Magians, even after their conversion to Islam, were generally half Buddhists in their faith. Ibn Muqaffah (760 A.D.), who translated the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* from Pahlavi into Arabic, and accepted Islam in his mature years, presents a good example of the free-thinking Magians and Muslims. Ibn Muqaffah's 'Introduction' to the *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, which he ascribes to Burzuyah, who brought the original work from India and translated it into Pahlavi, about 531-579 A.D., has a distinct Buddhistic touch about it. For example he says:

"And I found that a divine tranquillity comes over the ascetic when he is absorbed in meditation; for he is still, contented, unambitious, satisfied, free from cares, has renounced the world, has escaped from

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb ul-Buldān*, p. 324; '*Arab o-Hindke Ta'alluqāt*', pp. 117-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 345.

evils, is devoid of greed, is pure, independent, protected against sorrow, above jealousy, manifests pure love.....does none any harm and remains himself unmolested....." <sup>1</sup>

Ibn Muqaffah's interpretation of the dream of the Indian Rajah, Kaid, is also very characteristic of his liberal views. He says:

"Know that the piece of cloth (you dreamt of) is the religion divine and that the four men who pull at it (from four corners) have come to preserve it." The four religions he mentions are: Magianism, Judaism, Christianity and the religion of the Arabs. "Thus they struggle for the preservation of their religion and pull the cloth towards the four sides away from each other and become enemies for the sake of religion." <sup>2</sup>

Abul 'Alā Ma'arri, the famous blind poet (973-1058 A.D.), was a veritable Buddhist, nay even a Jaina. He it was about whom Von Kremer remarked that he was one of the greatest moralists of all times whose profound genius anticipated much that is commonly attributed to the so-called modern spirit of enlightenment.<sup>3</sup> Ma'arri did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. He considered procreation a sin in human beings, and annihilation their real goal. He remained a celibate to the end of his life. To him religion was not a matter of revelation from God but a product of human mind. He says:

Hanifs are stumbling, Christians all astray,  
Jews wildered, Magians far on error's way.  
We mortals are composed of two great schools—  
Enlightened knaves or else religious fools.<sup>4</sup>

"Nothing endures," sang Ma'arri, "everything is doomed to perish, even Islam itself. Moses taught and passed away. Christ succeeded him. Then came Muhammad with his five daily prayers. A new faith will come later, supplanting, outshining this. Humanity is thus hounded to death between yesterday and to-day.....Perishable is the earth. Its end is not unlike its beginning. To laws of birth and death everything is subject. On and on flows the stream of time, ever bringing something new.

"Show yourself not coarse by eating what has been thrown out of water—and adopt not as your food that which has been slain—consume not eggs..., violence is the worst of misdeeds.....from all these misdeeds

<sup>1</sup> Noeldeke, quoted in Appendix III, *The Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature*, pp. 105-133.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 316.

I have washed my hands. Ah! only I wish I had thought of them before I became grey....." <sup>1</sup>

From a consideration of such passages as quoted above, Von Kremer remarks that they definitely point to the influence of Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> And as Ma'arri wore a dress of undyed wool and wooden sandals, Nicholson thinks he might have got the idea from the Jainas of India, though this could hardly be possible.<sup>3</sup> One is likely to presume that such free-thinkers as Ma'arri and others must have led a life condemned by their contemporaries. Such was, however, not the case with Ma'arri. Nāsir Khusrū, who visited Ma'arri's town, 'Ma'arrā,' about 1047 A.D., says that the man named Abul 'Alā Ma'arri, the blind, lives in this town. He is rich and the chief among the people of the town. The inhabitants of this town respect him as their master. He lives as an ascetic and wears woolen dress. He never refuses his wealth to anybody.....The scholars of Syria and of the West and Iraq, all admit his superiority in poetry and literature.<sup>4</sup>

Sālih bin 'Abdul-Quddūs, executed in 783 A.D., Abul 'Atāhiya (828 A.D.), Jarir ibn Hazm, Hammād Ajrad, Yunān bin Hārūn, 'Ali bin Khalil and Bashshār had been more or less influenced by Indian religious ideas and were the founders of various intellectual movements. Abul 'Atāhiya's words: "If you desire to see the most noble mankind, look at the king in beggar's clothing, it is he whose sanctity is great among men," are an echo of the past memory of a long-forsaken ideal.<sup>5</sup> The poet Abān has referred to some of the leading Muslim atheists of his day. Though as regards their philosophical creed they appear to be dualists and influenced by Manes, yet, as from Jāhiz's description of their tenets, they appear to have been more like Buddhists than Manichaeans:

"Vagrancy means with them that they may not abide two nights in the same dwelling,<sup>6</sup> the vagrants among them always wander in pairs, and adopt four rules—saintliness, purity, veracity and poverty."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Islamic Civilization*, Vol. II, pp. 244-46.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>4</sup> *Siyāhat-Nawāh i-Nāsir Khusrū* (Persia), pp. 26-27.

<sup>5</sup> Goldziher, *Transactions of the 9th Congress of the Orientalists*, Vol. II, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> The Sannyasis follow a similar rule in India.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 189.

The story these atheists told in illustration of their creed is plainly Buddhistic in origin. It tells that two of their saints once suffered themselves to be beaten almost to death. They were suspected of stealing some gems, which an ostrich had swallowed before their eyes. But they did not like to betray the bird and thus be the cause of the injury that might be done to it.<sup>1</sup>

#### INDIAN INFLUENCE ON SUFISM.

In the religious thought and more particularly in the ascetic practices of the Sufi orders, India has played a very important part. We find a distinct Indian element in Sufism which has been so often protested against and reviled by the orthodox Muslims. Mansūr al-Hallāj is known to have visited India (Gujrat), and his words: "I am the Truth," are the repetition of the Vedantic ' *Soham* ' or ' *Tat tvam asi*.' But more definite and unmistakable traces of Indian influence exist. The Naqshbandiyyah order of the Sufis has adopted the *Rājayogic* method of *prāṇāyāma* (*habs i-dam*) to their *zikr*, i.e., the manner of commemoration or *japa*. The author of the " *Mashā'ikh i-Naqshbandiyyah i-Mujaddadiyyah* " gives a sketch of it.<sup>2</sup> Von Kremer gives some passages from a Persian MS. which agree in their detail with the actual system and practice of the Sufis:

"The place of the heart is the mass of flesh under the left breast and that of the spirit, the mass under the right breast. That of the secret is to the left of the chest and that of the hidden, to the right of it, and the most hidden is in the middle of it.<sup>3</sup> The soul is in the brain and the elements are unfolded therein ' ..... The way to commemorate the name of the essence with the heart is by letting the tongue stick to the roof of the mouth,<sup>4</sup> letting the breath go without hindrance. While the teeth close on each other, then let the name of the Divine Being with its meaning be imagined in the heart....., next he is to utter the formula of negation: ' *Lā ilāha ill-Allāh*.' <sup>5</sup> The mode is to

<sup>1</sup> Compare: "Truth is beneficial to all beings and does not consist in its utterance. (*Yājñavalkya*, I, 53).

<sup>2</sup> P. 400.

<sup>3</sup> The three main ' *nāḍis* ' are referred to; *Īḍā*, *Pingalā*, and *Sushumna*; *Īḍā* is situated on the left and the *Pingalā* on the right.

<sup>4</sup> ..... *Shirahstha*, centre in the head, where the *gunas* (*rajas*, *otamas*, *sattva*) of the *Sushumna* unfold themselves.

<sup>5</sup> *Khechari Mudra* in which the tongue is rolled backward and upwards, during the process of inspiration. (V. G. Rele, *Kundalini*, 1927, p. 93.)

<sup>6</sup> i.e., "There is no God but the God."

let the tongue adhere as before and restrain the breath under the navel, <sup>1</sup> whence he is to imagine 'lā' as reaching to the extremity of the brain and 'ilāha' as thence to right shoulder and 'ill-Allāh' as thence to the heart; so that this formula should compass all the seats of delicate constituents of man.<sup>2</sup> This he is to repeat so long as his breath holds out, and he is to let it go from his mouth in separate words.....The smallest number of times this is to be repeated is 5,000 in the hour. The attainment of complete extinction <sup>3</sup> brings with it the attainment of the first step in the lower sainthood.<sup>4</sup>

Again, we have in the Nafā'is ul-Funūn :

“The Indians value these two sciences (*prāṇāyāma* and *dhiyāna*) very highly, and whenever any one attains perfection in them they call him a *yogi* and reckon him among the holy spirits .....

#### 1. On the Science of Breathing.

“Know that breath comes now from the right and now from the left side, as it comes from the two sides at one and the same time.<sup>5</sup> They connect the right side with the sun, the left with the moon.<sup>6</sup> They also assert in the course of twenty-four hours 21,600 breaths are drawn,<sup>7</sup> every hour (?) about 900. Not infrequently 900 breaths more or less, are drawn in one hour. They say that frequently as many as 1,600 breaths are drawn in an hour,<sup>8</sup> and that every two hours the breath comes from a different place. Not uncommonly for two or three days breath comes from one and the same place. There are some yogis who in the course of twenty-four hours breathe only twice, once in the morning and once in the evening; and they assert, that just as it is possible to restrain the breath to that extent, i.e., for half the day, so it

<sup>1</sup> Here the *Kundalini* is meant to be stroked with pressure of restrained breath. (*The Serpent Power*, 1924, p. 114, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> That is, with the breath restrained, the concentrated mental force has to dwell on all the psychic centres of the human body. Compare : “Meditating on Hari (Vishnu) ..... he holds his breath, with 64 *japa* ..... ; then meditating on Shiva ..... he exhales through *pingalā* ..... , with 32 *japa* ..... ” (*Tantra of the Great Liberation*, p. cxxx).

<sup>3</sup> That is, “through *Samadhi*, the quality of *nirliptatva* or detachment, and thereafter *mukti* (liberation) is attained.” (*Ibid*, p. cxxxi.)

<sup>4</sup> *Islamic Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 113-14.

<sup>5</sup> It is at the moment of death that breathing takes place from both the nostrils. (*The Serpent Power*, p. 114 n.)

<sup>6</sup> The pale *idā* is *Shashi*, i.e., the moon, and the red *pingalā* is *Mihira*, i.e., the Sun, “which are connected with the alternate breathing from the right to the left nostril and vice versa.” (*The Serpent Power*, p. 113.)

<sup>7</sup> Compare : “All beings say the *ajapa Gāyatri*, which is the expulsion of the breath by *Hangkāra*, and its inspiration by *Sahkāra*, 21,600 times a day.” (*Tantra of the Great Liberation*, p. cxxviii.)

<sup>8</sup> The number and distance of breath increases with the greater bodily exertion, and the rule is, “where the breathing is under the normal distance (and frequency), life is prolonged.” (*Tantra of the Great Liberation*, p. cxxviii.)

is possible to restrain it for six months. If one succeeds in holding his breath to that extent, they think it to be the means of preserving life, avoiding illness and attaining happiness.”<sup>1</sup>

The Buddhistic definition of *Nirvāna* is the one that Imām Ghazzālī accepts for the ‘ Being ’ (*i.e.*, *zāt*). He considers it to be a zero, and deals entirely with the qualities of it. This ‘ Being ’ according to the Sufis contains, within itself, knowledge, existence, light and self-consciousness, and thus reminds us of the *Sat-chitananda* of the Vedantists. Suffice it to say that, along with the early Christian and Persian influences, “ the proof of the Indian origin of that Persian and Arab system of philosophy, known under the name of Sufism, is to be considered as established.....”<sup>2</sup>

*Santiniketan.*

(Concluded.)

<sup>1</sup> *Islamic Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 117-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol. I.

# EARLY INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE AND AMIR KHUSRAV\*

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

THERE are very few persons in Indian history who can lay claim to the wide personal knowledge of men and events during a period extending over half a century which it was the privilege of Amīr Khusrav to possess. Though he wisely confined his activities to the sphere in which his genius shone with unrivalled brilliance, and never aspired after any direct participation in political affairs, yet his unique experience must have made him an acute observer of events. This consideration enhances the value of his testimony with regard to the history of his times, because in dealing with an age from which little contemporary information has survived, the best material we can hope to seize is the version of an intelligent observer, who had access to all court intrigues and himself lived with some of the principal personages who controlled the destinies of the country. Of course we must not forget that Amīr Khusrav was a court-poet and as such he must have looked at events through official eyes, and that his dependence upon his royal patrons necessarily coloured his independent judgment and most probably even interfered with strictly accurate description of facts. But it would be extremely unreasonable to dismiss lightheartedly the vast mass of materials which Amīr Khusrav's works offer us. Trained scholars have extracted valuable information from Sanskrit poetical works and inscriptions, in which even petty chieftains have been represented by their court poets as world-conquering heroes. By the exercise of due caution and openness of mind, therefore, we shall be able to utilise to the fullest extent the evidence supplied by the greatest of Indo-Muhammadan court-poets.

Apart from the direct literary and historical value of Amīr Khusrav's works, there is another aspect of their importance which,

\* Continued from our previous issue.



so far as I know, has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. I mean the indications which they offer as regards the mutual relations of the conquerors and the conquered. The significance of this subject can hardly be over-estimated. It is essentially a mistaken view of Indian history during the time of the Turkish and Afghan Sultans to interpret it in terms of victory and defeat. What historians generally do is to give us a list of the expeditions led by each king, adding short comments on their success or failure. We seem to proceed with the annals of a hardly civilised country which is in process of being absorbed by a mighty power. We know very little about the indigenous rulers who stubbornly resisted the intruding conquerors, and we are given no explanations about the forces which underlay their successes and failures. We know very little about the life of the great nobles who in those days of weak central Government and difficulties of communications actually controlled the destinies of millions of foreigners of alien faith. We receive no answer to the question how these nobles treated their heathen subjects and how they themselves regarded their own position in this strange country. Sometimes we hear of wholesale massacres and destruction of temples; sometimes, again, we hear of a system of mere military occupation which left the work of day-to-day administration of the country to petty Hindu chiefs and Zemindars. This strange and incoherent attitude towards our national history is the inevitable result of the exclusive reliance so far placed by historians upon orthodox Muhammadan chroniclers, to whom the subjugation of the idolators by the followers of the true faith appeared to be a mere episode in the great epic of the holy war for the fulfilment of the purpose of God.

To me the central theme of Indian history during the long period of Muhammadan supremacy appears to be simply this—How did the Hindus and the Muhammadans, alien to each other in every aspect of their religious and social life, arrive at a mutual understanding and a tolerant re-adjustment of their contradictory ideals? <sup>1</sup> How is it that the high-caste Hindus adopted Persian dress, made themselves masters of Persian literature, and modified their orthodox

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sir John Marshall's comment in *The Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 568): "Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and the Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive....."

ways of living in a thousand ways of which scarcely visible traces can be discovered even to this day, without sacrificing their faith in the gods and the rituals which they had inherited from their forefathers? Why is it that the proud Rajput Chiefs offered their sisters and daughters in marriage to the Muhammadan Emperors, clinging all the while to the religion which they had embraced with great ardour soon after their settlement in this country? How are we to explain the strange but harmonious mingling of Hindu and Muhammadan principles and materials of art which culminated in Indo-Muhammadan architecture and Rajput painting? Why did the Arab princelings of Sind as well as the Great Mughals entrust so large a share of the administration of the country to the care of the infidels? How can we account for the fact that in Bengal Muhammadan poets wrote in the vernacular about Hindu religious stories and Muhammadan rulers helped very much to lay the foundations of Bengali literature by extending their patronage to Hindu writers? How did Kavir and Nanak succeed in evolving strange types of faith which aimed at reconciling the Purānas with the Qur'ān, and how did a Muhammadan win a respected position as a Vaishnava saint under the name of Haridas? It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The problem is there, and it is the business of the historian to find out the solution. Essentially the historian of this period of Indian history is in the same position with the historian of medieval England. The latter's task is to explain how Saxon and Norman elements, under the continued strain of incoming continental forces, coalesced to produce the England of the first Tudor king. Similarly, the former must understand how Hindu and Islamic culture reacted upon one another and through long centuries of agony and conflict, in some cases intensified by the constant flow of new Islamic blood and thought from the other side of the Hindu-Kush, finally gave to India the religious and social colour with which the Europeans had to deal in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The answer to the question which I have suggested above will not be found in the pages of the Muhammadan historians who, with a few exceptions like Alberuni and Musan Fani, are too much concerned about the ebb and flow of holy war to notice anything else. Unfortunately the materials upon which our answer must be based have in many cases been lost. But I believe that a thorough study of the available literary works of the period, accompanied by a

detailed scrutiny of the monuments of Indo-Muhammadan Art, would offer really valuable suggestions, and that patient researches into local legends in all parts of India would be an additional and not less useful source of information. The programme is a big one, but unless it is sincerely and completely accepted, I see no hope for the reconstruction of the history of the age.

For the present I am concerned only with the first item in the programme. I have already explained the principles which should be applied to Amīr Khusrav's historical poems in order to weigh the evidence contained in them. In general, those principles apply to historical writings of other poets as well. But even in purely literary works,—that is, works not dealing with any historical incident—we often find interesting glimpses into the political, economic, religious and social conditions of the periods in which they were written. From one point of view it may even be said that the direct and indirect inferences gathered from such works are more accurate and valuable than the facts recorded in professedly historical poems, inasmuch as the authors of the latter almost always colour the materials with their individual prejudices, whereas the writers of the former very rarely attempt a conscious remodelling of the circumstances to which they incidentally refer. For the historian of religious, social and economic evolution these scattered references are more useful than the purposely manipulated information gathered from official annals and even non-official historical works.

I may illustrate this point by referring to some of the works of Amīr Khusrav himself. Take, for instance, his third *Divān*—*Ghurrāt-ul-Kamāl*. In this work the poet gives us a very interesting discussion about the types and merits of poetry in general, and incidentally dwells upon the beauties of the language and poetry of India. Now, Amīr Khusrav is here obviously free from any political prejudice, and what he states may be safely accepted as his honest opinion. Thus we learn something about the development of language and the science of rhetoric in that age,—a sidelight into the cultural history of India which can scarcely be discovered in any work dealing with kings and their victories.

Perhaps the most important of Amīr Khusrav's works from this point of view is *Nuh Sipīhr*. As I have already said, this work was written at the request of Mubarak Khaljī to celebrate the victories of his reign. But one of the nine parts of the poem consists entirely of

a very interesting description of the cultural, religious and social conditions of India in the days of the poet. He maintains that this country is far superior to Khorasan, and he is obviously very proud of the land of his birth. He says that the Indians are very proficient in all branches of philosophy and learning, that learning is widespread among them and that while foreign scholars very often come to India to study here, the people of the country are so advanced that they never feel the need of going to other countries for purposes of adding to their knowledge. This enthusiastic testimony of an accomplished member of the conquering race, whose judgment in this respect was obviously free from any political considerations or personal prejudices, stands in striking contrast with the curses almost always associated by Muhammadan historians with the name of their infidel neighbours. Amīr Khusrav here supplies a corrective to the prevailing theory of Hindu stagnation during the early years of Turkish rule in India. He clearly shows that the intellectual life of the conquered race was very vigorous in his days ; and if we take his statement with the seriousness which it deserves, and search for the works which Hindu genius produced during this age, it is quite possible that we shall be able to discover materials which would necessitate the addition of a new and by no means inglorious chapter to the cultural history of the country. Incidentally, we shall see that the history of India during the time of the Slave and Khaljī kings is much more than a mere record of the subjugation of Hindu principalities by Muhammadan heroes.

Let us consider, again, Amīr Khusrav's views about religion. In the abovementioned work he dwells at some length upon the respective religious beliefs and rituals of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. He detects certain similarities between the views of the two communities. Both of them, for instance, believe in the eternity of God as well as in His all-powerfulness. Naturally enough Amīr Khusrav does not approve the Hindu practice of worshipping stones, beasts, plants, and the like ; but he understands the fundamental Hindu idea that these objects merely typify the power and majesty of God. How different from the orthodox Muhammadan point of view ! We can clearly see that the best minds of the conquering race were just beginning to understand the strange people of the land of their adoption, and that the first steps were being laid of that tolerance and conciliation, comradeship and sympathy, which were to unite the two races into a great nation in the distant future.

And yet it would be incorrect to overemphasise these early traces of liberalism. Time was the essential element in the building of a nation in the medieval period, and hardly a century had elapsed since the first Slave king established himself in Delhi. In his own way Amīr Khusrav was a man of wide views and great tolerance, comparatively free from racial, religious and social prejudices. But lack of evidence prevents us from ascertaining how far he represented his age in this respect. We may surmise that some of the great men of the period were beginning to accept India as their own country and to reject the idea of looking down upon her as a mere conquered province. It may be that political necessity, if not natural broadness of outlook, was beginning to convince them that it was better to let the Hindus live than to try to extirpate them. But at the same time the vast mass of the Muhammadans, as well as a large number of their political and religious leaders, must have been steeped in the spirit of hatred and violence which runs through the pages of historians of the times. On this point Amīr Khusrav himself supplies us with some interesting evidence. Sometimes even he clearly betrays his contempt for the 'crow-faced' and 'cow-dung-worshipping' Hindus. He triumphantly describes the destruction of their temples, and advises the political authorities not to allow them too much power and opportunity. When we contemplate that a man of his outlook and temperament could, on occasions, indulge in prejudices like these, we can see that the time when the two communities would reach a perfect understanding about each other's position was far indeed.

There is reason to believe that some of the works of Amīr Khusrav have been lost, or, at any rate, have not yet been traced. We may not accept the legend which ascribes to our poet the composition of as many as ninety-nine works; but numerous references to his productions, scattered over contemporary and later historical and poetical writings, seem to convince us that some of the works written by him have not survived.<sup>1</sup>

The historical *mesnevis* composed by Amīr Khusrav are obviously of the greatest importance for our present purpose. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nawab Ishaq Khan made an extensive search in India and thoroughly studied the catalogues of European and Egyptian libraries. His industry was partly rewarded, but he was able to trace only forty-five works ascribed to Amīr Khusrav. A list of these works will be found in his *Prolegomena to the Collected Works of Khusrav* (Delhi, 1917).

<sup>2</sup> Nawalkishore Edition, 1885, cf. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 524 seq.

or *The Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Stars*, written at the request of Kaiqubād, has for its main theme the quarrel and reconciliation between Bughrā Khān and Kaiqubād. As the poet himself enjoyed the patronage of both the father and the son, and was himself an observer of the incident which he describes, we have very little reason to doubt the authenticity of his statements.

*Miftāh-ul-Futūh* (a portion of the *Divān Ghurrāt-ul-Kamāl* <sup>1</sup>), or *The Key to Success*, deals with the earlier successes of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Khaljī.

The central theme of 'Ashiqā <sup>2</sup> is the romantic love, destined to a tragic end, of Khizr Khān, the eldest son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, and Devalā Devī, the beautiful daughter of Karan Rāi, the last Bāghelā king of Gujarat. The poet begins with the conquest of India by the Muhammadans, and proceeds to give us a detailed account of 'Alā-ud-dīn's victories in peace and war—his glorious campaigns against the Mughals, his expeditions in the Deccan, his triumph in Gujarat, his regulations which introduced peace and prosperity in the country. This poem, apart from its literary value as a marvellous elegy on love that defies man and God alike, is perhaps the most important of Amīr Khusrav's works from the historical point of view. Here we have a contemporary account of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, written by a shrewd observer who personally knew all the principal actors in the drama.

*Nuh Sipīhr*, <sup>3</sup> or *The Nine Skies*, as I have already said, was written at the request of Mubārak Khaljī to celebrate the glory of his reign. Incidentally the poet throws much light on the social and religious conditions prevalent in his age.

We learn from several reliable authorities that Amīr Khusrav wrote a historical poem, known as *Tughlaq Nāma*, in which he dealt with the reign of his last patron, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq. But no trace of this work has hitherto been discovered.

Among Amīr Khusrav's prose works, *Tārikh-i-'Alāi* or *Khazāin-ul-Futūh* <sup>4</sup> is a short but very valuable history of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. The poet's general accuracy is beyond doubt, although no modern historian can accept in full his estimate of the

<sup>1</sup> India Office MSS. 1186 and 1187. Cf. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 534-44. Elliot's translation contains numerous mistakes,

<sup>2</sup> India Office MSS. 1215 and 1186. Elliot's translation is often unreliable.

<sup>3</sup> India Office MSS. 1187 and 1218.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by Mu'in-ul-Haq, lithographed at Aligarh, 1927. This edition contains many inaccuracies. Cf. British Museum MS. Additional 16838.

character and achievements of his great patron. The poet gives us many interesting details, and if we can follow the very difficult language in which the work is written, it will prove to be a veritable mine of information.

Finally, in his five *Divāns*—*Tuhfat-us-Sighar*,<sup>1</sup> *Wast-ul-Hayāt*,<sup>2</sup> *Ghurrāt-ul-Kamāl*,<sup>3</sup> *Bakīya Nakīya*,<sup>4</sup> and *Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl*<sup>5</sup>—the poet often refers to incidents in his own career, and many of the poems are in praise of his numerous patrons.

This very brief sketch of the works of Amīr Khusrav from the historical point of view may be expected to show that no historian of medieval India can overlook the importance of Indo-Persian literature as a principal source of information. This fact was recognised long ago by Elliot, who gave us a glimpse into this rich but very obscure field. But Elliot undertook a task which demands more time and energy than any one man can give ; moreover, his scholarship was limited and he worked in an age when principles of historical investigation were not known. Again, the short extracts which he has translated and the brief analysis of the contents which he has made are insufficient for the purposes of a scholar who aims at grasping the spirit of a writer as much as at utilising the concrete data which he deals with. It is urgently necessary, therefore, to go beyond Elliot, to go, indeed, to the fountain itself.

I have tried to emphasise the fact that Indo-Persian literature deserves our critical attention both from the literary as well as the historical point of view, that it is as interesting as a branch of our cultural heritage as it is important as a source of information for the reconstruction of political history. It may not be altogether out of place to mention that a student of the growth and development of Indian vernacular languages will find much to learn from this subject. Just as Muhammadan architects utilised Hindu ideas and Hindu workmanship, just as Muhammadan administrators modified orthodox Islamic principles of government and finance by accepting Hindu principles and institutions, so also Muhammadan writers were unconsciously influenced by Hindu techniques of literature as well

<sup>1</sup> India Office MS. 1187.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> British Museum MS. 25807.

as by words of Hindu origin. Amīr Khusrav himself is known to have written some works in Hindi ; and among his successors were many Muhammadan writers of poetical works in Indian Vernaculars. Almost every work in Indo-Persian literature contains a more or less large number of words of Indian origin, and thousands of Persian words became naturalised in every Indian Vernacular language. This mingling of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskritic origin is extremely interesting from the philological point of view, and this co-ordination of unknowns resulted in the origin of the beautiful Urdu language. That language in itself symbolised the reconciliation of the hitherto irreconcilable and mutually hostile types of civilisation represented by Hinduism and Islam.

Thus Indo-Persian literature, analysed from so many different points of view, clearly establishes its claim to rank as an intrinsically important subject. It is to be regretted that neither students of literature nor historical investigators have so far made any really serious attempt to study it. The life and works of Amīr Khusrav have been critically studied, though much remains to be done ; but no comprehensive review of Indo-Persian literature as a whole is available. Again, the few scholars who have dealt with the history of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi have usually confined their attention to professedly historical works, without trying to utilise other works in the way indicated above. It may be hoped that the new generation of historical investigators will boldly venture beyond the beaten track and give to our national history that unity and completion which it so sadly lacks.<sup>1</sup>

*Calcutta.*

*(Concluded.)*

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri of the Calcutta University for many valuable suggestions.



# SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN JOURNALISM IN INDIA

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THE very first thing to discuss about modern Indian journalism should be its economics, because the publication of newspapers has become to-day as genuine a business as the manufacture, say, of boots and shoes, and is subject to almost all the economic laws which govern enterprises more straightforwardly undertaken for profit. In these days newspapers demand large capitals, and large capitals in their turn demand large dividends. It was the pioneer of the modern commercialized press, Lord Northcliffe, who introduced financial rewards rather than political influence—not that he himself loved it any the less—as the chief criterion of a newspaper's success. His ideal has come to stay and has spread. People who now-a-days sink their millions in the newspaper business expect that multiplied millions would come back to them in the shape of huge circulations and fat advertisements. The question is how to get these circulations and advertisements. Not surely by giving people simply wholesome views and matter-of-fact news, not by squeamishly refraining from working upon motives which most readily induce men to part with their money. Thus it happens that in Europe and America the swing towards commercialization, towards greater mass-interest, piquancy, sensationalism and all that goes towards building up mammoth circulations is gradually pushing the old journalistic ideal of disinterested public trusteeship into the background. There are, of course, some papers who are fighting for the older tradition and trying to escape complete commercialization by means of safeguards against free sale of their shares. But it still remains to be seen whether these elaborate devices will be effective when the real tussle comes. In any case, there can be no doubt that the handful of newspapers who are resisting the encroachments of high finance are only the exceptions which prove the rule.

In India, however, this 'industrial revolution' in the newspaper enterprise is still to come. Papers are even now started here by men

who have political ambitions or by those who are the victims of the political ambitions of others, though there are certainly some papers which are quite respectable and flourishing as business propositions. Most of these are, however, papers of long years' standing, which were founded by politically-minded ancestors and have, more by chance than design, come to be something like landed estates for their less political and more economic descendants.

The cause of this preponderantly political character of the newspaper enterprise in India is to be found in the absence of the two factors which have contributed, more than anything else, to the commercialization of the Press in the West,—the absence that is to say of huge advertisement revenues and the monster circulations on which they are based. Large advertisement revenues presuppose a highly industrialized country desperately anxious to sell its manufactured products, and India is very inadequately industrialized. So, the only advertisements Indian papers can expect are those from foreign manufacturers seeking a market in India and from Indian retailers. Of these, again, most of the foreign publicity, which is only a backwash of the fabulous advertisement campaigns undertaken in Europe and America, go, through the foreign firms, to the European-owned papers, the Indian papers being compelled to remain satisfied with pickings. A very interesting light is thrown on the relative income from advertisements of English, European-owned Indian and wholly Indian-owned papers by a comparison of their rates. The rate in England has been calculated to vary from 70 shillings to £6 per single column inch ; the established European-owned papers in India charge something like Rs. 10 per column-inch, while the rate of an Indian paper varies between 12 annas to Rs. 2-8-0 for the same amount of space.

Coming now to the question of circulation, the factors which act as checks on circulation of newspapers in India are both educational and economic. The only people who can easily afford the anna or the half-anna for the morning's paper are the middle and the upper classes, and even if the economic difficulty did not exist, the illiteracy of the masses is such that a paper could be of very little use to them even if they could afford to buy it. Then comes the question of an alien language. Almost all the papers in India which aim at serious political influence are now published in English, and English is only understood by a handful of people in comparison with

the total population of India. If any Indian paper is to attain a really substantial circulation, it will have to abandon English. This difficulty will become more and more accentuated as Indian universities adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction ; and it is my growing conviction that the future of journalism in India lies entirely with the vernacular papers. A few English papers will, perhaps, continue to cater to the taste or serve the needs of a handful of people. But more and more will they have to yield place to their more successful vernacular rivals, both in circulation and influence.

However that might be, there is no doubt that, for the present, the limited circulation and advertisement-revenue of the Indian papers act as a barrier against commercialization. Newspaper business in India is not remunerative enough to attract big finance ; and for this reason political objects are more responsible for the birth of papers in India than economic motives. This should not, however, be taken to mean that Indian papers practise anything resembling austere asceticism in the matter of financial gain. I am not subtle enough to pronounce on the relative moral value of seeking profits in a colossal, open and masterful way and yearning for the same end in a small, furtive and sheepish manner. But it does seem to me that some Indian papers in some cases show a disposition to swallow financial fare which would certainly be left alone by the stronger beasts of prey. This is not, however, wholly the fault of the newspaper-owner. As I have already said, India cannot, at present, give the circulation and advertisement that a modern well-conducted newspaper stands in need of in order to maintain its standard, but the public, at the same time, expect the paper at a price which only a fair circulation and advertisement revenue can make possible. In these circumstances the hard-pressed proprietor of an Indian newspaper is not unoften disposed to turn a blind eye to the advertisements of the occultist and the quack, which bring some money, though it may at the same time cast an undeserved slur on the intelligence and physical fitness of a nation.

If the more or less arrested financial development of the newspaper-business in India protects it against certain undesirable features of the commercialized press of the West, the same phenomenon cuts in the opposite direction by interfering with the flow of capital into a business very much in need of money. One important result of this is that the technique of newspaper-production in this country, both on its mechanical and literary side, is not nearly as perfect as it is elsewhere.

To take the question of the plant first. There are perhaps not more than half-a-dozen newspapers in India which have really modern machinery and auxiliary equipment. But most papers still cling to old junk or, at least, to machines which are not equal to the performance expected from them with a deplorable effect on their appearance. Serious as this is, there is one still more so. Many papers are yet under a handicap for want of an efficient organisation. After all it is not the machine that is the fountain of production. It is the man, and in a newspaper office, each man is a precise unit, who must not only mechanically do a piece of job at the precise moment, but also do it with his intellect tuned to its utmost pitch. The slightest variation or want of thought, may throw the entire process out of gear. Organisation guards against such failures. Want of proper and adequate organisation is, unfortunately, the feature of too many newspaper offices, even when experience is not wanting that efficient men with adequate remuneration can work for higher profits within a well-thought-out organisation.

It is here that I might mention the haphazard methods which prevail in the advertisement departments of most Indian papers. Whether in selling space or in calculating the rates, little attention is paid to the economic distribution of advertising columns or the cost of production per unit. Advertisement design is, if anything, in a more anarchical state. Advertising write-up and lay-out is a highly technical proposition at a third past the twentieth century. This is understood in Europe and America, where advertising is not only an art but a science as well. Few journals in India realize that advertising has its generalised principles as well as its technique of application. And the result is, their advertising columns are neither informative nor attractive. As such they are mostly passed over, which means a loss to the advertiser, who eventually condemns the paper as being no "puller." Then the paper has to beg for renewal, not on achievement, but, perhaps, on sentiment, a wholly unbusinesslike situation. The few journals that realized the position some time ago, organised for better equipment, competent lay-out men, intelligent job-compositors and clever artists. The result was that they could give much superior service, and, consequently, greater pull, and if they have to charge rates at least five times higher, the advertisers willingly pay, because of the return they get.

I should now come to what is, with perfect justice, regarded as the most important thing in journalism,—the contents of a paper, the array of news and views with which it seeks to inform and instruct its readers. Too many people commit the mistake of supposing, when they like or dislike something in a paper, that it is the editor or the writer who is responsible for the commendable or the blameworthy feature. They forget that a paper is made as much by its public as by the journalist who conducts it. There is a saying current that a people gets the paper it deserves. This may be endorsed as a plain statement of fact without a shade of moral condemnation. A writer too much in advance of his age might prove to be a prophet at the end of a century, but he is as unfit for the journalist's job as a man twenty-five years behind his times. The ideal journalist is the man who is inspired by a happy mediocrity. This is not as difficult as it might sound at first. The routine of modern journalistic production is such that it can make an instinctive trimmer of any person who is not an absolute fool or an absolute genius.

The journalist working in India has also his set conditions, the first of which is linguistic. I have heard some highbrow persons girding at the English of daily papers edited by Indians as unidiomatic, inelegant and un-English. All this may be perfectly true and just as literary criticism. But from the point of view of a newspaper it is irrelevant. There is no better way of proving that this is so than by setting some of these critics to write something for the Press. They will then find, perhaps to their discomfiture, that while the editorial of the scorned leader-writer is racing the readers through a whole gamut of emotions, his subtleties have failed miserably to get across. Thus, it is no use denying that the English of our Indian newspapers is quite effective in its own way and follows a historic precedent. It is well-known how the Persian language brought into India by the Muhammadan invaders was absorbed into the grammatical structure of the Indian language and turned into Urdu. Educated Indians are repeating the same process with English in the language of familiar conversation. The process has not gone so far in the newspapers, where we have been content with an adaptation of the rules of construction and selection of the vocabulary. The English one sees in a popular Indian newspaper is a selective language like 'Basic.' But while 'Basic' makes it a point of selecting the most homely words and constructions, our newspaper diction shows a liking

for the more high-pitched, because it is meant to work upon the feelings of what sympathetic English writers call a "proud and sensitive people."

This is only one of the problems of journalistic writing in India, and there are a hundred others which have as close an organic connection with the cast of the Indian mind. The value set on the views-side of a newspaper in India seem also to be a feature connected with a temperamental bias. It cannot be denied, and least of all by a journalist, that views and interpretations are essential. But what appears to be remarkable, at the present moment at any rate, is that despite the altered conditions and psychology of the reading public, the papers should be giving as much importance to views as the news. Perhaps there is a nearer and more matter-of-fact reason too. In these days the publication of news in India, unless they are thoroughly "sterilized" is a rather risky affair. Enterprise in the collection of news has, therefore, largely vanished from the field of Indian journalism. The papers are almost wholly dependent on the news-agencies. These agencies, good in themselves, are not physically capable of covering the entire field of India. The result is that we have an unbalanced preponderance of political news only. And as views are dependent on news, the newspapers are more political than all-embracing. This political colour has been so pronounced in regard to some newspapers, that it is idle to expect to find anything else in their pages. It is hardly recognised that human mind refuses to accept the same kind of journalistic food every morning. We find an attempt, now-a-days, at serving other dishes, specially in the Sunday issues. But the matter and manner of such service, lead one to presume that the selections, such as they are, are not based upon an endeavour to secure the most interesting and most sought-after features. News-pictures too have become more or less common, but they also are of the news-agency type, and not unoften unauthoritative or misleading.

Individual enterprise in gathering news, in presenting them in a readable and, I might say, an artistic form, and in carrying all classes and sections of the reading public with the papers, are conspicuous by their absence. The effect is that even the news-agencies have no need to be alert.

Competition, however, is growing keener every day in the Indian newspaper world, and it is regrettable that instead of enlarging circulation by giving better news and authoritative views-service, many

journals try to depend on the partisan views that they profess to hold. Not only is this unethical, but it is not good business either. Sooner or later even the partisan readers grow tired, not to speak of the wider public.

Speaking of ethics and partisanship, I presume it is time to be alert about a cloud which is appearing on the journalistic horizon of India. It is comparatively new in this country, although it is old in the lands overseas, indeed rather ominous across the Atlantic. I refer, of course, to the gloating over unsavoury cases and the premature condemnation of an accused, long before the jury or the judges have given their decision. The recent display of irresponsibility in the Lindbergh case in the United States is an illustration in point. Hauptmann was condemned to death many times in the newspapers, long before the judge pronounced sentence. This pampering to the neurasthenic mentality over criminal cases was not common in India, but the number of newspaper-readers who would enjoy such an exhibition of vitiated taste is, I am afraid, now on the increase. The publishers of newspapers who indulge in these dubious expedients for raising circulations, seldom realize that their boomerangs recoil upon them. They ultimately only create disgust towards themselves. Luckily their number is few. It is indeed gratifying that most newspapers are discreet and exhibit sober judgment. News certainly has value to them, and nothing worth publishing should be withheld, but that does not mean that discretion should be thrown to the winds. Personally, I feel that it is as much the concern of a news-editor to publish a news, as perhaps, occasionally even to pass over one. By no means is it his concern to twist, cook, or present a news in a sordid or distorted manner. Rewrite he can and should do, but only to make the news more clear and not to cater to the unbecoming mentality of a few degenerates.

I have said something about journalism as business, as an industrial technique, as a form of public service and shall now close with a few words about its status as a profession. To outsiders the vocation of a journalist seems to possess an inexhaustible glamour. Otherwise there would not be so many wistful candidates knocking at the door for admittance. It is not for a journalist to destroy that illusion and discover the skeleton in the cupboard. But one might as well give a timely warning to save much unnecessary suffering and still greater bitterness.

Even in England the advice of eminent professional journalists to prospective entrants is that of the *Punch* to the man who is going to be married—"Don't," with, however, one proviso,—“unless you are prepared to risk penury on the Press rather than earn a comfortable livelihood elsewhere.” In India, where journalism as a business is far less prosperous and stable, the conditions are much more precarious. The only people here who can consider themselves more or less permanently settled in a journalistic position are either the owner-editors or their relations. For the rest, however eminent they might be in their line, life is a ceaseless voyaging from port to port. The queerest part of this nomadic existence is that, in the higher ranks of Indian journalism, it is not due to professional qualifications or disqualifications but to disputes on nice points of political doctrine. This is undoubtedly a result of the predominantly political character of Indian journalism, which, by unduly magnifying the importance of the views-side of journalism, discourages its legitimate development as a craft.

The uncertainties of the journalist's career are leaving their mark in every field of Indian journalism. But their effects are different according to the group to which the professional journalist belongs. I should explain here that journalists in India may be divided into two broad classes, the “writers” and the “mechanics,” and that the first are held in far higher esteem than the second. In the group of “writers” are to be included the leader-writers who are the professional custodians of public opinion and among the “mechanics” the sub-editors and the reporters who do what is regarded as the humbler work of handling and representing news. Now, the “writers,” by the very nature of their duty, have to be men who have received the highest kind of general education. But the small rewards and the uncertainty of the journalistic profession will not attract the men who have the necessary qualification. That is why the “writers” are very often not professional journalists but college professors who have taken to journalism as a second string to their bow. This is certainly not a very desirable state of affairs, but it is relatively a trivial matter compared to the demoralization to which the economic factor has reduced the “mechanics” of journalism. There is not the slightest doubt that some of the sub-editors and reporters we have are men of acknowledged ability, but the conditions in which they have to work really give them no chances. Unless and until Indian newspaper-



offices remodel their terms of service there is not the slightest chance of their attracting anybody except disillusioned and discouraged professionals or men who have drifted to journalism after having failed to make a living in other fields.

Recently there has been some talk in Calcutta of remedying this state of affairs by starting not a Sunday school for the purification of the hearts of the proprietors, but a University course for the education of the victims. This is certainly a remarkable example of faith in University education in a country which has not had a very happy experience of the economic return of higher education. But the eminent journalists who have sponsored the scheme have said that the future possibilities of journalism are not to be judged from its present condition. No one wishes that this should be so more keenly than the writer of these words. If the struggles of the Indian journalist of today be not the portion of his successor, this will certainly mean a lot, even if he may not live to see the brighter day.

The good old days of journalism in India are often spoken of as those of giants. It is both true and otherwise. Those that were giants in the old days, are so in comparison to their environments. Again, they were few in number and the comparison was obvious. They were great men no doubt, but in referring to them if it be conveyed that they were the last of the barons, then the inference would be wrong. We may not have today Ramgopal Ghosh, Hurrish Chunder Mukherjee, Krishnadas Pal, Sambhu Chunder Mukherjee, Girish Chunder Ghosh, Paul Knight, Sisir Kumar and Motilal Ghosh, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Narendra Nath Sen, N. Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal but we have at the present time great names, people who are as much the guiding spirits as they are specialists in the different branches of journalism. Modern journalism has no longer the all-pervading personal element of yesterday. It is a combined product of many keen and efficient men, who are ever alert to make the most of every moment that is present, and who cannot afford to lose anything in the race. Competition and the demand for the more widely circulated and intelligently produced journals, have brought about a kind of decentralisation in the *modus operandi*, which have practically taken the personal element out of newspaper publication. Nevertheless, if we miss the direct personal impress of the editor, we are made to feel the indirect personalities or traditions of the owners, directors, or owner-editors. We have seen the

influence of Lord Northcliffe or William Randolph Hearst dominating their papers. The Walters of *The Times* still continue to give the paper its life and shape that is responsible for "the unique position that it holds today in the life of the nation," as a message from His Majesty the King said on the 150th anniversary of the journal.

*Calcutta.*

# SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: OLD AND NEW.

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FOR every phase of life Soviet Russia possesses a theory, a philosophy. The teachings of Karl Marx form the theoretic basis for the practical communist of Russia. Lenin was the first man who had an opportunity, which the author of *Das Kapital* had never had, to realise communism on a large scale or, to be more correct, to prepare the way for the establishment of communism in future, for it is not yet claimed to be established. It was not unnatural that he should modify some of the Marxian theories. Experience compelled him to introduce certain changes in the programme laid down by Marx in collaboration with Engels in the Communist Manifesto. In fundamentals, however, he remained a true disciple of his master. Marxism as interpreted by Lenin may be regarded as the official or established religion of Russia. Trotsky and Stalin both consider themselves to be the true followers of the creed of Lenin. That there is difference between the two is immaterial. Both of them claim to be the exponents of Leninism.

The theories that have determined the course of Russian politics during the last seventeen years originate from Lenin. Russia's foreign relations have been very much influenced by two theoretic conceptions. One is the philosophy of World Revolution. The other is the belief in the possibility and under certain circumstances the inevitability of establishing communism in a separate country.

In the dialectics of historical evolution, as developed by Marx, revolution is an essential part of the historical process. History, according to him, is made up of a continuous growth on the one hand and violent breaks on the other. These sudden outbursts are due to the presence of forces which, though mutually interpenetrating, are by nature opposite. When these opposite forces become conscious of their antagonistic nature and irreconcilable differences, there comes an upheaval, a revolution. The result of the conflict is also predetermined. Just as the bourgeoisie came out triumphant in its struggle with

the feudal order—the struggle took the form of revolutions in England, America and above all in France—similarly the new social force, the proletariat, is destined to come out triumphant in its struggle with capitalism.

It is now clear from Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution that until 1924 all the prominent Bolshevik leaders definitely believed that the revolution in Russia was but a beginning of similar revolutionary upheavals all the world over, and especially in the Western countries. They were all agreed that the Soviet government could not continue to exist unless it overthrew capitalism and imperialism. If it failed to do so, they would overthrow it. "Either the international revolution, unleashed by the revolution in Russia, will strangle the war and capital, or international capitalism will strangle the revolution," so wrote Bukharin. To the leaders of Soviet Russia the problem of the communist revolution seemed to be essentially an international problem. Lenin, not to speak of Trotsky, emphasised on so many occasions that a permanent and decisive success was out of question without successful revolutions in other countries. Having succeeded in Russia it was the duty of the Russian proletariat to revolutionize the world. Said Lenin, "International imperialism...which represents a gigantic actual power...could in no case and under no conditions live side by side with the Soviet Republic. Here a conflict will be inevitable. Here...is the greatest historic problem...the necessity of evoking an international revolution." Even Stalin then believed that "only after shaking loose the foundations of capitalism in the West, can we count upon the triumph of the revolution in Russia."

Thus according to Bolshevik ideas revolution was considered to be not only a necessary phenomenon in the process of historical evolution, but to be essential for the very existence of the Soviet Republic. So long as this theory was held by leading Bolsheviks, it was to be expected that Soviet Russia should help all revolutionary movements in foreign countries. She encouraged social upheavals in the West. And in spite of the international, even anti-national, character of the socialist revolution, she encouraged the nationalist movements in the East. She did that because she believed that the achieving of independence by Eastern nations would weaken Western imperialism and capitalism. It was further believed that once Western imperialism was overthrown, it would not be at all difficult to transform these political revolutions into social revolutions.

That was in short the position until 1924, when Lenin died. After his death another doctrine was evolved by Stalin, although he claimed that Lenin himself was the author of this idea. Stalin now proclaimed that the building of socialism was wholly realisable within the limits of the U.S.S.R. Socialism could be realised in Russia independently of the other countries. What was necessary, however, was that the imperialist powers should not be allowed to overthrow the Soviet regime. The theory was first put forward in 1924, but it took some time before it was adopted as the definite policy of the Soviet Union and before the Third International itself condemned those who did not accept this theory.

The two theories, however, must be regarded as mutually interpenetrating, to use a Marxian expression. When Soviet Russia talked of world-revolution she did not wholly neglect her national well-being. And her belief in 'socialism in a separate country' does not mean that the ideal of a proletarian revolution has been definitely repudiated. If in spite of it we elect to differentiate between the first few years and the last few years of the history of Soviet foreign policy, it is due to the emphasis which each of these ideals has received in those periods. During the first few years of the Soviet regime the ascendent theory was that of Proletarian Revolution. On the other hand, during the last few years the ideal of 'Socialism in a Separate Country' must be regarded as the guiding principle of Russia's foreign and domestic policies. Although, as we have said, the latter doctrine made its appearance shortly after the death of Lenin, it was not able for some time to completely overshadow the former. But after the death of Lenin the ideal of world revolution seems to be on the defensive. It looks as if it is gradually but surely being superseded by the other theory. The expulsion of Trotsky and his party from office and his subsequent exile definitely established the supremacy of 'Socialism in a Separate Country.'

Several causes were responsible for this change in the outlook of the leaders of Russia. The change was primarily due to the failure of the Third International to organize successful revolts in foreign countries. Another reason was that Russia began to recognize how dependent she was on foreign assistance for her own industrialisation and for an improvement in her agricultural methods. But more recently two important events—the Sino-Japanese conflict in the Far East and the coming of Hitler in Germany—have brought Russia

still nearer the capitalist countries. America's recognition of the Soviet Government, the Franco-Russian alliance and Russia's membership of the League of Nations are some of the prominent consequences of Japan's occupation of Manchuria and Hitler's Eastern policy.

According to the division that has been suggested above, Soviet foreign policy falls into two periods. The first period lasts from 1917 to 1927, the second from 1928 to the present time. The first is the period of Proletarian Revolution; the second is the era of "National-Socialism," as Trotsky would call it.

We may now turn to the study of each period separately, bearing in mind that in practice one ideal has not wholly excluded the other.

#### THE PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

The Bolshevik regime was inaugurated in November, 1917, but it took some time before it could be stabilised. Its authority was challenged from two sides. The regime had its internal as well as external foes, and they were co-operating with one another. All the well-to-do and privileged classes—the officials, the landed aristocracy, the industrialists, the merchants and the clergy—had greatly suffered at the hands of the new regime. And they fought a stiff battle before they were finally crushed towards the end of 1920.

The Soviet regime from its very inception was hated and feared by most of the countries of the world, specially by the Great Powers and by Russia's Western neighbours. The reasons are not far to seek. The more important were three in number. The Bolshevik belief in the desirability and even the inevitability of a world revolution and its encouragement of subversive movements in the capitalist countries of the West and in their dependencies in the East was one reason. The desertion of Russia in 1917 and the conclusion of a separate peace with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk was another. The Bolshevik Government not only made a separate peace but published all the secret treaties concluded and understandings arrived at between the Tsar and the Allied Governments, which showed the real war aims of the Allies. Yet another cause of friction was the Russian repudiation of all foreign debts and the nationalisation of foreign industrial enterprises.

The capitalist countries resolved to suppress Bolshevism. On the one hand, they encouraged the 'saner elements' in Russia to resist,

and gave the Whites all possible financial and military assistance. On the other hand, Russia was subjected to an Allied blockade and military intervention. The hostility of the Allied countries, prominent among which were Great Britain and Japan, very nearly succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the Bolshevik regime. The Workers' Government in Finland was cut to pieces by the White terrorists. In the North of Russia the Allied troops occupied Archangel and from there threatened Vologda and Moscow. General Denikin, supported by the Allies, became master of Ukraine and Caucasus and threatened central Russia. In Esthonia Yudenitch's army became supreme and very nearly occupied Petrograd itself. Kolchak's army, assisted by the Allies, particularly by Japan, was doing in Siberia what Dinikin's had done in Ukraine and Caucasus. The Maritime Provinces in the East were conquered by the Japanese, British and American troops. Rumania, taking advantage of the difficulties of the Soviet Government and with the approval of the Allied Powers, conquered the Russian province of Bessarabia in 1918 and has held it ever since. A new danger arose when Poland invaded Ukraine in the middle of 1920. But Polish forces were pushed back, and Poland herself was saved through British and French help, but for reasons which we need not discuss the peace that was concluded was rather favourable to Poland.

During the period of civil war and intervention there were occasions when a downfall of the Soviet Government could be safely predicted. In the middle of 1918, for instance, the territory under Soviet control was reduced to a few provinces around Moscow and Petrograd, and in 1919 General Denikin had reached a point less than two hundred miles from Moscow. But an extraordinary display of revolutionary energy and the wonderful organization of the Bolshevik forces saved the regime from complete collapse.

At the end of 1920 the position was that Soviet Russia had succeeded in overcoming both internal revolt and foreign intervention. And in 1921 the Soviet Government was given *de facto* recognition by many states of the world including Great Britain. During the years that followed even diplomatic relations were established between the U.S.S.R. and the Great Powers, with the exception of the U.S.A. Yet Russia's relations with them during the period now under review were not at all so cordial. There were constant bickerings.

A Franco-Russian understanding could not be achieved because of the hostile attitude of Russia towards two of the allies of France, Poland and Rumania. Russia and Poland had not at all been on good terms since 1920. Similarly, Russia had refused to recognise the validity of Rumania's conquest of Bessarabia. Moreover France was very suspicious of the friendly relations that existed between Russia and the greatest enemy of France, *viz.*, Germany. But still more important was the question of debts, on which France had not been able to come to a satisfactory understanding. France had invested an enormous amount of capital in pre-war Russia. But now Russia had repudiated all debts and had confiscated French-owned property. Attempts were no doubt made to arrive at a settlement of this difficult problem, but a compromise seemed to be impossible, specially after M. Poincare became French Premier. In 1927 negotiations for a settlement completely broke down because of Russian insistence on compensation for the damages incurred by the Soviet Government as a result of the high-handed action of the Allies in subjecting her to economic blockade and intervention. Russia was prepared to pay back the debts provided the Allies paid her reparations.

Between Great Britain and Russia a trade agreement was concluded in 1921, which meant a *de facto* recognition of Russia. But Russia's activities in the Middle East and in India were causing great anxiety in Great Britain. That the relations were hardly friendly is clearly demonstrated by the attitude of Lord Curzon, the then British Foreign Secretary, towards Russia at the end of 1921 and again in 1923 when he actually threatened the Soviet Government with the breaking off of diplomatic relations. In 1924 there was an improvement in the relations between the two governments, when Mr. Macdonald formed his first Labour Cabinet and accorded Russia full diplomatic recognition. The Labour Cabinet, however, fell in October, 1924. On the eve of the General Election the British Foreign Office dispatched a very sharp note to the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in which the Soviet Government was accused of subversive activities in Great Britain, and the proof of which was the notorious 'Zinoviev Letter.' It was alleged to have been written by the then President of the Third International, who is now a prisoner, and was addressed to the British Communist Party. He urged the party to inaugurate an active propaganda for mutiny and desertion in the British Army and Navy. The result was estrangement between the



two governments. The Conservative Government was very sensitive to any sign of communist activity in India and the East. And when Russian influence in China reached its zenith at the beginning of 1927—the nationalist movement in that country being chiefly directed against Great Britain—the Conservative Government broke off diplomatic relations with Russia in May, 1927.

Mussolini's Italy was a bitter enemy of Communism. But Mussolini was realist enough to see that Soviet Russia did not in any way constitute a danger to the Fascist state. On the contrary, besides economic advantages which would ensue from relations between the two countries, he recognized the importance of Russia as an exponent of the revision of the Treaty of Versailles and other treaties with which the World War had come to a close. For, although a victor, Italy was not at all satisfied with the terms of the peace treaties. Good relations between the two countries, however, were seriously disturbed in 1927 when Italy, in accordance with her policy in Eastern Europe, recognized Rumania's title to Bessarabia.

Turning to the non-European Great Powers we find that Japan was the last among them to evacuate Russian territory in 1922. After the evacuation there were signs of a *rapprochement* between the two countries, specially after the passing of the Oriental Exclusion Act by the U.S.A. in 1924. In 1925 Soviet Russia was accorded *de jure* recognition and a trade agreement was concluded. But it seems that both sides recognized from the beginning that a conflict in China was unavoidable. The relations continued to be correct, but they were by no means cordial.

The U.S.A. was neither very much afraid of Communist propaganda as Great Britain was, nor had she suffered a very great financial loss as a result of Russia's repudiation of debts, as France had, yet for reasons mostly cultural and ideological she refused to recognise the Soviet regime.

From the foregoing review of Russia's relations with her Western neighbours, such as Poland and Rumania, and with the Great Powers in general, we find that these were not friendly. Even the existence of commercial and diplomatic relations did not mitigate in any considerable degree their hostility towards the Bolsheviki and Bolshevik hostility towards them. Soviet Russia felt that she was encircled on all sides by enemies and that her very existence was in danger. She

very badly felt the need of somehow or other effecting a breach in the hostile encirclement. By the beginning of 1921 the Soviet Government had overcome its internal and external foes. It had firmly established itself. The immediate danger had disappeared. But Soviet Russia could not believe that the capitalist countries would let her live peacefully.

Believing themselves to be the object of attack, the Bolsheviks began a counter-attack. They declared themselves to be the friends of all countries where for various reasons discontent was prevalent. Germany, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and China presented excellent opportunities for propaganda. The Bolsheviks secured Germany's good will through their denunciation of the 'brutal' Versailles Treaty, imposed upon a helpless nation by the imperialist powers of the West. They exhorted the Asiatic peoples to throw off the yoke of foreign rule. They promised help to China, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in their fight against European powers, specially Great Britain. Russia thus became the champion of the weak, the dissatisfied and the discontented nations.

We may now consider in some detail the relations between Russia and these countries, beginning with Germany.

Shortly after the close of the World War and the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles we find in Germany a powerful group of men which stood for an aggressive policy of retaliation in foreign affairs. They generally belonged to the parties of the Right. But although they stood for an aggressive foreign policy, they knew that disarmed Germany was no match even for a Poland or a Czechoslovakia, not to speak of France, the powerful western neighbour. The then Government of Germany, composed of the Socialists and the Middle parties, was opposed to an aggressive foreign policy, but was favourably inclined towards Russia. The U. S. S. R. on her side was not only eager to propagate the doctrine of communism, she was also in search of allies in order to combat the formidable coalition of her opponents. Moreover, she required the help of a highly industrialised nation for her own industrial development. In Germany she found an ideal comrade. Each country required the help of the other. The Treaty of Rapallo was concluded between Russia and Germany in 1922. Included in its provisions were a mutual renunciation of reparations, renunciation by Germany of compensation for losses incurred by the Germans in Russia as a result of socialisation of

private property, a resumption of diplomatic relations, a mutual application of the 'most favoured nation' principle, etc.

On this treaty were based the subsequent friendly relations between the two countries. In 1924, however, the leaders of certain important German parties, such as the Socialist, the Democrat, the Peoples and the Centre Parties, came to recognise that a re-orientation of German foreign policy was necessary. For this change of view Stresemann, who became Foreign Minister in 1924, was no doubt largely responsible. He clearly recognised that an aggressive foreign policy was impossible, and all talk of retaliation was meaningless. Russia was not in a position to offer any real help in the event of an international conflict. Communist uprisings in Bavaria and the Ruhr constituted another reason for his deprecation of too close a friendship with Revolutionary Russia. Besides, this friendship had not brought Germany any very substantial financial gains, which was contrary to what was expected. Stresemann therefore, struck a new note in German foreign policy. He now adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the ex-enemies, particularly towards France. The fruits of his endeavours were the conclusion of the Locarno Pact in 1925 and Germany's entry into the League of Nations in 1926.

Germany had now decided in favour of conciliation with the Western powers, but at the same time she could not afford to antagonise Russia. Because of Russian friendship Germany was in a position to insist on and carry through some of her demands *vis-a-vis* the Great Powers. She could exploit Russian friendship and threaten the Great Powers with the reversal of her foreign policy. In short Germany was trying to be on good terms with the Western Powers on the one hand and with Soviet Russia on the other. But it was not an easy task. Soviet eyes saw in this dual policy of Germany a distinct sign of her drift from Russia. By the end of 1924 Russia had recognised the futility of her efforts to create a communist revolution in Germany. The Locarno Pact and the entry of Germany into the League made the relations between the two countries very cool indeed. But a complete break was not regarded as desirable by either of the parties. Russia still favoured a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, though not with earlier enthusiasm. Germany refused to dance to the Soviet tune, but at the same time she carefully avoided being drawn into any hostile combination against Russia.

Another country in whose politics Soviet Russia played a leading part during the first ten years of her history was China.

Russian interest in China dates back from the 16th century, and until the middle of the 19th century she was in fact the only foreign power interested in China. The chief reason was her search for 'warm water.' In the 19th century when the general aggression upon China came, Russia greatly profited by it. Vladivostok became the chief Russian naval station in the Pacific. And in order to connect it with Russia proper the Trans-Siberian Railway was built towards the end of the last century. Russian support to China in the Sino-Japanese conflict of 1894 brought her another important concession from China. She was now granted the right to construct a rail-road across Manchuria to Vladivostok, which besides being economically advantageous, very much shortened the route to that port. She also secured a lease on the Liaotung Peninsula and Port Arthur. Thus was realised the Russian dream of a "warm water port." The new line, known as the Chinese Eastern Railway, was opened in 1903. Chinese efforts to get rid of the foreigners culminated in the Boxer Rebellion of 1899-1900. The Rebellion was crushed by the troops of the interested powers, including Russia and Japan. But Russian troops remained in Manchuria even after the rising had been finally overcome. Japan protested, but in vain. Thus at the beginning of our century Russia had become the most important power in this region. Manchuria clearly belonged to her sphere of influence, and she was trying to extend her influence to Korea.

There were, however, two countries which recognised the danger of a too powerful Russia in the East. They were Great Britain and Japan. They became apprehensive of Russia's designs in China. And in order to defeat the schemes of Russia they formed an alliance in 1902. Two years later began the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese captured Port Arthur and defeated Russian forces on land and on sea. The defeat in this war cost Russia her dominant position in the Far East. South Manchuria now became a Japanese "sphere of influence." But Russian interests in Northern Manchuria were not yet questioned. With the Great War and the Russian Revolution, however, a new opportunity presented itself. Japan now embarked on a more ambitious scheme of expansion. She greatly strengthened her position *vis-a-vis* China and obtained new railway concessions in South Manchuria. What was still more important was that she occupied Siberia

and ousted Russia from Northern Manchuria. But ultimately Japan had to surrender most of these gains.

The Soviet Government on their side speedily renounced all claims inherited from the Tsarist regime. They annulled all treaties that were in any way unfair to China. The Russian announcement came as a great consolation to the Chinese people who had been the victims of Japanese aggression during the Great War and to whom the Peace of 1919 had done so much wrong, in spite of the fact that they had joined the war on the side of the Allies. But China did not as yet believe in the sincerity of the Soviet Government. She had just reason to be suspicious. Many a time during the last two decades Russia had offered her "friendly offices" in difficult circumstances and yet in the end had profited at the expense of China. During the period immediately following the Great War and taking advantage of Russian difficulties China made an attempt to bring Mongolia under her subjection, but failed miserably. In 1921 the Soviet Government became complete masters of Mongolia. They established there a kind of Soviet regime.

Due to this reason China refused to have anything to do with Russia. She would establish diplomatic relations only when this wrong was undone and Mongolian territory evacuated. It was under these circumstances that Joffe, one of the cleverest Soviet diplomats was sent to China. And he was followed by a still cleverer diplomat, viz. Borodin. Through championing the cause of the Chinese against the Western Powers and Japan they were successful in creating a favourable atmosphere. In May, 1924, an important treaty was concluded between the Soviet Government and both the Peking and Mukden Governments. Russia renounced all concessions and indemnities. China accepted a joint Russo-Chinese ownership of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Chinese sovereignty over Mongolia was recognised. But although Russian troops were withdrawn from Mongolia, they left the country only after a communist government was firmly established.

This was the time when Russian influence in China was supreme. The Soviet agents became very influential with the Kuomintang, the nationalist party of China. And notwithstanding Russian promise to abstain from communist propaganda it looked as if China was going the way of Russia.

But Russian co-operation with China did not last long. A powerful group of Chinese Nationalists had become alarmed at the spread of

communist thought in their country. They had welcomed Russian friendship in order to be able to fight the foreigners. Their ideal was independent, liberal-democratic China. They hated Communism. General Chang Kai Shek who succeeded Dr. Sun Yat Sen was a typical 'bourgeois.' He was the leader of what we may call the Right wing of the Kuomintang. When in 1927 he became convinced that the Soviet Government, through its agents, Russian and Chinese, was intriguing against him, he decided to take drastic action. Russian advisers were expelled from China. The Communist Party was banned, and China broke off diplomatic relations with Russia. All these measures were carried out in a very drastic fashion. All that had been gained in 1924 and the following years was completely lost by the end of 1927. The failure of Russia in China was an important reason for a re-orientation of Russia's foreign policy.

Very similar to the Soviet policy in China was the policy towards the Islamic countries—Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. Their geographical situation made it impossible for the Allies to prevent Russia from entering into relations with them. Russia was perhaps also linked with the inhabitants of these countries by the common mentality and outlook of the peoples. Much more important, however, was the fact that the Soviet Government had now denounced the imperialist policy of the Tsars and had recognised the right of peoples to self-determination. Russia was now the exponent of a great international ideal, and even if her policy towards the Eastern countries was largely determined by purely nationalistic considerations, she was clever enough to emphasise the international side of her policy. As Hans Kohn in his *History of Nationalism in the East* has pointed out, Russia had now a message for the people of Asia, which was comparable with the British ideal of 'gradual training in the blessings of freedom and self-government.'

The Bolsheviks, unlike Marx, believed that social revolution could be and should be linked with national liberation. Lenin thought that for the success of proletarian revolution it was necessary for the Russian proletariat to help the anti-imperialist movements in the East. Stalin himself puts forward this view when he says (in his *Theory and Practice of Leninism*): "Regarded objectively, the struggle of the Emir of Afghanistan for his country's independence is a revolutionary struggle, notwithstanding the fact that the Emir and his ministers are monarchists; for it is undermining imperialism."

The World War had given a great impetus to the nationalist movements in the East. A new political consciousness had arisen in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. During the 19th century both Great Britain and Russia were interested in the economic exploitation and political domination of these countries. But of the two Russia was regarded by them as the more dangerous. They more than once obtained help from Great Britain against Russian aggression. But the Great War—and in fact the tendency could be noticed even before the War, in 1907 for instance when the two powers agreed to divide Persia into two spheres of influence—changed the whole situation. Now Great Britain because of her Middle and Near Eastern policy came to be regarded as the chief enemy. In their struggle against Great Britain, therefore, all the three countries sought and obtained moral and material support from Soviet Russia. The relations between the Islamic countries and Bolshevik Russia continued to be extremely friendly for a few years following the Great War.

By the end of 1923 Kemalist Turkey had driven out the Greeks and the allied Powers from Turkish soil. Persia was now being governed by Riza Khan, who won independence for his country. Afghanistan's independence internal, and external, was recognised by Great Britain in 1919. These countries had achieved the first object of their foreign policies. Now they began the work of internal consolidation. They would not allow any Russian interference and propaganda within their borders. A comparison of the two sets of treaties concluded between Russia and each of these countries in 1920-21 and in 1925 and the following years clearly shows that although attempts were made to maintain friendly relations, the Islamic countries had become apprehensive of Russian propaganda. And they stopped it with a firm hand. Russia now recognised that her desire of turning the political revolutions into social revolutions was impossible of fulfilment. The Islamic countries welcomed Russian help so long as they were trying to get rid of foreign control. Since that aim had been achieved they were not prepared to allow Russian interference any more, although they could not afford to antagonise Russia either.

*(To be continued.)*

# MIRQASIM AS AN EXILE FROM BENGAL : 1764-77

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ONE of the great fighters of India in a lost cause was MirQasim, for some time ruler of Bengal. His is one of the few names that relieve Indian history of the 18th century of the charge of producing only cowards and traitors, intriguers and self-seekers. Every honest Indian must sink with a sense of shame when he reads of the doings of MirJafar and Roy Durlav, Imad-ul-mulk and Ghulam Qadir. But there were only too many men of their type in the 18th century. The whole political and moral outlook was vitiated and everything seemed out of joint.

MirQasim like many of his contemporaries used very dubious means in his rise to power but, when in power, he proved to be one of the ablest rulers that 18th century India saw. His memory is also deservedly respected because he preferred "defeat and ruin in a righteous cause to the lingering torture to which the policy of Calcutta Council would have subjected him."<sup>1</sup> After his final rupture with the British, he was defeated in a series of fiercely contested engagements and adversity developed the cruel side of his nature. He massacred the British prisoners he had taken and thus established a blood-feud between himself and the British. After the decisive battle of Buxar he became a homeless wanderer.

But the British in Bengal had some respect for him as an enemy and tried naturally to keep themselves well-informed of his movements. From purely British sources it is not difficult to reconstruct the history of the wanderings of MirQasim from the battle of Buxar in 1764 to his death in 1777. We can supplement the British reports with the meagre details supplied by the Persian chronicles of the period—the *Siyar-ul-Mutakkherin*, the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, and the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*. From these sources, we can form some idea of fugitive MirQasim's hopes and plans, many of them quixotic

<sup>1</sup> Malleson, *The Decisive Battles of India*, p. 136.



and extravagant no doubt, many the impotent imagination of despair. Like a "phantom vessel floating about on the wide seas, without an anchor, without a port" he still catches our imagination and gives to his own life-story an interest and as a determined adversary to the history of the establishment of British power in Bengal, a dignity that it would not otherwise have attained.

Even before the battle of Buxar he was disgraced and imprisoned by the orders of Shuja-ud-Daula and most of his friends had disappeared, after "having made each of them his nest in the bosom of the *grandees* of the vizier's court."<sup>1</sup> It is a story sickening in its details. "He was robbed by Shuja-ud-Daula of the whole of his property which was traced by the means of the severities exercised upon his women, upon his eunuchs and upon his other dependants. The whole was confiscated and nothing remained to him but a few jewels of high value which he had sometime before this sent to Najib-ud-Daula's country under the care of a trusty servant of his. It was the sale of these that supported the forlorn prince in his days of distress. There may have been some other matters besides, which women by the means of the old ones, their attendants may have found means to conceal."<sup>2</sup> After the defeat of his nominal allies at Buxar, the unfortunate prince had a providential escape. He fled to Allahabad and managed to free his family, confined in the fort there by Shuja-ud-Daula. Thence by forced marches he reached Bareilly and sought shelter among the *Ruhela* Afghans.

From this retreat he emerged and again and again planned the recovery of his lost dominion. But he had not the sinews of war. Therefore Shuja-ud-Daula, by crippling the resources of MirQasim must be held primarily responsible for rendering these attempts so futile. To fight the British was to bite at granite and fighting under such circumstances where the sale-proceeds of jewels would meet the expenses was not merely a desperate task but an absurd one. The bankers with whom he had deposited much of his money in Bengal took advantage of his helpless situation to withhold payment. With one of these, Balak Das, MirQasim had deposited 12 lakhs and he got only Rs. 80,000 out of this sum.<sup>3</sup> Still it seems what he had saved from the wreckage of his fortune in

<sup>1</sup> *Siyar-ul-Mutakhherin*, II, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 552.

<sup>3</sup> *Foreign Dept. Original Secret Consultation*, 7th Sept., 1775, No. 10.

jewels was just sufficient to make him restless but not sufficient to make his schemes effective. In this respect his position very much resembled that of Shuja-ul-Mulk the ex-king of Kabul during 1809-'39. But MirQasim's activity during these years 1765-'77 showed that he was at least a man of boundless energy, implacable revenge and certainly a very rare opponent to meet with in the indolent East.

After the battle of Buxar, the Nawabwazir Shuja-ud-Daula was pressed very hard by British troops marching into Lucknow and Allahabad. He was thus forced to come to terms. In course of the negotiations it was proposed to him that he should hand over MirQasim or put him to death. This provision was, however, very much disliked by the Nawabwazir as it would brand him with infamy in the eyes of the Muslims for all time to come. Moreover, Shuja-ud-Daula was not in a position to comply with it as MirQasim was out of his reach in the territory of Dundi Khan. Under these circumstances, all that Lord Clive could insist upon was that he must not entertain or receive MirQasim Ali Khan in his dominion or give him countenance, support or protection.<sup>1</sup>

In his hopeless project of restoration MirQasim looked out for allies. Those from whom he could possibly expect any help were the Ruhelas, the Jats, Najib-ud-Daula, Ahmadshah Abdali, the Sikhs, the Marathas, the French and Haidar Ali. It was the tragedy of his later life that none of these Indian powers came to his aid, though a clear vision and an enlightened sense of self-interest might have led many of them to make a common cause.

The Emperor Shah Alam II, a fugitive "with his high claims and feeble resources" sank into a pensioner of the British in his comfortable residence at Allahabad. Even when in 1772, he returned to Delhi with Maratha help, his position was far too precarious, his resources much too limited to incline him to help in another man's restoration.

The Ruhelas were the enemies of Shuja-ud-Daula. Naturally, MirQasim expected that they would be of some use to him. But they were very much divided among themselves. None of the chiefs, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan, Sardar Khan and Fateh Khan, was singly strong enough for a foreign war. Moreover, the ablest

<sup>1</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 11th June, 21st June, 10th Aug. and 7th Sept., 1765.

of them, Hafiz Rahmat, was very parsimonious. Only when attacked could the Ruhelas possibly combine. They had not the enterprise for a grand undertaking of restoring a king to his throne.

The Jat state of Bhartpur, so strong and so rich under Suraj Mal, had been weakened under his successor, the impetuous Jowahir Singh, and domestic disputes now gave full employment to the sons of Suraj Mal who had naturally no time to look abroad.

Najib-ud-Daula, Regent of Delhi (1761-'70), was a powerful chief, and a consummate politician but certainly a self-seeker and not a patriot. He had been the righthand man of Ahmadshah Durrani and it was he who profited most by the repeated invasions of the Afghan monarch. At Panipat in January, 1761, when the Maratha and Muslim armies were face to face with each other for some time, Najib used to say, "I am the bridegroom of this battlefield. Everything rests on my head; the other allies are mere guests accompanying the marriage procession. What is done here will be done by me and to me."<sup>1</sup> He was now "enjoying the fruit of his labour and had no design of interrupting public tranquillity or his own."

For some time it was hoped by MirQasim that Ahmadshah Abdali, whose name was something to conjure with, would take up his cause. But the career of Ahmadshah from 1748-'61 ought to have been an object lesson. His sole motive was plunder. Up to Agra he had sucked the entire region dry. Now, only if he could advance beyond into Bihar and Bengal, could he expect sufficient plunder and MirQasim might serve as a convenient tool. But those regions defended by British bayonets and the infantry lines that "looked very much like a wall vomiting fire and flames"<sup>2</sup> were very far from his base. Moreover, the Sikhs were there on the Indian frontier to bar his way with their hovering and harassing tactics and the Indian Muslims who were his allies in 1761 were now either lukewarm or hostile and even the faithful Najib had no zeal for his cause. Abdali, therefore, could not be of any real help to MirQasim.

The Sikhs, described in the British records as "the Marathas of the North, like them their sole profession arms, their sole pursuit plunder,"<sup>4</sup> were exposed still to the Durrani attacks. They had

<sup>1</sup> Kasinath Pandit's Persian account of the Battle of Panipat, Trans. of a MS. copied in 1785 by J. Sarkar; *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, June, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> The President to the Select Committee, 15th Dec. 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar*, II, p. 566.

<sup>4</sup> President's letter to the Select Committee, 16th Dec., 1769.

got the measure of their enemy, were wearing him down but they had still to reckon with him. On the Jumna frontier they had a formidable barrier in the well-disciplined army of Najib-ud-Daula. Still they were no doubt extending their ravages even beyond the Jumna but they were incapable of concerted expeditions and, to make things more difficult for MirQasim, their services would have to be bought and he had not the wherewithal.

The Marathas were slowly recovering from the effects of the defeat at Panipat. They had their domestic disputes to settle and Nizam Ali and the rising Haidar Ali provided a check in the south. The Marathas did not cross the Narbada until 1769. Moreover, the support of the Marathas more than that of the Sikhs was much too costly for MirQasim.

The French could be of little assistance to him. Their first attempts, as the Madras Government assured the Bengal Select Committee, would be on the Madras coast as it was easier of access and there they might co-operate with Haidar.<sup>1</sup> The French, therefore, could not be of any help to him as they were at a great distance, neither could Haidar assist him materially as he had his hands too full in the South.

In 1767, when Ahmadshah Abdali invaded India, an impression gained ground that he came to restore MirQasim. Muhammed Riza Khan and Raja Shitab Roy informed the Governor and the Select Committee of Bengal that the intrigues of MirQasim were responsible for this irruption.<sup>2</sup> Of course, if successful against Shuja-ud-Daula he would have taken the next step of advancing into Bihar and Bengal. The English made adequate military preparation. Brigades were stationed at Serajpore, Allahabad, Bankipore. The Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daula, who were the allies of the British, were asked to increase their cavalry because Abdali's strength lay chiefly in his horse-men. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were asked to send such troops as they could spare. An alliance with the Marathas and other Indian powers was also talked of.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor was wavering and Shuja-ud-Daula was trembling. But circumstances in 1767 were different from those of 1761. The lukewarmness of his once

<sup>1</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 15th April 1770.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. II, Nos. 11A, 11B. Ahmad Shah himself wrote to Raghunath Rao that he proposed "to bring Shuja-ud-Doula and other Sardars to account for their arrears and particularly the former for the plunder he had taken from Cassim Alli Cawn"—Intelligence from Sir Robert Barker.

<sup>3</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 27th March, 1767, pp. 181-82.

enthusiastic allies and the impossibility of crushing the Sikhs in the rear made it clear that the plan could not be realised and the Shah, unwilling to confess that he was powerless, laid the blame on MirQasim and said, "If MirQasim had been a true speaker everything might have been done but lying answers no end."<sup>1</sup> He then returned to his own country. This curt reply was a confession of failure.

MirQasim then meditated an alliance with the Marathas. Even in 1763, he had contemplated retreat to the Deccan and exciting the Marathas to his support. Unfortunately for him, he was then advised to seek an asylum in the dominions of the Nawab Wazir by Ali Ibrahim Khan and he had listened to him.<sup>2</sup> He now bitterly regretted that he had not turned to the Marathas for support after the capture of Azimabad by the English. He wanted to go to the Deccan to join the Marathas.<sup>3</sup> But the Ruhelas would not let him go. The over-cautious Hafiz Rahmat Khan feared that it would give rise to grave complications. He wrote to Dundi Khan about the ill consequences and though MirQasim had started he was ordered to come back and he had no other course left than to comply. He, however, gave out "that a bearer who was under his palankeen fell down and broke his arm of which he soon after died. This was looked upon as an ill-omen at first setting-out and was the occasion of his not proceeding any further."<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that even in 1767-'68 Shuja-ud-Daula was very apprehensive of a Ruhela invasion in consequence of the machinations of MirQasim. He wrote pressing letters to Lord Clive and Colonel Smith for assistance and Colonel Barker had to be sent with some troops to defend his dominions against a possible invasion in the interest of MirQasim. Shuja-ud-Daula's guilty conscience must have been responsible for this MirQasim bugbear.

• MirQasim reappeared on the scene in 1770. He came to Agra from his retreat in the Ruhela country. After a few days' stay in Agra he went to the territory of the Raja of Gohad, about 30 kos from Agra. There a little fort was vacated and given to him for residence.<sup>5</sup> It is said that there he began to negotiate with the Maratha chiefs who had come to Northern India and to raise troops

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, No. 279.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyar*, II, p. 550.

<sup>3</sup> *Select Committee*, 25th July, 1768, advices from Shuja-ud-Daula's army.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Robert Barker to the *Select Committee*, 20th July, 1768.

<sup>5</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 16th Feb. 1770.

on his own account. He published a declaration "promising large rewards to such of his chiefs as were formerly in his service and will again join him. Scarcely anything is heard of but Qasim Ali Khan."<sup>1</sup> He expected that the Marathas would join him as also the Sikhs. Ghaziuddin, a former Delhi Wazir, also promised to stand by him.<sup>2</sup> Hafiz Rahmat Khan was reported to be in the confederacy, though this seems to be very doubtful. His son Inait Khan was, however, ready to join MirQasim openly.<sup>3</sup> Though Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad openly refused any assistance to MirQasim, privately he allowed troops to be raised for him. The treacherous European officers of MirQasim, Samru and Madec, who had joined Shuja-ud-Daula and after his treaty with the English were roaming about, now came to Gohad to serve under MirQasim. Samru assured him that he would be able to reconcile the Jats and the Sikhs and bring the Sikhs over to his side. The Jats are even said to have allowed guns to be brought out of the Agra fort for the use of the confederate army.<sup>4</sup> Hafiz Rahmat Khan, it was rumoured, had informed MirQasim that if he advanced to Etawah five thousand foot-soldiers and twenty loads of rockets would be sent.<sup>5</sup> The formation of this strong anti-British confederacy synchronised with "a mysterious and unconfidential behaviour"<sup>6</sup> on the part of the Emperor and Suja-ud-Daula. It was even reported that "Messengers from Qasim have had an audience of His Majesty at Allahabad and that in the most private manner."<sup>7</sup> Naturally, watching the allies was considered as important as foiling the enemies. But the Select Committee decided to act in this matter "on clear well-grounded information alone and not on mere suspicion."<sup>8</sup> But to leave nothing to chance it was ordered that the British magazine at Allahabad should be removed to the safe cantonments at Bankipore.

The rendezvous of this grand confederate army was fixed at Koil (Aligarh) on the road between Delhi and Farrukhabad. It was hoped that this combination of the fighting strength of so many people would be irresistible. This grand plan of MirQasim of combining the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, *Paper of Intelligence*, dated, Gohad; 7th Feb. 1770.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 13th March, 1770, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from a paper of news from Cossim Ally's Camp, 6th Feb., 8th Feb., 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 8th Feb., 1770.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 16th Feb., 1770.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 28th Jany., 1770.

Marathas, the Rubelas, the Sikhs, the Jats, and the Rana of Gohad in opposition to the English, reminds us of the grand design of that great enemy of Rome in the East, Mithridates the Great. After repeated defeats in the hands of Lucullus and Pompey, when Mithridates withdrew to Panticapaeum "he planned to march westwards through Thrace, Macedonia and Pannonia to carry with him the Scythians in the Sarmatian steppes and the Celts on the Danube as allies and with this avalanche of peoples to throw himself on Italy."<sup>1</sup> The plan of MirQasim was as unrealizable as the plan of Mithridates VI. His finances were insufficient to purchase allies and even to pay his own troops. The jarring interests refused to combine. The Sikhs and the Jats could not be reconciled. The Marathas had given him hopes with a view to share in his supposed treasure but when they found that he had not the ability to satisfy their demands they withdrew. The opposing interests of the coalitionists, their jealousy and distrust, and his own want of money led to the failure of this plan of combination. Most of his Sardars, including his Bakshi Dan Shah, deserted him. But he had already spent much of what he had and this collapse left him "without a friend, without a treasure or any means of defending himself, far less of molesting his neighbours."<sup>2</sup> He found himself further discredited in the eyes of Hindustan.

He then attempted to sow distrust between the British and the puppet Nawab of Bengal by planning that certain letters of his, written to the Nawab, should fall into the hands of the English. But though the letters fell into the hands of the English, they saw through the design. He had written, "My brother, once more, by the blessings of God I have about 3,000 horse and foot in pay. I have sent for the heads of the Sikhs and I shall soon be able to join you. I therefore recommend you to be watchful of the feringhees and find an employment for their troops elsewhere. \* \* \* send me bill for three lacs."<sup>3</sup>

After all these, when all the plans of MirQasim had failed leaving him almost a bankrupt, the British naturally congratulated themselves

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. IV, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 28th March, 1770.

<sup>3</sup> The President of the Select Committee himself wrote, "To form these into one body in one cause is from the political genius of Hindustan, the characteristic manners of the people in general and of these chiefs in particular, an improbable if not an impracticable event."

<sup>3</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 28th March, 1770.

with a fair prospect of a long period of that happy quiet which they were then enjoying.<sup>1</sup>

We do not hear much of the activity of MirQasim in 1771 but the next year he sent a feeler to Shuja-ud-Daula through an Englishman in his employ, West by name. Though Shuja-ud-Daula had so shabbily treated him and was responsible for much of his misfortune, he still hoped that by then the Nawabwazir must have found the English alliance galling as he himself had found. Mr. West wrote to Shuja-ud-Daula about the injustice of the English and very cleverly attempted to instil suspicion, assured him that his strength was quite adequate and advised an alliance with the French. He added that the English forces were inadequate and the Zemindars were dissatisfied. MirQasim, as he informed Shuja-ud-Daula, was willing to act in co-operation. "He wishes most earnestly for a friendship to subsist and is ready to do anything to convince you of his sincerity, even to put one of his children under your protection as a proof of his friendship and regard."<sup>2</sup> If a combined attack was made the Dutch and the French would join; the dissatisfied Zemindars might also act in concert. But to Shuja-ud-Daula the lesson of Buxar was sufficient and he had no desire to ally himself with MirQasim whom he had wronged so much. He handed over the letter to the British.

In 1774, MirQasim once again came in the limelight. Hastings<sup>3</sup> has stopped the payment of tribute to the Emperor. On the advice of Abdul Ahad Khan Shah Alam II now wanted to make MirQasim a pawn in the game of diplomacy. He talked of establishing MirQasim in Ajmeer. Abdul Ahad Khan advised the Emperor—"MirQasim once put into power, the Wazir and the English chiefs will be glad to come to terms and the Bengal tribute will be paid regularly."<sup>4</sup> Khilats were given to MirQasim. But it seems that this show of taking up the cause of MirQasim did not have the desired effect on the English. Asaf-ud-Daula, who had succeeded Shuja-ud-Daula, brought pressure to bear on the Emperor's advisers so that MirQasim was not given a footing in the Imperial Court.<sup>4</sup> In the revised treaty that was concluded with Asaf-ud-Daula it was provided that "the Nawab is not to allow Qasim Ali Khan, ex-subah of Bengal to enter his

<sup>1</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, to James Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Committee Proceedings*, 15th April, 1772, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, No. 912.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 61.



dominions.”<sup>1</sup> Najaf Khan Zulfikar-ud-Daula, who had served at one time under MirQasim in Bengal had some kindly feeling for him but he could not help him in his restoration<sup>2</sup> nor did he provide him with what might be sufficient for his maintenance in dignity and comfort.

In course of his wanderings MirQasim is said to have gone to the country of the Rajputs and the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* even informs us that he made an attempt on Nepal which was unsuccessful. In this connection the *Riyaz-us-Salatin* says very briefly and very vaguely that he had gone in the direction of the mountains.<sup>3</sup>

After all these failures, this helpless wanderer became eager for a shelter for his children. He sought an interview with Governor-General Warren Hastings, prayed for forgiveness and added something by way of explanation of his conduct after his rupture with the English. He wrote that he had lost all control over his army. “A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to join MirJafar \* \* \* Samru the German, who was appointed to the command of the army after Gurgin Khan, contrived with MirJafar to bring about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an insuperable barrier between him and the English.”<sup>4</sup> Apparently there was no reply to this petition. He then tried once again to secure Imperial support but was only “subjected to vexations and annoyances and had to suffer heavy financial losses as well.”<sup>5</sup>

He died on the 7th June, 1777, at ShahJahanabad of dropsy and, as his sons Ghulam Uraiz Jafari, Muhammad Baqir-ul-Hussaini and others informed Mons. Chevalier, the French Governor, he left no provision for the support of his children.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1771.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* also *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission* II, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, V, No. 258.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No. 265.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1273.

# THE CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS

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## I

One of the most knotty problems of *Urgeschichte* ("Pre-history") is the determination of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans. Indeed, the problem is as fascinating as it is important and its solution has been attempted over and over again since the origin and development of the scientific study of Linguistic Palæontology and Prehistoric Archæology in modern times. This has given rise to various theories, each claiming to contain a large measure of certainty as to the cradle-land of the Indo-Europeans. Speculation has no doubt played a considerable part in the formulation of these theories but that is inevitable, inasmuch as we cannot expect the science of *Urgeschichte* to aspire to that degree of concreteness which other allied sciences, such as history, claim to attain.

Closely connected with this problem of the cradle-land, is the question of the culture of the still undivided Indo-Europeans. A clear conception of the characteristics of the early Indo-Europeans must needs precede a search for their original home. Moreover, even an imperfect knowledge of how, and in what environments, the earliest ancestors of the mighty Aryan race lived, moved and had their being, has its own peculiar fascination. But how is such knowledge to be gained? What are the lights that illuminate the obscure question of the material and spiritual culture of the Indo-Europeans?

Amongst the sources of information with which to tackle this question the first place goes undoubtedly to the science of linguistic palæontology. It aims to reconstruct *Urgeschichte* and claims to conjure up the image of prehistoric civilization of the Indo-Europeans. Its method is carefully to investigate and examine, in accordance with the phonetic laws, the surviving vocabulary of the earliest Indo-Europeans which consists in words and names recurring in common in different I. E. speeches. That it is not always safe to depend solely on this method, that the linguistic evidence at our disposal should not be our only guide in reconstructing the details of ancient history, has been long recognized. It is true that the results of prehistoric archæology, ethnography and even sociology must control the linguistic data and that allowance must be made for the possibility of cultural borrowings. It must, nevertheless, be asserted that linguistic palæontology helps us in a large measure to understand the Indo-European mind and its achievements.

## II

Let us start our study of the culture of the Indo-Europeans with a statement that they had passed beyond the Palæolithic stage and entered

what is called the Neolithic phase of culture. This is clearly borne out by the fact that domesticated animals and elementary agriculture had an undisputed place in the Indo-European life. The most prominent among the former were the cow (Skt. *gó*, Gk. *boûs*, Lat. *bos*, Celt. *bó*, Old High Germ. *chuo*, O. Sl. *govedo*, Armen. *kow*), the dog (Skt. *śvā'(n)*, Gk. *kāon*, Lat. *canis*, Celt. *cú*, Teut. *hunds*, Lith. *szu*, Armen. *sun*), the horse (Skt. *aśva*, Gk. *hippos* Lat. *equus*, Celt. *ech*, A. S. *ehu*, Lith. *aszvā*, Tochar. *yakwe*), the sheep (Skt. *ávis*, Gk. *ois*, Lat. *ovis*, Celt. *ói*, Old High Germ. *auwi*, Lith. *awis*), and also the goat (Skt. *ajā*, Gk. *aíks*, Lith. *ozys*, Armen. *aic*) and the pig (Skt. *śūkardá*, Gk. *hús*, Latin *sus*, Old High Germ. *su*, O. Sl. *sviniĵa*). Latin *pecus*, Skt. *paśú*, and Teut. *\*fehu* suggest that they had a common word for cattle in general. That the Indo-Europeans were conversant with the art of cattle-rearing will be readily accepted if it is remembered that the cattle remained the standard of value and, for a long time, constituted the chief source of wealth for the Vedic Indians, the Avestan Iranians, the Homeric Greeks, the Romans, the Celts, the Slavs and the Teutons. The Vedic word for "fight, battle" is *gaviṣṭi* which literally means "a fight for cows." In the very beginning of the Gāthās of Zarathustra it is said that the Spirit of Cow, representing the mother-earth, appeared before Ahura Mazda and complained about the tyranny meted out to her on earth. Owing to the very prominent part played by the cattle among the Indo-Europeans, Schroeder has called the latter *Viehzüchter*, "cattle-breeders." The Indo-European languages have common words for butter (Skt. *sarpiś*, Gk. *helpos*, A. S. *sealf*, Tochar. *śālypā*) and fat (Skt. *ajya*, Lat. *unguentum*, Celt. *imb*, O. H. G. *ancho*, O. Prus. *anctan*) but, curiously enough, none for milk !

In his *Outline of History* (London, 1923, p. 137 a), H. G. Wells has remarked that the early Indo-Europeans "did not ride or drive horses ; they had very little to do with horses." But the linguistic evidence goes directly against such a sweeping statement. There cannot be any doubt that the horse was domesticated by the early Indo-Europeans who called it "the swift one" and used it for riding and other purposes, and it seems that some primitive form of racing was also known to them. The part played by the horse in the early history of Mesopotamia and in ancient literatures, such as the Vedas, Homer, Avesta and old Persian inscriptions, cannot be overlooked. Many of the Indo-European personal names, particularly in India, Iran, Greece and Gaul, have "horse" as an ending element. In the old Persian inscriptions Darius declares that Ahuramazda granted him the great kingdom "with good horses, with good men" (*utvaspam, umartiyam*) and created for him "the horse on the whole earth, and man." Here he appears to be proud of his possession of good horses as much as, if not more than, that of good men. In Sanskrit, Latin and Lithuanian languages we have, respectively, *aśvā*, *equa*, *aszvā* denoting the feminine gender of the horse, which also speaks for the familiarity of the Indo-Europeans with the horse.

### III

What did the still united Indo-Europeans know of agriculture ? Opinions differ on this question and the linguistic data do not offer a clear-cut answer. Common equations for agricultural implements or for

agricultural products are very rare in the Asiatic and European branches of the parent speech ;—all that we know at present is Skt. *vr̥ka*, Gk. *euláka*, 'plough' ; Skt. *karṣú*, Gk. *télson*, 'furrow' ; and that a sort of corn was known to the early Indo-Europeans as can be inferred from Skt. *yáva*, Av. *yava*, Pers. *jav*, Gk. *zeá*, Lith. *jawai*, Ir. *eorna*. Childe and others think that the grinding or milling of grains can also be ascribed to them. On the other hand, Schrader has asserted that the Indo-Europeans recognised only three seasons—winter, spring and summer, but had no name for the autumn—the harvest time. However, it should not be forgotten that agriculture in Europe goes back to the Palæolithic age and that European languages of both the *centum* and *satem* branches abound in words referring to the operations of tillage and to many cultivated plants. That the Indo-Iranian speeches lack in parallel agricultural terminology is possibly due to entirely different environments found by these tribes after their separation from the original home. It is therefore safe to surmise that the still undivided Indo-Europeans knew of agriculture at least in its elementary stage and that they had not altogether abandoned their pastoral pursuits. Among these latter, hunting may be taken for granted despite the lack of a common Indo-European terminology for the chase. Neither the Veda nor the Avesta makes any mention of fishing. Reference may however be made to Toch. *laks*- "fish" which is the same as the Old High German *laks*-, Lith. *laszisz* "salmon."

As regards the food of the Indo-Europeans, it is clear that they ate both flesh and vegetables. Corn has been already spoken of above. But it is very curious that neither the Rigveda nor the Avesta has any word denoting salt. On the contrary it is represented by a term *\*sel* in both the European languages and the Tocharian. The Indo-Europeans drank an exhilarating drink *\*medhu* made from honey (Skt. *mádhu*, Gk. *méthu*, Old Pers. *meddo*, Celt. *mid*, O. Sl. *medu*, O. H. G. *metu*, Lith. *midus*, *medús*). But, strangely enough, no Indo-European word for "bee" has come down to us.

It is but natural that the Indo-Europeans should have used skins for covering their bodies. But it is also to be noted that they must have been familiar with some kind of weaving. This can be proved by a group of words from the roots *\*vi* and *\*vebh*. Wearing long hair and beard, the Indo-Europeans are said to have used a kind of footwear and ornaments of ivory, stone, pearls and teeth of animals. O. H. G. *wolla*, Teut. *\*wolla* (assimilated from *\*wolna*), O. Bulg. *vlúna*, Lith. *wilna*, Lat. *vellus*, Skt. *ūrṇā* (lit. 'covering,' *\*var-*), etc., make it perfectly clear that wool was known to them.

In the beginning of this sketch we said that the Indo-European had certainly left behind them the palæolithic phase of culture. That means that they had a more settled life than before. That they built houses is clear from the following equations: 'house' (1) Skt. *damá*, Gk. *dómos* Lat. *domus*, O. Sl. *domu* ; (2) Skt. *śālā*, Gk. *kaliá*, Lat. *cella*, O. H. G. *höll* ; 'door' Skt. *dvar*, Lat. *fores*, Teut. *daur*, Lith. *dūrys*, Arm. *durn* ; 'door-frame' Skt. *āta*, Latin *antae*, O. Icel. *ond* ('porch') ; 'pillar' Skt. *sthūṇa*, Gk. *stella*. Perhaps strong refuges surrounded by earthen walls were also erected by them for protection in times of danger. Among the tools and implements used by the early Indo-Europeans mention may be made of 'razor' (Skt. *ksurám*, Gk. *ksurôn*), 'awl' (Skt. *ārā*, O. H. G. *ala*, Lith. *yle*), 'arrow' (Skt. *iṣu*, Gk. *iós*), 'bow-string' (Skt.

*jyá*, Gk. *biós*) 'sling-stone' (Skt. *ásan*, Gk. *ákōn*), etc. And, among their household utensils, pottery-vessels had a prominent place though the linguistic data do not give us any idea of their shape. Both Schrader and Schroeder assert that the Indo-Europeans used grinders or whetstones, hatchets and hammers, axes, knives and needles.

## IV

Were the Indo-Europeans quite familiar with metal? The point is an important one and there is still no unanimity about it among scholars. True, the Indo-European speeches have preserved two terms for copper: (1) *\*ayos*, Skt. *áyas*, Lat. *aes*, Teut. *aiz*, and (2) *\*roudhos*, Skt. *lohá*, Lat. *raudus*, O. N. *raudi*, O. Sl. *ruda*, Armen. *avoir*; but as they appear to have been borrowed—the former from *alasya*, the old name for the copperland of Cyprus, and the latter from the Sumerian *urud* (u)-, Kossinna argues that their use does not go as far back as the period of co-existence. On the strength of the Indo-European cognates for gold (Skt. *hiranyam*, Lat. *aurum*, Celt. *gull*, Teut. *gulph*, O. Sl. *zlato*) and silver (Skt. *rājatam*, Gk. *árgyros*, Lat. *argentum*, Celt. *argat*, Toch. *ārkyant*), Feist asserts that both these metals were known in those early days. What Childe (*The Aryans*, London, 1926, p. 85) says on this important point is worth quoting: "Though the Aryans (Indo-Europeans) knew metal and no doubt metal implements, it was probably rare and not worked locally, but imported. On the one hand, there is no Indo-European terminology for metallurgy; on the other, the names of certain artifacts are proper to a period when stone was still used for tools and weapons. For instance, the Teutonic *\*sahsaz* 'a cutting weapon' (preserved in O. H. G. *mezzirahs*, 'blade'), comes from the same root as the Latin *sarum*, 'stone.' Again the meaning of *\*akmon* fluctuates between a metal and a stone weapon (Lith. *asmuo* 'blade,' Skt. *ásman* 'stone,' 'bolt,' Gk. *ákmon* 'anvil'). Thus the Aryans were still in a stage of transition from the use of stone to that of metal, what archaeologists call the chalcolithic phase, at the time of their separation. This is a most important point for the pre-historian even though the succession of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages, cannot be regarded as an universally valid chronological sequence."

Among the vehicles which the Indo-Europeans used, we know of only two, the chariot (Skt. *rātha*, Lat. *rota*, Celt. *roth*, Lith. *rātas*, O.H.G. *rad*) and the boat (Skt. *naūs*, Gk. *naūs*, Lat. *navis*, Celt. *noi*, M.H.G. *nauc*, Arm. *nav*). A detailed terminology for their various parts, such as a wheel (Skt. *cakrām*, Gk. *kúklos*, O.Sl. *kolo*), yoke (Skt. *yugám*, Gk. *zugón*, Lat. *iugum*, A.S. *yuk*, Lith. *jūngas*), nave (Skt. *nábhi*, A.S. *nafu*, O. Pruss. *nabis*), axle (Skt. *ákṣa*, Gk. *árōn*, Lat. *axis*, O.H.G. *ahsa*, Lith. *aszis*), and oar (Skt. *aritrām*, Gk. *eretmós*, O.H.G. *roudar*), shows how much familiar the Indo-Europeans were with these vehicles. The boat, however, might have been of a very primitive type, made out of a hollow tree-trunk.

## V

It will be seen that only the material resources of the Indo-Europeans have so far been considered. And admittedly these resources would rank

in the scale of worldly values much lower than those of the other non-Aryans like the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the authors of the Mohenjo-Daro culture. Indeed, all these latter had made a far greater progress in *techniques* than the Indo-Europeans could claim to have made. But in point of intellectual endowments, the story is different. In the domain of mind and its achievements the Indo-Europeans seem to be most triumphant. Certain salient facts deserve to be noted here. The parent-speech, which is ascribed to the original Indo-Europeans, can be reconstructed to a certain extent with the help of comparative philology. Now a study of this parent-speech shows that it had uniquely evolved its own scheme of sentence-building and that it was capable of expressing even subtle and delicate ideas in a chain of logic and reason. In the field of literary capacities we can safely surmise that the Indo-Europeans could easily beat the Semitics and other non-Aryans. A common metrical tradition which is responsible for the close likeness in the metres of the Vedas, the Gāthās, and the Greek lyrics, and which must therefore have its roots in the earlier Indo-European epoch, is an instance in point. Says Childe (*ibid*, p. 5): "Poetry in which a fixed metrical structure combines with sweet-sounding words to embody beautiful ideas seem peculiarly Aryan (I.E.). Semitic poetry, for example, does not rest upon a regular metrical structure involving a fixed number of syllables in the verse."

The Indo-European idea of man as a 'thinking being' (cf. I.E. root \**men* 'to think,' Skt. *mānyate*, 'he thinks,' *mānas* 'mind,' Gk. *ménos* 'courage' 'spirit,' Lat. *mcmini*=O. Bulg. *mōnja* 'to mind'; and Skt. *manus*, Goth. *manna*, 'man') is suggestive of the high mental level attained by them. Only a distinctive spiritual bent of mind such as the Indo-Europeans possessed, can account for the wonderful conception of the Divine Order (*Ṛta*) whose traces are available both in the Vedas and the Avesta and in the Mitannian and Palestinian records. Further, the very fact that the original Indo-Europeans worshipped the personified sovereign Sky-Father, *Dyeus patēr* (Skt. *Dyaus-(pitār)*, Gk. *Zeus*, Lat. *Dies-(piter)*, *Jupitar*, Teut. *Tiu*, O.Nord. *Tyr*, O.H.G. *Ziu* 'sky') is taken by Durkheim, Frazer, Perry and other sociologists to indicate "the mark of a relatively advanced stage of intellectual development" and to reflect "some sort of political unity" among the worshippers.

As a large number of common names for relatives recur in all the linguistic groups, it has been long recognised that the Indo-European family system was patriarchal and patrilinear. Whether it was preceded by the matriarchate ("Mutterfolge," the system of reckoning descent through the mother) as the sociologists would have us believe, cannot be ascertained for want of linguistic evidence.

In concluding this sketch of the Indo-European culture and civilization it is not denied that there still remain some wide gaps in our direct and definite knowledge of the evolution of the Indo-European society. Speculation might help us to fill the hiatus but one would rather prefer to wait for concrete and conclusive evidence. We have purposely left out of consideration here the question of the influence of the prehistoric Ægean and Mesopotamian civilizations upon the undivided Indo-Europeans, and its bearing on the problem of the cradle-land of the latter. And the all-important point, namely, how far this pen-picture of the culture of the

primitive Indo-Europeans helps us to locate their homeland, is reserved for another occasion.\*

\* In order to make the above lines less cumbrous and more readable, I have reluctantly avoided overburdening them with footnote references. In grateful recognition of the help received and for the guidance of those who would seek more light on the subject, select bibliography is, however, given below :—

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# EAST AND WEST

*By A CONTRIBUTOR.*

The activity of the League of Nations in the sphere of intellectual co-operation aims at the promotion of collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort, in order to promote a spirit of international understanding as a means to the preservation of peace. To this effect the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organisation is carrying out a vast programme of work. National government departments and institutions dealing with education, science and art have been brought together for the purpose of exchange of experience and common study. Special attention has been devoted to the promotion of those branches of learning which deal with the same problems as the League itself. Thus League teaching and the study of international relations play a prominent rôle in this field of League activity. Much work has also been accomplished with regard to the new methods of spreading information, the radio and the cinema.

But above all this important and many-sided technical and administrative work the Intellectual Co-operation Organization has reserved a place where prominent thinkers, poets and artists of all nations can come together to exchange ideas and experience about the great spiritual principles which underlie the work of the community of nations. This is the so-called Permanent Committee of Letters and Arts. It is quite significant that this Committee has no particular administrative task, no special business on its agenda. Its mission is to rally the best and most creative men of all the nations to get them to express their thoughts about the ultimate problems which concern man and his future. For, as a French poet, Paul Valéry, put it, a League of Nations cannot exist without a League of the Mind or of the Spirit. The Permanent Committee of Letters and Arts carries out its work in two different ways. At its annual meetings it holds a general debate about one great topic. At the same time it has initiated an exchange of correspondence between prominent men of various nations. One debate or so-called "Conversation" was held in Frankfort during the Jubilee Festival of Goethe and devoted to the work of this great German poet. Another debate was held in Madrid, Spain. The subject was "The Future of Culture," a third was held last year in Venice, Italy, the main topic being "The relations between Art and the State," this year's meeting will be next month in Nice, France, and devoted to an educational problem. In the International Series of Open letters the correspondence between Einstein and the famous Viennese psychologist, Sigmund Freud, on the subject "Why war?" has been widely noted.

To-day I wish to speak about a new volume of Open Letters, which has just been issued by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation under the title "East and West."<sup>1</sup> While previous letters were all written by

<sup>1</sup> "*East and West*" by Prof. Gilbert Murray and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, 2s-6d. (The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta).



thinkers belonging to western culture this last exchange of correspondence marks a new departure. It is a comparison of spiritual values of the Eastern and Western world and a common quest to find a bridge of understanding between both. Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford, Chairman of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, is speaking on behalf of the Western world, Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Indian poet and head of the International School in Santiniketan, is speaking for the East. It would have been difficult to find better and more representative men for such a timely enterprise.

Professor Murray's letter is an appeal to the poet Tagore whose life and work is inspired by a spirit of harmony. It is also an appeal to Tagore the thinker, for in this troubled world, when nation stands armed against nation, the writer cannot but look to the thinkers of the world to stand together reminding all who care to listen of the reality of human brotherhood and the impossibility of basing a durable civilised society on any foundation save peace and the will to act justly.

In his plea for a better understanding between East and West, the European thinker points out that all generalizations about whole nations or groups of nations are superficial and inaccurate. Every Englishman is different from every other Englishman, every Indian is different from every other Indian. To the puzzling question: "Do you like Indians?" he can only answer, as he would about his own countrymen, that he likes some and does not like others.

Yet the differences in thought and ways of life cannot be denied. We are prejudiced and are therefore very clever at drawing false conclusions. It is said, in point of law, it is impossible to draw an indictment against a nation: as a matter of literature, it is only too easy. One could write a "Mother India" about every nation—an appalling indictment, and false as a whole, while every statement in it might be true. Therefore, the first step in international understanding must be the recognition that our own national habits are not the unfailing standard by which those of other peoples must be judged. The beginning of all improvement must be a certain reasonable humility. It is valuable to remember that, while criminals tend to cheat and fight one another, and stupid people to misunderstand one another, there is a certain germ of mutual sympathy between people of good will or good intelligence.

Yet there is no need for sentimentality, no need for pretence. If the Western man admires certain things that are Indian or shares some of the views cherished in the East he need not turn round and denounce Western civilisation. Men of imagination appreciate what is different from themselves: that is the great power which imagination gives. Thus Professor Murray does not share Tagore's hatred of machines. Neither does he share the widespread Eastern view of the downfall of Western civilisation. On the contrary: he affirms the healthiness and high moral quality of our poor distressed civilisation. While, as a result of the war, it is now full of oppressions and cruelties, stupidities and public delusions which were thought to be obsolete and for ever discarded a century ago, he doubts, if ever before, there was such a widespread consciousness of the folly and wickedness in which most nations and governments are involved, or such determined effort, in spite of failure after failure, to get rid at last of war and the fear of war and all the baseness and savagery which that fear creates.

Professor Murray ends his letter by greeting Tagore as one who belongs already to the Great League of Mind or Thought where artists and thinkers,

the people whose works or whose words move the masses of the peoples, can know and understand one another, and where the thinkers and men of learning of the East can associate with the intellectuals of the West in an attempt to heal the discords of the political and material world.

Rabindranath Tagore's answer is marked by that spirit of humility which Professor Murray considers to be essential for international understanding. He confesses at the outset that he does not see any solution of the evils of disharmonious relationship between nations. Yet he believes, like Professor Murray, that at no other period of history, has mankind as a whole been more alive to the need of human co-operation, more conscious of the inevitable and unescapable links which hold together the fabric of human civilisation. And he cannot afford to lose his faith in the inner spirit of Man nor in the sureness of human progress which, following the upward path of struggle and travail, is constantly achieving, through ever-returning darkness and doubt, its ever-widening range of fulfilment. He also reminds his European correspondent of his often-expressed fundamental attitude toward Western civilisation. Some years ago he wrote: "personally I do not believe that Europe is occupied only with material things. She may have lost her faith in religion, but not in humanity. Man, in his essential nature, is spiritual and can never remain solely material. If, however, we in the East merely realize Europe in this external aspect, we shall be seriously at fault. For in Europe the ideals of human activity are truly of the soul....."

Turning to the problem of achieving a better mutual understanding between East and West, Tagore draws attention to a significant fact. The more mutual intercourse has become easy between nations, the more the doors are opening and the walls breaking down outwardly, the greater is the force which the consciousness of individual distinction is gaining within. The removal of outward obstacles between nations is not seen to have the effect of doing away with the differences between diverse sections of mankind. It should have been the function of religion to provide us with this universal ideal. But men have all too often used their religion to build up permanent walls to ensure their own separateness. Thus a great deal of the unmerited contempt and cruelty which the non-western peoples have suffered in their political, commercial and other relations at the hands of the West, is due to a type of narrow and dogmatic Western religion.

Yet, even if the East has seen Europe cruelly unscrupulous in its politics and commerce, widely spreading slavery over the face of the earth in various names and forms, it must still be recognised that in this very same Europe protest is alive against its own iniquities. Martyrs are never absent whose lives of sacrifice are the price paid for the wrongs done by their own kindred. Unfortunately, however, the one outstanding visible relationship of Europe with Asia today is that of exploitation; in other words its origins are commercial and material. For Tagore it is physical strength that is most apparent in Europe's enormous dominions and commerce. It is sickening for the Eastern spirit, everywhere the East comes against barriers in the way of direct human kinship. The harshness of these external contacts is galling, and therefore the feeling of unrest ever grows more oppressive. According to Tagore there is no people in the whole of Asia today which does not look upon Europe with fear and suspicion. There was a time when Asia was fascinated by Europe, when the East believed that the chief mission of the West was to preach the gospel of liberty to the world. But slowly Europe's warehouses and business offices, her police outposts and soldier barracks have been multiplied, while her human relationships declined. Through fear the East

pays the West a tribute of respect. But it is on account of this fact, and in order to retain her self-respect, that the whole of Asia denies today the moral superiority of Europe. At the same time, to withstand the dominating power of the West over the East, Asia is preparing to imitate it in technical efficiency and military power.

Tagore is the first to realize that this is only one side, however real and painful, of the Western civilisation as it appears to the East. Western humanity, when not affected by its unnatural relationship with the East, preserves a singular strength of moral conduct in the domain of its social life, which has its great inspiration for the East. Social evils in the West are not stagnant. There the spiritual force in man is ever trying to come to grips. Where nationalism is growing, the international mind is also growing. Tagore recognises how reluctantly the East is willing to give credit for humanity to the western civilisation. Yet beside all that which is harsh and ugly there is in the West a large field where the mind is free. This freedom of the mind following the constant growth of a vigorous life bears in it the promise of righting the wrong and purifying the evils within.

Professor Murray's appeal is a confirmation for Tagore of the deep faith in the ultimate truths of humanity which both try to serve. Tagore feels not pessimistic about the future. For him the great fact remains that man has never stopped in his desire for self-expression, in his brave quest for knowledge and there is to-day all over the world in spite of selfishness and unreason a greater sense of truth. It is this stirring of the human conscience to which we must look for a reassertion of man in religion, in political and economical affairs, in the spheres of education and social intercourse. It is apparent that innumerable individuals in every land are rising vitalized by this faith—men and women who have suffered and sought the meaning of life and who are ready to stake their all for raising a new structure of human civilisation on the foundation of international understanding and fellowship. When Tagore reads some of the outstanding modern books published after the War he realizes how the brighter spirits of young Europe are now alive to the challenge of our times. In India too there is a great awakening which is creating a new generation of clear-minded servers of the people. To these individuals of every land and race, Tagore, nearing the end of the road of his own life, is offering his allegiance.

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# Miscellany

[*Winter Relief in Germany* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)—*Unemployment Insurance in England* (BENOYKUMAR SARKAR)]

## " WINTER RELIEF " IN GERMANY

The Hitler regime organised a *Winterhilfswerk* ("winter-relief") for the unemployed and poorer classes during the year 1933-34. This was a supplementary service rendered to the community, *i. e.*, in addition to the three existing unemployment relief measures. The normal activities of the insurance, emergency and welfare relief were going on while this special "winter relief" was being administered.<sup>1</sup>

The number of persons relieved by the winter fund was as high as 16,617,681 and constituted 25·3 per cent. of the total population. Some of the provinces enjoying the numerically greatest amount of relief are indicated below:—

Territory.	Number supported.	Percentage of Population in Territory.
1. Saxony	1,562,000	30·1
2. Berlin	1,200,000	28·3
3. Southern Westfalia	935,000	35·8
4. Duesseldorf	819,000	37·6
5. Northern Westfalia	791,000	29·8

To organize the winter relief for nearly a fourth of the total inhabitants of Germany 1,495,000 volunteers offered their services. The number of paid officials required was 4,116. The country was divided into 34 districts and 1,000 sub-districts.

The forms and values of the relief are described below in five groups:

1. Foodstuffs	...	126,111,649	RM
2. Clothing	...	78,175,843	"
3. Fuel	...	84,407,544	"
4. Credits, cash payments, etc.	...	37,978,615	"
5. Other goods	...	19,912,575	"

Total 346,586,226 "  
One RM. = Re. 1-1-0 approximately.

In order to carry on the work of collection as well as distribution the expenses (wages, postage, printing, collection boxes, administration, etc.)

<sup>1</sup> *Reichsfuehrung des Winterhilfswerkes des Deutschen Volkes, 1933-34* (Berlin), Rechenschaftsbericht.

came up to 3,414,129 RM. and made up less than 1 per cent. of the total receipts which were valued at 358,136,949 RM.

Some of the goods distributed are indicated below :

1. Potatoes	...	15,043,634 cwt.
2. Bread	...	308,349 „
3. Sugar	...	65,266 „
4. Eggs	...	2,51,673
5. Milk	...	5,969,106 litres
6. Clothing material	...	1,989,830 yds.
7. Suits	...	251,204
8. Overcoats	...	411,652
9. Shoes (pair)	...	1,657,730
10. Coal	...	52,903,070 cwt.

One litre = one seer approximately.

The donations were received in two forms, in cash and in kind, and were collected as follows :—

Collectors.	In kind.	In cash.
1. Central Organization (Reichsfuehrung) ...	9,205,427 RM.	65,472,390 RM.
2. Thirty-four District Organizations. (Gaufuehrungen) ...	117,772,662 „ <hr/> 126,978,089 „	118,799,916 „ <hr/> 184,272,307 „
	(ignoring the pennies).	

The cash collected was 184,272,307 RM. But with this cash it was possible for the *Reichsfuehrung* to obtain goods and railway as well as other services worth 219,608 137 RM. The goods distributed could thus total 346,586,226 RM. in value, as noted above.

The cash was collected in the following manner :

#### I. Central Organization.

1. Gifts in the form of voluntary deductions from salaries by officials, from bank accounts, etc.	33,659,512 RM.
2. Government grant ... ..	15,000,000 „
3. Return of the freight on coal by Railways ... ..	8,914,085 „
4. Lottery ... ..	7,898,792 „
	<hr/> Total 65,472,390 RM. (ignoring the pennies).

## II. District Organizations.

1. Gifts in the form of deductions from wages and salaries, etc. ...	61,187,282 RM.
2. Monthly one-pot meals (Eintopfgericht) ...	25,129,003 „
3. Subscriptions ...	14,409,128 „
4. Box-collections ...	5,314,705 „
5. Functions in the districts ...	4,762,209 „
6. Christmas roses ...	2,131,051 „
7. Winter penny ...	1,563,871 „
8. Lace rosettes ...	1,342,170 „
9. Glass plaques ...	1,362,923 „
10. New Year plaques ...	1,059,896 „
11. Hitler Youth gifts ...	491,694 „
12. Horse Day ...	64,072 „
13. Bertram lecture ...	41,906 „
	118,799,916 RM
	(ignoring the pennies).

The *Eintopfgericht* which was responsible for 14,409,128 RM. was a monthly institution. Families were expected to observe the first Sunday of every month as a day on which they were to prepare their food in such a manner that not more than one pot or dish could be served. The expenses of the meal naturally came to be lower than on other days. But they were expected to contribute the saving effected thereby to the *Winterhilfswerk*.

For 1934-35 also the winter relief service has been continued along the lines of the first year's work.

In regard to the beneficiaries of the winter relief be it observed that there was no distinction made between Germans and foreigners. Among the 16,617,681 persons who enjoyed the relief throughout Germany there were 57,184 men and women belonging to foreign countries. The number of Jews, both German and foreign, who were supported, was 38,053.

In the figures for Berlin alone we notice 8,791 German Jews, and 5,272 foreigners, of whom 2,250 were Jews. Among foreigners it is interesting to single out 1 Siamese, 3 Japanese, 7 Chinese, 37 Frenchmen, 40 Belgians, 42 Turks, 52 Englishmen, 137 Italians, 394 Austrians, 535 Czechoslovaks, 655 Russians, 2,306 Poles, etc. The winter relief was thus conducted in a spirit of genuine, philanthropy.

## UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN ENGLAND.

The weekly rates of benefit as at 1930 in Great Britain may be seen in the following schedule:—

Sex.	Age 15 years.	Age 20 years.	Adult.
Male	6s.	14s.	17s.
Female	5s.	12s.	15s.

Certain other rates were fixed for three years by the Act of 1930, namely, the following:—

1. Adult dependants' benefit	...	...	9s. per week
2. Children's allowances	...	...	2s. „

These rates represented increments upon those in previous years.

There were thus increments not only in the numbers of the insured but also in the rates of benefit.

State unemployment benefit is administered by trade unions and other associations of employees. But industrial assurance companies are not entitled to this privilege. There is, however, a condition attached to the enjoyment of this privilege by trade unions and other employees' associations. It is to the effect that additional benefits are to be paid by these unions and associations out of their own funds at the following rates:—

1. Adults (21 years and above)				
i. Men	...	...	...	3s. per week
ii. Women	...	...	...	2s. 6d. „
2. Young (between 18 and 21)				
i. Men	...	...	...	1s. 6d. per week
ii. Women	...	...	...	1s. 3d. „
3. Others (between 16 and 18)				
i. Boys	...	...	...	1s. 6d. per week
ii. Girls	...	...	...	1s. 3d. „

Altogether the benefits enjoyed by the insured are increased in amount.

The extensions accorded by the Act of 1930 involved an additional expenditure of some £16,000,000 per year. The actual figures down to 1929 indicate the State's contribution to unemployment insurance fund as follows:—

	£
1927-28	12,103,105
1928-29	12,077,651
1929-30	12,084,500

The contributions from the employees and the Government failed to keep pace with the requirements. Loans were long a regular feature of unemployment insurance.

Loans for the Unemployment Insurance Fund grew in the following manner:—

(a)		(b)	
	£		£
1921	75,000	1926	10,970,000
1922	13,793,068	1927	23,800,000
1923	15,075,121	1928	25,680,000
1924	6,679,475	1929 (July 6)	36,500,000
1925	7,075,722	1929 (Nov. 9)	36,850,000

The statutory limit of borrowing for this fund was fixed at £40,000,000.

It is necessary at this stage to call attention to a special feature of the British Unemployment Insurance system. An item known as "transitional benefit" was growing in importance. This benefit was enjoyed by such unemployed as had not paid the usual 30 contributions during the two years preceding their application for unemployment benefit and therefore might be said to fall outside the scope of the insurance system proper. The Exchequer was exclusively responsible for the total cost of this transitional benefit; which, be it noted *en passant*, was liberally extended by the Act of 1930, thereby placing fresh burdens on the public finance.

The Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance was therefore appointed to study the following among other questions:—(1) the increasing indebtedness of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and (2) the increasing cost to the Exchequer of transitional benefit. The Report of the Commission published in 1931 recommended (1) the increment of contributions, (2) the reduction of benefits, and (3) the strict application of "means" and other tests, first, in regard to transitional benefit, and, secondly, in regard to persons such as had been enjoying the benefit without presumably adequate grounds, for instance, casual workers, seasonal workers, etc. A saving of some £30,000,000 was thereby assured as an item of practical finance.

By the National Economy Act of 1931 the rates of benefit in unemployment insurance suffered some reduction from the level that had been attained in 1930. Thus, for example, we notice the following rates at two dates:—

1930.	1931-34.
6s.	5s. 6d.
9s.	8s.
14s.	12s. 6d.
17s.	15s. 3d.

The cuts were restored in 1934. The schedule fixed by the most recent Act was, therefore, as follows:—

Age	Male	Female
	s. d.	s. d.
16-17	6 0	5 0
17-18	9 0	2 6
18-21	14 0	12 0
21 and upwards	17 0	15 0
Adult Dependant	9 0	
Child Dependant	2 0	



In addition to the normal period of benefit as prevailing under the old regulations the Act of 1934 provided for some additional days of benefit. The normal and the additional periods are described below along with the conditions under which the benefits are eligible :

Normal	6 months	...	If 30 contributions have been paid during previous 2 years.
Additional	(a) 3 days for every 5 contributions paid during previous 5 years <i>minus</i> 1 day for every 5 days received during same period.	If the contributor has been insured for at least previous 5 years.	
	(b) For persons under 18 every two contributions to be reckoned as one.		

Certain other additional items from the standpoint of benefits for the unemployed as well as expenditure from the state deserve to be singled out from the provisions of the new Act.

Down to 1934 benefits were obtained by parents on account of juvenile dependants between 14 and 16 such as were receiving whole-time education in a day school. In that year these dependant benefits were rendered eligible for a further ground, namely, that the juveniles between 14 and 16 were unemployed for reasons beyond their control.

The Act rendered compulsory the attendance at courses of instruction on the part of all unemployed juveniles between 15 (school-leaving age) and 18. Government grants were provided in aid of the Local Education Authorities in case special measures were to be taken in behalf of such unemployed juveniles.

The statutory rates of unemployment benefit fixed by the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1934, were not held to be binding in Part II of the same Act, *i.e.*, with regard to unemployment "assistance." The Assistance Board was to assess the "need" in an unhampered manner. It was to take into account the resources of the household on the one hand and personal requirements of the needy on the other. Medical relief was left out of the Board's functions. The period of assistance or allowance was to be dependent on the circumstances of each case.

On the question of "need" the Act attempted to be somewhat liberal and considerate. The combined income of all the members of the family was to be taken into consideration for the purpose of granting the unemployment "allowance" as in the granting of "poor relief." This "means test" was not however to be so interpreted as to imply that nobody was to enjoy the allowance until he was reduced to the condition of selling his cottage. Certain annuities and interests were specially to be excluded from consideration while examining the "means" and assessing the need of the unemployed.

In the British system of compulsory insurance the receipts and expenses from 1920 to 1931 were, as tabled below:—

Year.	Receipts in million £.	Expenses in million £.
1920-21	14.2	35.4
1921-22	43.0	58.5
1922-23	46.7	47.9
1923-24	50.2	41.2
1924-25	50.2	51.5
1925-26	46.9	49.3
1926-27 (nine months)	28.6	42.8
1927-28	43.2	42.7
1928-29	42.3	53.7
1929-30	50.4	53.4
1930-31	64.9	101.8
1931-32	83.3	122.8
1932-33	117.8	117.8

During the period in question there was a surplus of £9 millions in 1923-24 and £500,000 in 1927-28. Otherwise the system was based on deficits which rose up to £36,400,000 in 1930-31, and £39,500,000 in 1931-32. It was in 1932-33 that the balance was established.

The three branches of unemployment insurance or relief in Great Britain can be seen in the following tabular summary :

Items.	I. Unemployment Insurance.	II. Unemployment Assistance.	III. Poor Relief.
1. Scope	... Workmen in insurable business (commerce, shipping, industry, and mining).	(i) Those who are insured against unemployment but have not fulfilled the pre-conditions (30 contributions in previous 2 years). (ii) Those who are not insured against unemployment but against sickness, <i>e.g.</i> , agricultural labourers and domestic servants.	(i) Those who are incapable of work (disabled). (ii) Such able-bodied persons as do not fall under I and II.
2. Contributions.	... Fixed rates	... None	... None
3. Benefits	... „ „	... Allowance according to „need” depending on „means.”	... According to “need” depending on “means.”
4. Period of Benefit.	... Fixed	... Not fixed	... Not fixed
5. Contributors	... Insured, employer, state, one-third each.	a. Government Treasury .. b. Contributions from the Local Authorities.	Local Authorities (towns and counties).
6. Management Organs.	a. Labour Ministry. b. Employment Exchanges. c. Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee.	Unemployment Assistance Board.	Ministry of Health.
7. Responsible to Parliament.	... Labour Minister	... Labour Minister	... Minister of Health.

In January, 1935, the extension of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, including forestry and horticultural employees, was proposed in the Report on Unemployment Insurance of the statutory committee, which was presided over by Sir William Beveridge.

The report recommended a weekly rate of benefit of 12s. 6d. for a man ; 6s. 6d. for a wife, and from 2s. to 3s. for each child, with a total maximum of 30s. a week. Employer, employee and the Exchequer were each to contribute 4d. to the fund and it was estimated that 703,000 males and 47,000 females would benefit.

The Committee pointed out that agricultural wages and conditions were so different from industrial that the rates of contribution and benefit for the general scheme of unemployment insurance were inappropriate.

No agreement was yet reached with the trade unions concerned regarding the amounts of benefit under the scheme.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

## Reviews and Notices of Books

**Saptapadārthī**: with Mitabhāṣiṇī, Padārtha-candrikā and Balabhadra-sandarbhā. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. VIII. Edited by Narendra Chandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., Assistant Secretary, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, and Amarendra Mohan Tarkatirtha, 1934.

The book under notice is a well-known treatise on the Vaiśeṣika system of Indian Philosophy, written about 950 A.D. by Śivāditya, whose work, as the learned editor Pandit Narendra Chandra rightly says, "marks a new epoch in the history of Indian philosophical literature. It is the earliest work that we have for the authority of the joint school of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika; it has, for the first time, hit upon the conception of negation and added *abhāva* or non-entity as the seventh item in the list of categories, originally enumerated by Kaṇāda to be six in number" (Intro., p. x).

The text with the commentary Mitabhāṣiṇī has been successfully edited here by the learned Pandit Amarendra Mohan Tarkatirtha, who has added valuable notes and an Introduction in Sanskrit to facilitate its study. Pandit Narendra Chandra has critically edited the commentaries Padārthacandrikā and Balabhadrasandarbhā from original manuscripts with extracts from Jinavardhana's commentary. He has given miscellaneous notes and indices and made copious references to original texts with exhaustive foot-notes and, last but not the least, a brilliant Introduction in English which every student of Hindu Philosophy will do well to read. Pandit Narendra Chandra's Introduction to the Saptapadārthī is, indeed, a scholarly work, packed with important and interesting details about the history and doctrine of the Vaiśeṣika system. The commentary Balabhadrasandarbhā has been published here for the first time and the editor is to be congratulated on his success. The text, the Mitabhāṣiṇī and the Padārthacandrikā, though previously published, were not critically edited as they have been done in the present edition by the able editors who had left nothing to be desired.

Much credit is due to Dr. Amareswar Thakur, the learned Honorary Secretary of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series for bringing out such an excellent edition, edited by these able Sanskritists.

As the book forms a text book for the M.A. students of the Calcutta University and as it is used in the indigenous *tois* of India, we welcome its timely publication, for it will prove immensely useful to them in thoroughly grasping the very abstruse subjects.

**Dārśanika Tarkavidyā** (Nyāyadarśaner Itihās), by Narendra Chandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., Katyayani Press, 39-1, Shibnarayan Das Lane, Calcutta, 1931.

Pandit Narendra Chandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., is well known to us as the author of "Akṣapāda Gotama," which was noticed by us some time before, in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. The book under review is a fascinating work and Pandit Vedantatirtha has supplied the learned public of Bengal with an interesting subject which deals with the most

difficult problem of the chronology of the different authors of the Nyāya system of Indian Philosophy. This book, which is not a very small one, raises quite a host of debatable questions and we have ample praise for the author, when we find that he has not indulged in mere speculations but worked hard on the old records and used them to a good purpose and very cautiously put together with skill what he has found therein. The arguments with which the author has attempted to prove his position are quite good ; they have been mostly supported by texts from reliable sources. The work will be of help to the students and prove a good guide for those who desire to form a dependable conclusion about the time and personality of the renowned authors of the Indian Logical system. The book is replete with valuable details about Gotama, Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, Vācaspati Miśra, Udayana, Vardhamāna, Jayanta and Viśvanātha. The work gives also a critical account of the *Nyāyasūtra* and the Atomic Theory. An excellent introduction in English and a *Parīśiṣṭa* have considerably enhanced the value of the book.

In conclusion we cannot but mention a fact here. Almost every year, research works on Vedānta and allied subjects come out of the press in prolific numbers but there is a lamentable paucity of such works on the Nyāya system. In fact very few scholars handle this subject and there are no good books on it. We, therefore, heartily welcome this work.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

**An Introduction to the Geometry of the Fourfold**, by Dr. S. M. Ganguly, D.Sc., Lecturer, Calcutta University, pp. xxi, 427, 1934.

This is a work on Geometry in a space of four dimensions, based on the lecture-work the author has to do in the Post-Graduate Classes in the department of Pure Mathematics in the University of Calcutta. It is no doubt a highly abstruse subject and the notion of a higher dimensional space is very difficult even for an ordinary student of mathematics easily to comprehend not to speak of non-mathematicians, but the fascinating manner of exposition by which the author has gradually introduced the notion, seems almost to tempt even a layman to know something of this mysterious world. As stated in the preface, in view of the wide scope of the subject, admitting various developments in diverse directions, the author has selected some representative topics, which are expected to give a general outline of the growth of knowledge of higher geometry, so as to enthuse the reader with a keen desire for peeping into the mysteries of a four-dimensional world. The book seems to be admirably adapted to its purpose and the materials collected seem to be sufficient for developing a complete and systematic treatise on the subject, which has in modern times very wide and useful applications in the science of statistics and the Physical sciences.

This small volume, very useful for a beginner, seems to be the first of its kind in the English language, and the author is to be commended for collecting and summarising the subject-matters so succinctly and so clearly. He has studied much of his subjects and the work is embellished with several of his own interesting sketches.

We hope we have said enough to induce such of our readers who are interested in the subject to look into the book and form their own opinion of its merits. It is certainly the work of a teacher of skill and experience

and undoubtedly does full credit to its author. It once more clearly show, that our teachers in the University are capable of producing works that can well compare with works of foreign publications.

P. N. M.

**An Examination of the Contents of the C. and M. Station Muslim Memorandum, by the Secretary, Mysore Citizens' League.**

The pamphlet is a critical estimate of the C. and M. Station Muslim Memorandum. The memorandum itself, it appears, was originally meant to state the case for or against the proposed retrocession of the C. and M. station. The authors of the Memorandum were carried by their zeal beyond the limits of their original enquiry and utilised the occasion for offering an indictment of the Mysore Government in so far as the position of the Musalmans in the State was concerned. The author of the pamphlet in question tries to show that the allegations against the Mysore State as embodied in the pamphlet are groundless and false.

The pamphlet extends over sixty-two pages and refers amongst other things to the education of the Musalmans and their representation in the services and legislature of the State. The population of the Mysore State consists of about 65 lakhs out of whom about 4 lakhs are Musalmans. The Muhammadan population has increased, in thousands, from '200' to '399' from 1881 to 1931. It has not been shown that there has been a corresponding increase in the material resources of the community. A bare increase in population without a corresponding increase in the comforts of life cannot be considered a sign of prosperity. Poor people always multiply more rapidly than those who are intellectually advanced and appreciate the usefulness of an efficient standard of living.

It has been further contended and shown by reference to facts and figures that the Musalmans have made tangible progress in education, both secondary and university, during the last few years. Provision is also made for the representation of Muhammadan interests in the services particularly for the benefit of Muhammadan education. In the legislature where the system of election is indirect with an official majority provision is made for the nomination of 2 Musalmans out of a total number of 50 in the Legislative Council if no Musalman is returned through the recognised electoral associations.

After a perusal of the pamphlet, one gropes in vain for a comparative statement of the educational and economic condition of the other communities in the State to visualise in a clearer relief the actual and comparative position of the Musalmans.

A. F. M. ABDUL KADIR.

The following publications were also received :—

1. Bengal Public Health Report, 1932, by Dr. R. B. Khambata, D.P.H., Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal. Re. 1.
2. Hollywood Seduce a Satanas, by Wildchap Nelson. Buenos Aires, Libreria Y Casa Editoria de Jesus Menendez, Bernardo de Irigoyen 186, 1935.
3. Ravi Varma (A Monograph), by K. P. Padmanabha Tampy, B.A., New Lodge, Chettikulanagara, Trivandrum. As. 8. 1934.

4. A Text-book of Civics and Administration, by A. Bhagavan Dass, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City, 1934. Re. 1.
5. Satyagraha Gitā (Sanskrit), by Kshama Rao. Paris, Librairie D'Amerique et D'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 5, rue de Tournon. 1932.
6. Kathapanchakam (Sanskrit), by Kshama Row. Sahakari Granthakar, Nowakal Wadi, Girgaon, Bombay 4. 1933. Re. 1.
7. A Story Garden (The Golden Treasury of Indian Tales), by Arthur Duncan, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City. 1934. As. 4.
8. Under the Rainbow, by Arthur Duncan, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City. 1934. As. 4.
9. Himalayan Tales, by Arthur Duncan, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City. 1934. As. 6.
10. Woodland Tales, by Arthur Duncan, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City. 1934. As. 4.
11. In Fairy Land, by Arthur Duncan, M.A., Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City. 1934. As. 4.
12. An Introduction to the Mantra Śāstra, by S. E. Gopālāchārlu, F. T. S. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1934.

# Abstract.

## ISLAM AND MUSIC

The belief that music is taboo in Islam is universal, and very strong among Muslims. People generally know that Islam has banned music and musical instruments, and the feeling against music is so very deep-seated among Muslims that much blood in our unfortunate land has been shed over the whole problem of 'music before mosques.' It is therefore a bit startling to learn from a scholar of the learning and repute of Mr. Hameed Hasan whose aptitude for research is unmistakable and known to all, that Islam has not banned and cannot possibly ban music and musical instruments. In an article on "Islam and Music" in the latest issue of the *Muslim Revival* (Lahore, Quarterly), Mr. Hasan discusses the whole question at some length, and as the subject is one of great importance from our national point of view, we make no apology in reproducing a substantial portion of the article below.

In spite of the alleged legal condemnation of music and musical instruments, especially the latter, in Islam, the spiritual value of music was clearly recognised by the Muslims. The Sufis looked upon it as a means of attaining spiritual ecstasy, while the Derwishes and the Marabouts fraternities regulated their ritual by it. Al Ghazzali quotes: "Ecstasy means the state that comes from listening to music." In his treatise on Music and Ecstasy he gives some reasons for the view that "singing is more potent in producing ecstasy than the Quran itself."

I have most carefully studied the Holy Quran, but I have failed to find throughout its luminous pages any direct or indirect passage or verse declaring music as *Haram* (legally banned). No reliable Hadis proves that it is 'solely' *Haram*.

The Arabs in the Days of Ignorance sang and played their musical instruments before their idols. Music played an important part in the worship of their idols. The Holy Prophet banned such music as was used in worshipping idols as he did everything else associated with that pernicious practice. But this ban of idol-worship music or in other words church music or temple-music, does not ban music in its entirety.

The Arab music was at its zenith during the Abbaside rule. There were thousands of Muslims who were well-versed in music and at the same time great scholars in Muslim theology. No *Fatwa* was then issued against their enjoying and cultivating music. Allama Abul-Farha Isfahani, in his remarkable book, *Aghani*, has given biographical sketches of hundreds of Muslim men and women who were masters of music. Imam Abu Yusuf who was the Kazi-ul-Kazzat, the Lord Chancellor of Baghdad, during the reign of the Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid, was very fond of music.

Ibn-e-Jarih and Attar bin Abi Ribah, who are famous traditionists, have permitted the Muslims to sing and to listen to songs. They never

prohibited any Muslim from reciting the Holy Quran melodiously. They always deemed it valid. Music was then the order of the day at Madina and the high and low practised and enjoyed it.

On one occasion when the Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid visited Madina, he asked Ibrahim Bin Sa'aduz Zuhri whether there was a single Muslim at Madina who took exception to music. Ibrahim answered: "Who can ban it? If there be one, may God dishonour and humiliate him." Haroon said, "I learn that Imam Malik has pronounced it as *Haram*." Ibrahim answered: "Except God none else can pronounce *Haram* and *Halal*. Whatever the Holy Prophet enjoined was done in accordance with *Wahi* (divine revelation) and did not indicate his mere personal inclination. Who authorised Imam Malik to make such a pronouncement? My father has seen Imam Malik listening to singing at the wedding of Ibn-e-Hanzalah. If I had known that he had banned music, I would have taken him to task."

Imam Ghazzali, who was born in Ghazzal, in 450 A.H., has written several standard works on Muslim theology and philosophy. He was one of the greatest advocates of learning and intellectual advancement. Intellectual giant as he was, no subject engrossed his attention more than religion and theology in which he highly specialised himself.

Imam Ghazzali has treated the subject of music at great length in the twelve chapters of his *Ahyaul Ulum* which are studded with precious gems of practical wisdom and prudence. He cites all authorities who had condemned music as an art and discusses their views at great length.

Abu Talib Mecci says: "Among the companions of the Holy Prophet Abdullah bin Jaffer, Ibn-e-Zubair, and Mughir bin Shyba have declared authoritatively that the people of Mecca on certain days of the year (meaning certain festive occasions) have continued to listen to music accompanied with words. These days are called *Aiyam-e-Tashriq*, viz., tenth, eleventh and twelfth day of Zilhaj." The people of Madina also have likewise indulged in that pastime in those days. Abu Talib Mecci narrates as an eye-witness that Qazi Abu Mariwan possessed sweet-voiced female slaves who used to attain the sublime flights of the Sufi minds that congregated at the Kazi's mansion. Hazrath Junaid, a great Muslim divine drank deep at the fountain of music and Ibn-e-Mujabed would not accept any invitation to a dinner if there was no music to be provided either before or after dinner. Abul Khair Asqala, who is one of the divines of repute, always encouraged the presence of music to promote the flights of the soul towards the higher regions.

Music was not then neglected in Arabia. During the festive occasions it played an important part. In several early battles of Islam it was freely used to rouse the drooping spirits just as in earlier days it was used for the stirring of the martial spirit. The *Gita* tells us that conches were constantly used in war to hearten and cheer up the Hindu soldiers. Music was freely used during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet to stir up the Muslim armies to most daring acts of valour. Arabic poetry bears testimony to the martial effect of music during war. Imam Ghazzali next quotes a few sayings of the Holy Prophet which have affixed the seal of approval upon the virtues of a pleasing voice. What is forbidden is to recite the Quran in a chanting manner.

What music meant to the Arabs is illuminatingly revealed in the *Thousand and One Nights*. The best insight, however, into the Arab's intense appreciation of the art is to be gained from such works as Ibn-e-



Abd Rabbih's *Unique Necklace*, Al-Ispahani's *Great Book of Songs* and Al-Nwairi's *The Extreme Need* which, unfortunately, are still not available in English. Ibn Khaldun says no art really begins until there are artists. We see a professional class of musicians in pre-Islamic days, and with the rise of the Caliphate, in spite of the alleged ban, this class was held in the highest esteem. "Indeed the cultivation of music by the Arabs in all its branches reduces to insignificance the recognition of the art in the history of any other country" (*Legacy of Islam*, p. 357). Music, developed and refined on scientific lines by the Muslims, is one of the precious legacies of the Muslims to the cultured and refined world. The Muslims not only developed what is called Chamber Music but laid true foundations for very large orchestras which are now in vogue.

The legacy of Islam to Western Europe in musical instruments and instrumental music was of the greatest importance to Europe. That the Arabs were responsible for the names and even the actual types of a number of musical instruments in Western Europe is generally acknowledged. The origin of the words, *lute*, *rebec*, *guitar* and *naqar* from the Arabic words *al-ud-rabab*, *qitara*, and *naq-quara*, is well established. The Muslims were both inventors and improvers of musical instruments. An enormous amount of Arabic literature has been written in Arabic about music histories, collections of songs, books on musical instruments, the legal aspect of music, aesthetics and the lives of musicians. The greatest Muslim writers on the subject of music were Al-Masudi and Al-Ispahani. In the former's "*Meadows of Gold*," we get interesting data on the early practice of Arabian music, while in his other books the author deals with the music of foreign lands. More valuable still is the monumental work of Al-Ispahani the *Great book of Songs* in 21 volumes which Ibn-Khaldun calls the *Diwan of the Arabs*. This author also wrote four other books on music. The *Index* of Muhammad Ibn Ishaque Al Warraq is a valuable mine of information regarding writers on the theory and practice of music as well as the general literature on the subject. The *Unique Necklace* of Ibn-Abd-Robbih contains the lives of the celebrated musicians as well as a spirited defence of music against the Puritan Muslims. Ibn Al Farabi wrote an important work on the permissibility of music. Ibn Sina (Avicenna), after Al-Farabi, contributed the most important works on the theory of music in Arabic. These are to be found in the *Shifa* and the *Najat*. Greater merit as a writer on the theory of music was reserved for Ibn Bajja or Avempace. His treatise on Music enjoyed the same reputation in the West as that of Al-Farabi in the East. Ibn Rushed or Averroes wrote the famous commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, dealing particularly with the theory of sound.

## News and Views

[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions and Movements in India.]

### Patna University

Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bihar and Orissa, has made a further contribution of Rs. 20,000 to the Patna University for educational purposes. This brings his total contributions including the endowment of Rs. 3,00,000 he has created for the Patna University to Rs. 4,00,000. The University have not yet decided how they will utilise this munificent bequest.

The University have recently conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy on Mr. H. Lambert, Principal of the Patna College, who is retiring shortly, in recognition of his eminent and distinguished services in the cause of education of the province.

At its meeting, held on March 30 last, the Senate adopted a resolution, recommending to the Government to institute two new degrees, namely Bachelor of Oriental Learning and Master of Oriental Learning. The Senate also directed the Syndicate to form a committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor as President and other members appointed by the Government, the University Syndicate and the Board of Secondary Education in equal proportion to consider in all aspects the question of introducing Vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination up to Matriculation standard and make detailed recommendations on the subject.

### Proposed University at Indore

A deputation of the proposed Hindi University, Indore, recently waited on His Highness the Maharaja of Holkar. The deputation was composed of Mr. C. A. Dobson, Mr. J. D. L. Arathoon, Rai Bahadur Dr. S. H. Pandit, Seth Lalchand B. Sethi and Mr. J. P. Singhai. Mr. Dobson led the deputation. His Highness who gave the deputation a sympathetic hearing expressed keen interest in the proposed University which, it was urged by the deputation would provide a comparatively inexpensive means of mass education. His Highness assured the deputation that he would give his best consideration to the scheme on receiving a report from his Government.

### Annamalai University

The question of instituting a Diploma or Degree Course in Journalism recently came up before the Senate of the University. The motion was accepted, and referred to the Academic Council for consideration. Mr. E. S. Sunda of Madura, the sponsor of this resolution in the Senate anticipated two possible contentions ; that it was not a subject for study in a University and that no syllabus could be drafted. He said that so far as the latter was concerned the matter has been decided by an expert committee in the Calcutta University and a scheme has been drafted. Regarding the former, he said that the subject has been taught in several Universities in both Eastern and Western countries.

**Lucknow University**

A sum of Rs. 1,50,000 has been sanctioned by the Executive Council of Lucknow University for the construction of a new library building for the university and it was proposed to ask the Government for a non-recurring grant of a similar amount. The Executive Council had previously sanctioned Rs. 80,000 for the purpose and had appointed a sub-committee to go into the details of the proposed scheme. The sub-committee has estimated that a sum of Rs. 3,00,000 would be needed for the purpose and the Executive Council have consequently decided to contribute half the amount and ask the local Government to contribute the other half. Two plans will be prepared, one for a library alone and the other for a library and a convocation hall and a decision on the matter will be taken later.

**Buddhist Studies Proposal**

An ambitious scheme for research work has been drawn up by the International Buddhist University Association of Sarnath, Benares. The Association, which is a registered body, has been founded in memory of Sri Devamita Dhammapala, and its main object will be to advance the cause of human progress and to benefit mankind through a sympathetic and broadminded exposition of Buddhism, by bringing out in particular such of its elements as are best calculated to further the attainment of the goal. The Association, among other things, contemplates encouraging and promoting researches in various branches of Buddhist studies, specially through a body of learned scholars to be styled "The International Buddhist Academy." It intends to impart education in such subjects as Buddhist philosophy, psychology, ethics, fine arts and archaeology and also to teach languages such as Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese. Many noted scholars and litterateurs of India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam and of Europe have signified their willingness to become fellows of the Academy. Professor Sylvain Levi from Paris has accepted the fellowship of the Academy.

**Delhi University**

His Excellency the Chancellor of Delhi University has recently appointed the Hon'ble Kumar Jagadish Prasad, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., as Pro-Chancellor of the University for a period of three years with effect from the 2nd April last, *vice* the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Dr. Mian Sir Fazl-i-Hossain, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Kt., resigned.

**Andhra University**

The Academic Council of Andhra University has decided to start a summer school of librarianship as well as a regular school. The summer school will be for eight weeks from April to June every year and the session of the regular school will last from July to March. Three consecutive summer sessions will be considered equivalent to one regular academic session. The courses are designed to suit the requirements of both the higher and the lower orders of librarianship and will lead either to a university diploma or a certificate of proficiency in librarianship. Dr. M. O. Thomas, President of the Indian Library Association, and the Librarian of the Andhra University Library, has been appointed director of the school.

**Presidency College, Calcutta**

The annual social gathering of the Presidency College Chemical Society, Calcutta, was held on Monday with Dr. P. Neogi in the Chair. The Annual Report showed that 17 original papers in Chemistry were published by Dr. P. Neogi, Dr. A. C. Sircar and their pupils and others in the journals of learned chemical societies, and that 17 ex-students obtained the Doctor's degree in Chemistry from Calcutta and foreign universities. Dr. Neogi in his presidential address pointed out that in Bombay 40 "Pass" students were doing research work under Dr. Wheeler in the Royal College of Science, and unless similar permission was granted by the Calcutta University, Bombay and Bangalore would soon outstrip Bengal in the matter of chemical research. He also wanted the introduction of an "intermediate" doctor's degree for assisted research work as in the British Universities.

**New Education System**

It is understood that the Government of India are considering by what means the education system may be better adapted to the modern needs. The Central Advisory Board is to be revived as the Government's contribution to solving the problem, which is now being considered by almost all provincial Governments. It is understood that provision for the board's resuscitation will be made in the next financial year. The Government of India suggest that the facilities for educating children should not be restricted but adjusted to the aptitude of the pupils. Those who have little or no aptitude for a literary form of education should be given some other kind. The Government also consider that vocational training should be confined to and concentrated in institutions designed for that purpose, being excluded from the curricula of ordinary schools and colleges.

It is stated that the "bait for a superficial and vocational training." should be avoided. Boys who complete a shortened secondary course, as proposed by the Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, would benefit considerably by a subsequent vocational training and would be likely to be absorbed into industrial occupation with better results. The Government recommend the changes proposed by the third University Conference and by the Directors of Public Instruction in the United Provinces and the Punjab. These changes are that up to the high school stage pupils should be instructed in the vernacular, that there should be fewer examinations and that there should be a three-year intermediate course in high schools. Provincial Governments have been asked for their opinions on the subject.

**The Calcutta Geographical Society**

The Calcutta Geographical Society, inaugurated in July, 1933, by a small band of workers, has been founded with the object of supplying the need of a central organisation for the increase and spread of geographical culture in Bengal. They have been fortunate in enlisting the support of a number of distinguished men as Patrons and Vice-Patrons and has an efficient body of workers as its council of management. In the second year of its inauguration it has before it a heavy programme of useful

work, *e.g.*, organising of geographical lectures and exhibitions, publication of a journal, encouragement of geographical research and travel and the convening of a geographical conference. For these activities the sympathy and support of the public is earnestly requested in the form of largely increased membership. Every member who joins the Society now will be a helper in the spread of useful geographical culture in India. The office of the Society is situated at the Presidency College, Calcutta.

#### **Primary Education in Bengal**

Out of 27 districts in Bengal ten will shortly enjoy the benefits of the Compulsory Primary Education Act in a partial form. School boards have been set up in the following districts which have been selected with the concurrence of the District Board concerned:—Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali, Bogra, Pabna, Dinajpur, Birbhum, Nadia and Murshidabad. It is hoped that partial application of the Act will be enforced in other districts in the near future. At the outset partial compulsion will be introduced in the case of boys only; the education of girls will be taken in hand later. It is stated that the present purpose of the application of the Act is more for consolidation of the existing primary schools rather than the enforcement of compulsion in all its stages.

#### **All-India Library Association Conference**

Important schemes, including the compilation of a directory of Indian libraries, a system of inter-borrowing of books between important libraries, and provision for training for librarianship at provincial Universities, were approved by the second All-India Library Association Conference, which concluded its session at Lucknow on April 22 last. University libraries or even the bigger provincial libraries are not able to maintain all the literature on every subject of interest to scholars, and it was accordingly suggested that, in order to avoid overlapping, the bigger provincial libraries should select certain subjects of study and collect all the possible literature on those subjects. It would then be possible for these libraries to secure the temporary loan of a comprehensive set of books on any particular subject and to lend out similar sets of books when required by other libraries. The lack of a directory of Indian libraries was felt to be a serious handicap not only to scholars in India but also to scholars from abroad and it was decided to take immediate steps to compile a directory of all Indian libraries containing 8,000 books and over.

With regard to the training of librarians, it was pointed out that facilities for such training at present existed only in the Punjab and Madras. The Imperial Library at Calcutta had decided to start training classes for librarians from July next and a similar decision had been taken by the Andhra University. It was accordingly decided to ask the University of Bombay and the U. P. Library Association to open similar classes in their respective areas, and in order to have a uniform standard of instruction and to provide for the grant of diplomas in librarianship the meeting appointed a sub-committee to draw up a scheme. Resolutions were passed urging that the pay and prospects of librarians should be improved; that library authorities should be asked to appoint only certified librarians; that untrained librarians at present working in libraries should be provided by the authorities concerned with facilities for training in library science; and that university and large public libraries and the libraries of learned societies should be asked to appoint "reference librarians" to help readers generally and research workers in particular.

## Ourselfes

[I. Restoration of Cuts in Government Grants, 1935-36.—II. Government Grant to Non-Government Colleges.—III. Admission of Graduates of other Universities to M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations of Calcutta University.—IV. Recognition of Provisional Degree Certificates.—V. Professor Zoltan De Takaes.—VI. Cheaper Passage to Europe for Indian Students. VII. International Centre of Liaison between Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art.—VIII. Beereswar Mitter Medal, 1935.—IX. A New Doctor of Medicine.—X. Nagarjuna Prize, 1914.—XI. Mr. Jasim-ud-din—XII. The Late Mr. D. K. Roy.—Notification.]

### I. RESTORATION OF CUTS IN GOVERNMENT GRANTS, 1935-36

It may not be common knowledge to our readers that owing to financial stringency Government imposed cuts on certain items of their grant to this University. For instance, the grants for the maintenance of the Chairs of Asutosh Professor of Islamic Studies, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics and George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy were reduced by ten per cent. Those for Special Readerships were cut down by half and the grant for running the Department of Students' Information Bureau was also considerably reduced. Now that Government have decided to remove all cuts on the salary of Government officials, the University feels that the aforesaid cuts should also be restored. The University viewpoint is set out in the following excerpt from the letter which has been addressed by the Registrar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department:—

I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to address you on the desirability of restoring the cuts imposed temporarily on the following items of Government grant with effect from the next session:—

(1) Grants for the maintenance of the Chairs of Asutosh Professor of Islamic Studies, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics and George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy which have been reduced by 10%.

(2) The grant for the special Readers which has been reduced from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 2,000.

(3) The grant for running the Department of Students' Information Bureau which has been reduced from Rs. 2,856 to Rs. 2,156.

As regards the grants for the maintenance of the three Chairs, I am to observe that according to the terms of their original appointment the salaries of the Professors were not liable to any temporary or permanent reduction. Still they readily agreed to accept reduced salaries when Government imposed the cuts in the grant. When the cut of 10% on the salary of Government officials were reduced to 5%, Government did not see their way to make a similar reduction in the University grants, although the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate addressed Government on the subject in this Office letter No. A. 110, dated the 22nd July, 1931. Government have now decided to remove the cuts altogether in the case of their own officers. It is therefore only fair that similar treatment should be extended to the University Professors.

When Government decided to reduce the grant for the Special Readers, the University agreed to the proposal on account of the financial stringency then prevailing. Proposals made from time to time regarding the appointment of very distinguished scholars as Special Readers had to be reluctantly abandoned for want of funds. Government will agree with the University that in the interest of higher education and research it is not only desirable but necessary that such scholars should be invited to deliver courses of lectures for the benefit of students and teachers alike. The original grant was not adequate and I need hardly add that the cut should be restored at an early date.

As regards the Students' Information Bureau, Government have been already informed in the Office letter No. A. 1000, dated the 7th February, 1935, that although the Bureau is doing useful work, its scope should be further extended. The University feel that the grant in this case should be more than what was originally sanctioned ; but if Government do not find it possible to do so for some time, the grant should at least be restored to its former amount.

In these circumstances the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate urge very strongly for the restoration of the cuts and I am to request you to move the Government of Bengal for the purpose.

In this connection, I am further directed to request the Government of Bengal to place the views of the University before the Government of India, so that the grant for the maintenance of the Chair of the Minto Professor of Economics, which is paid from Central Revenues, may be restored to the original amount of Rs. 13,000 per annum.

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## II. GOVERNMENT GRANT TO NON-GOVERNMENT COLLEGES

Those who are interested in the collegiate education of Bengal will learn with regret that Government have not found it possible to restore the original allotment of Rs. 1,29,000 for distribution among the non-Government Colleges of the province. As in the out-going financial year, provision has been made in the Education Budget for 1935-36 of only Rs. 45,000 for the purpose, which is about one-third of the original amount. Financially, our colleges are in a very bad state, and at no time of their history were they in greater need of grants than now. Much of the useful work the colleges had been doing had to be stopped when the grant was curtailed, and all expansion projects had to be given up. Until the original amount is restored, the present state of inaction is bound to continue much to the detriment of our collegiate life and education.

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## III. ADMISSION OF GRADUATES OF OTHER UNIVERSITIES TO M. A. AND M. SC. EXAMINATIONS OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Every year this University receives a number of applications from graduates of other Universities seeking permission to appear at the M. A. and M. Sc. Examinations. Hitherto the practice has been to consider each application on its own merit ; but it has been deemed advisable now to have a set of rules for the guidance of the Executive Committees of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science who have to consider such applications. We draw the attention of our readers to the following rules adopted by the Syndicate in that behalf :—

1. No one shall be permitted to appear at the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination of this University in a *Scientific subject* without prosecuting a regular course of study in the University Post-Graduate Classes for a period of two years.

2. Holders of Bachelor's Degrees of a different Indian University shall not be permitted to appear at the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination of this University unless they have prosecuted a regular course of study in the University Post-Graduate Classes for a period of two years.

3. Holders of the M. A. and M. Sc. Degrees of a different Indian University may be allowed to appear at the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination of this University as non-collegiate students in any non-scientific subject if they prosecute a regular course of study in the University Post-Graduate Classes for a period of *one year*.

4. Holders of the M. A. and M. Sc. Degrees of a different Indian University may be permitted to appear at the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination of this University in any non-scientific subject as non-collegiate students *without being required to study in the University classes* if they satisfy the following conditions :—

(i) That they have served as *bona fide* teachers in an institution, either affiliated to a University or an education Board or recognised by Government, for a continuous period of *at least two years* immediately preceding the examination to which they seek admission.

(ii) That they are not eligible under rules in force for admission to the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination as non-collegiate students of the University from which they have graduated or within whose jurisdiction they are serving.

Exceptions may be made in the cases of Graduates of other Universities who are employed as *bona fide* teachers in institutions recognised by, or affiliated to the Calcutta University for a continuous period of 2 years immediately preceding the Examination to which they seek admission. Such Graduates will be treated as graduates of this University for purposes of their admission to the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination in any non-scientific subject as non-collegiate students.

5. Graduates of other Indian Universities seeking admission to the M. A. or M. Sc. Examination of this University are required to conform to the following rules :—

(1) They must have attained the requisite age as required under the Regulations of this University.

(2) They must conform to the usual rules *re* migration.

*Note.*—Permission to appear as non-collegiate students will be subject to the conditions laid down in Chapters XVI, XXXVI, and XXXVII of the Regulations.



#### IV. RECOGNITION OF PROVISIONAL DEGREE CERTIFICATES

It has been the practice with this University to issue, pending the Annual Convocation, provisional certificates to graduates proceeding abroad so as to facilitate their admission to foreign universities. To this procedure the Registry of the University of Cambridge took exception and they offered certain suggestions for inclusion in the provisional certificate. It was subsequently pointed out to them that the certificate had been approved by the Universities' Bureau of the British Empire, with the result that a communication has recently been received from the University of Cambridge stating that the provisional degree certificate is quite acceptable to the Registry of the University.



#### V. PROFESSOR ZOLTAN DE TAKAES

Readers of the *Calcutta Review* are aware that Professor Zoltan de Takaes, Director of the Francis Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, was recommended to the Senate for appointment as a Special Reader of the University. Professor Takaes has written to the University intimating that he will deliver two lectures, one on "Pre-Historic Motives in the Arts of Greater Asia" and the other on "Eastern Asiatic Art Import in the Dark-Age Europe."



## VI. CHEAPER PASSAGE TO EUROPE FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Company, Agents to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, have been good enough to arrange with the University Students' Information Bureau to offer passages at a reduced rate to *bonafide* students proceeding abroad to seek admission to any educational institution or training centre in the United Kingdom. To avail himself of this privilege, a student shall have to apply to the office of the said Company who will in their turn have the candidature certified by the Secretary of the University Students' Information Bureau to the effect that the candidate is proceeding to England to continue his studies, having already arranged his admission to an institution, or that he has, in view of his previous qualifications, a reasonable chance of admission into an institution.

This procedure will provide some check on such students as proceed to the United Kingdom without having made proper arrangements to enter a Training Centre.

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## VII. INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF LIAISON BETWEEN INSTITUTES OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART

The attention of our University and of those who are interested in the activities of the International Centre of Liaison between Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art has been drawn by Government to the new Liaison centre which the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations has recently established between institutes of archaeology and history of art. The following letter, has been addressed by the Director of the League of Nations Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation to the Directors of Archaeology of British India, Mayurbhanj, Bhopal, Travancore, Gwalior, Mysore, Hyderabad, Srinagar and Colombo, who have been invited to co-operate in the important undertaking of the Institute.

" In July 1931, the League of Nations Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation decided, at the suggestion of its permanent committee on Arts and Letters, to establish international liaison between the University institutes of archaeology and history of art in order to facilitate exchange of views on their working methods and equipment and the various forms of their activities.

The task of establishing this liaison was entrusted to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and in January, 1932, it convened a committee of eminently qualified Specialists, who formulated a certain number of proposals regarding the formation of an International Centre of Liaison between Institutes of Archaeology and History of Art.

As clearly stated in these proposals, the centre in question would in no way assume the character of a super-institute of archaeology and history of art; its duties would be confined to the establishing of liaison between the Scientific research centres existing in the different countries ; it would endeavour to co-ordinate, on an international basis, certain efforts which do not offer the same possibilities of realisation in the national

field, by taking advantage of the means of action at the disposal of an international organisation.

Within the framework of this centre, each of the member institutions would be entitled to propose the study of any scientific question which, in its opinion, would be of interest and worthy of international consideration, and which could be successfully dealt with through the collaboration of the other institutes concerned. Institutes engaged in research work and which publish scientific journals would seem to be particularly qualified to participate in the co-operation envisaged.

The new organisation for international co-operation, whose aims are briefly set forth above, has already begun to function under the designation of "*Office International des Institutes d'archaeologie et d'histoire de l'art.*" The Directors' Committee of this office held its first meeting in Rome on December 1st and 2nd, 1933 ; it drew up a detailed programme of work and we are now bringing certain items of this programme into operation.

It provided, first of all, for the publication of a Bulletin that could serve as a forum for discussion, destined to promote closer contact between the members of this organisation. We have much pleasure in sending you, under separate cover, the first number of this *Bulletin* in which you will find, in addition to the subscription rates and the list of members of the Directors' Committee a detailed and documented review of the work which preceded the formation of the office and a statement on the modest beginning that has been made in bringing its programme into effect. The members of the Directors' Committee having called our special attention to the fact that the collaboration of your institution in the work of the office would be highly desirable I should be, most happy to be able to rely on your co-operation.

If you think it possible to participate in the activities of our organisation, I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange for me to receive, at the earliest possible date, information concerning your institute, its field of activity and the scientific equipment at its disposal.

In agreement with our Directors' Committee, we believe that it would be extremely helpful to scholars and research workers in every country to have accurate and detailed data concerning the scientific character and their scientific equipment. It is, in fact, our intention to publish in our *Bulletin* the fullest information possible on the organisation of the institutes which agree to become members of the office.

I hope it will be possible for you to confirm your adhesion."

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#### VIII. BEERESWAR MITTER MEDAL, 1935

The following subject has been selected for the Beereswar Mitter Medal, 1935 :—

*Middle Class Unemployment in Bengal.*

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#### IX. A NEW DOCTOR OF MEDICINE

We are glad to announce that Mr. Jaharlal Ghosh, M.B., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine for his thesis on *Dyspepsia in Bengal*, which was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Dr. Charuchandra Basu and Lt.-Col. E. H. V. Hodge.

We congratulate Mr. Ghosh on the well-earned distinction.

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## X. NAGARJUNA PRIZE, 1934

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1934 has been awarded to Ranajit Ghosh, M.Sc., for his thesis on (i) the Synthesis of  $\gamma$ -Lactonic Acid and (ii) Synthesis of Coronic Acid.

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## XI. MR. JASIM-UD-DIN

Mr. Jasim-ud-din, M.A., has been working as a ballad-collector attached to the department of Indian Vernaculars of this University. A poet of considerable merit Mr. Jasim-ud-din published his first poetical work, *Naksī Kānthār Māth* several years ago; and it is gratifying to note that his very first attempt was received with praise by discerning Bengalee critics. The book was recently reviewed in the German press, by Dr. Reinhard Wagner, Lecturer in Bengali, in the Seminary for Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin; the review was published in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (30th December, 1934), a well-known German literary periodical. We publish below an English rendering of Dr. Wagner's appreciation.

Jasim-ud-din, *Naksī Kānthār Māth*. Second Edition, Calcutta. Gurudas Chatterji and Sons.

Jasim-ud-din, a poet of Eastern Bengal, represents in a small volume of poetry the life and mind of humble peasants and people and things around them. Everything appears life-like. The author has the deep insight of a real poet and an admirable imaginative power. His visions are rooted in the soil and the race of his native country. Everyone, who knows the three volumes of Eastern Bengal Ballads, published by Dr. D. Ch. Sen deeply well, cannot but be astonished at perceiving how true are the author's sentiments and descriptions to the tone and the mental base of those famous poems.

Nevertheless, Jasim ud-din is no imitator. The selections of the introductory verses belonging to each canto proves him a thorough connoisseur of the rural poetry of Eastern Bengal. These lines are excellent specimens of truly indigenous feeling. In these verses as well as in his own work Hindu and Moslem religiousness appear, in true piety, united in an ingenuous way.

To the humble condition of the poor, young rural couple, the chief characters of the poem, correspond the simple couplets as well as the pictures of outward and inward life, taken from the rural surroundings, nature and peasant life. Only true poets to whose class Jasim-ud-din belongs are able to convince the public that the simplest is often the most intrinsic and the most delicate from a poetical standpoint.

All similies are derived from real life. The width of sentiment embraces the domains of cheerfulness, chaste tenderness, sweet melancholy, unfulfilled longing and valiant manly feeling. Words like those in which the husband takes leave from his wife, telling her what to do when she will think of him, the lost one, thrill even Western people's hearts.

The last canto but one, inspite of its tragical contents, may appear too long to us, and the last perhaps, might seem a bit too emotional to many Westerners. But that is not meant as a reproach, for, in the first place, every true artist works for his own people.

The last canto explains the meaning of the heading of the worklet. The hero's wife had become a widow and had embroidered (*naksī*) into a piece of cloth (*kānthā*) pictures of the lucky and unlucky events of her life. After this, she had asked her mother to spread this embroidered cloth over her tomb. From this embroidered cloth (*naksī kānthā*) on the poor widow's tomb the fields (*māth*), lying between her native village and that of her husband, are said to have got the name "*Naksī Kānthār Māth*," i.e., "the fields which are an embroidered cloth."

We are glad to find some explanations of dialect words and terms, given by the poet. But we think he should have done more in this line, even for his countrymen.

Jasim-ud-din has offered the present reviewer a paper on Bengali country life. Such a treatise would be surely welcomed by many European scholars. The poet's book, which contains so many valuable items in the department of folklore, woven into it in so highly artistic a fashion, and, besides the admiring appreciation it has found with the famous Dr. D. Ch. Sen in a long review in the Bengali language, sufficiently prove Jasim-ud-din to be the man qualified above others for teaching us Bengali native life and rural folklore.

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## XII. THE LATE MR. D. K. ROY

A fatal air tragedy, perhaps the worst that has happened in India, was enacted at the Dum Dum Aerodrome on the 28th April last. Mr. Devkumar Roy, B.Sc., was one of the four unfortunate victims. Of the two Gypsy Moth planes that were involved in the crash one was being piloted by Mr. Roy, who was a member of the Bengal Flying Club.

The only surviving son of the late Mr. D. C. Roy of the Bengal Judicial Service, Mr. Roy after having passed the B.Sc. examination of this University went to England in 1928 to qualify himself as a Mechanical Engineer. He took the Diploma in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Bristol when he was attracted to the study of Aeronautics. In 1932 he entered the Bristol Airport and within a year secured an English 'A' Licence. He was under training for a 'B' License when his father suddenly died. In his anxiety to finish his studies abroad, Mr. Roy made a determined effort to hurry through his course with the unfortunate result that he had a crash at the Croydon Aerodrome on the night of 13th November, 1933, which confined him in hospital for more than four months. He returned home nine months ago, and with a view to finish his training in Aeronautics got himself admitted into the Bengal Flying Club to qualify for the 'B' licence. This University awarded him a special scholarship of Rs. 1,500 to enable him to complete his course. But his end was so sudden that he could not avail himself of the full benefit of his scholarship. A promising career has been most cruelly cut short and the calamity is as pathetic as it is shocking. Our grief is too profound for words and we know not how to commiserate Mr. Roy's widowed mother in her sorest affliction.

# NOTIFICATION

## *Imperial Record Department*

The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India has issued the following rules relating to access of the public to the Records of the Government of India. These rules, it should be noted, *are applicable only to cases where documents are required for bonâ fide historical research.*

1. The Record Office is open daily except on Sundays and other holidays a list of which shall be put up in the Visitors, Room.
2. The hours of admission shall be from 10-30 A. M. to 4-30 P. M. on all days except Saturdays and from 10-30 A. M. to 2 P.M. on Saturdays.
3. Persons desiring to examine the records of the Government of India shall apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records (3, Government Place, West, Calcutta), stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object for which they wish to examine them.
4. All applications shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the Departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Army, Finance, Foreign and Political and Legislative Departments the Keeper is required to make a reference to those Departments.
5. Government reserve to themselves the right to refuse any application or to accept it with such modifications as they consider necessary.
6. Permission to inspect the records shall remain valid only for two months from the date on which it is granted. If the permission is not availed of or if the inspection of records is not completed within this period, a further application shall be necessary for permission to inspect or continue to inspect the records as the case may be. All applications made under this rule shall be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records unless he thinks it necessary to refer any particular case to the Department concerned.
7. Records may be inspected only within the Record Office and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. In any particular case the Keeper of the Records may impose such further conditions as he deems necessary to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of records.
8. Copies or extracts from the records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of the information gained from the records without the permission of the Keeper of the Records, who may, if necessary, refer the matter to the Departments concerned.
9. Persons not desiring or unable to examine the records themselves may apply for a search to be made at their cost to the Keeper of the Records, who may, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person.
10. Typed copies of documents may be obtained from the Record Office with the sanction of the Keeper of the Records on payment at the rate of one anna for every 50 words.
11. No volume or paper shall be delivered to any persons using the Record Office until he has signed a receipt for the same. Record shall be given back to the Assistant-in-Charge as soon as they are no longer required and the receipt shall then be returned.
12. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at one time. Documents in a fragile condition shall be handed over singly or subject to such conditions as the Keeper of the Records may deem necessary for their safety.
13. Large folio volumes shall be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.
14. No person shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.
15. No mark of any description shall be made on any record.
16. With a view to prevent ink being spilt on records the use of an inkstand shall not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book-rests a fountain pen may be

used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts; in all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil.

17. All copies, extracts and notes must be made in a legible manner. In cases where they are difficult to read the Keeper of the Records will get them typed at the cost of the persons concerned either for submission to the Departments of the Government of India or for his own inspection, as the case may be.

18. Tracings of signatures and drawings may be made only with the permission of the Keeper of the Records and subject to such conditions as he may impose. Permission shall not be given if it appears to the Keeper of the Records that the process of tracing is likely to damage the document.

19. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Record Department one copy of each of the works immediately after publication.

20. No person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Record Office, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant to be used for keeping records, documents or other papers.

21. Smoking is strictly prohibited in the Record rooms.



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JUNE, 1935

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE  
ELEVENTH DEATH ANNIVERSARY  
*25th May, 1935*



# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1935

## THE 25TH OF MAY

PROF. SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH.D. (CAL.), B.LITT. (OXON.)

*Sir Asutosh Professor of History, Calcutta University.*

THIS day eleven years ago passed away Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Eleven years form no small fraction of the brief span of life allotted to mortals. Yet the grief is as poignant, tears are as spontaneous, the sense of loss is as keen to-day as on that fateful morning when we learnt that he was no more. In life he was a hero, in death he has become a cult.

Year after year we assemble in the University which he built up, not to mourn his loss, for to most of us he is not lost so long as his ideal abides, nor to pray for the peace of the departed soul for he never craved for peace or repose, but to seek inspiration from his memory and to invoke his aid in the great cause that he bequeathed to his countrymen. In other ages and other climes he might have been the patron saint of the University, to the posterity he will probably remain an abstraction and a symbol.

When History appraises his worth he will in all certainty be ranked with the greatest men of all ages and countries ; yet he did not lead his comrades from victory to victory like Alexander or Napoleon, he did not preach a new gospel like the Buddha and Christ, he did not unravel the mysteries of Nature like Galileo or Newton, he did not combat the unseen enemies of humankind like Pasteur and

Lister, but he did more for the all-round progress of his country and countrymen than any of his contemporaries.

He possessed exactly those rare virtues which a dependent country demands of its leaders. Vivid imagination with hard logic, robust optimism with a practical sense of realities, burning idealism with keen common sense, gigantic intellect with superhuman industry, towering ambition with rare selflessness—all these varying qualities held together in Sir Asutosh in an uncommon combination of which History offers but few examples. Imagine Bismarck and Henry Ford, Faraday and Carnegie, Cavour and Garibaldi, all done into one. It may be an abstraction but Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was nearer it than anybody else.

Head and shoulders above his contemporaries he did not keep aloof from the common crowd and seek that solitude and isolation which was his by right. The timid youth found in him an unfailing friend and munificent patron, his heart overflowed with the milk of human kindness and his sunny smile never failed to strike a kindred chord in his numerous admirers and protégés. An ardent patriot he strove his best for the future glory of his motherland, he gloried in the great achievements of his progenitors but he would not break his heart over the present misfortunes of his country. He was the idol of the youth, for his unerring eyes steadily looked forward, his commanding fingers always pointed to the future, he refused to quit the path he had chalked out for himself; undaunted by official frowns, undismayed by unforeseen dangers, he pursued his solitary course and confidently beckoned his youthful comrades to follow.

Of unfriendly critics there was no lack. An architect has to demolish before he can build and Sir Asutosh in his eventful career of reform and reconstruction trod on the corns of many and unwittingly offended old prejudices and academic superstitions. But the tongue of calumny is now stilled for ever. While the critics and their hair-splitting logic command no hearing, Sir Asutosh has been hailed as an epoch-maker by a world-famed western savant. To him belongs the unique glory of combining all that is best in East and West and while his mortal remains have been mingled in the dust of his adored motherland, the sacred fire that he lighted still burns unflickering and bright. It is for us his countrymen to keep it alive and complete his unfinished work.

*Calcutta.*

# INDIVIDUALISM IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE PLAYS OF IBSEN AND BERNARD SHAW

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## I

**A**MONG theologians much controversy has of late centred around the question of the authority of the church. On the one hand we find the orthodox Church claiming supernatural power, given it by its founder and from him transmitted through an apostolic succession, while on the other hand are ranged the free-thinkers, who declare that in questions of religion and morality no authority can exist outside the conscience and the mind of the individual. This does not mean, of course, that these free-thinkers deny the existence of God, as some of the more orthodox would have us suppose; rather it implies that they believe Him to be very nigh unto us, so nigh, in fact, that he constantly makes his presence felt in our daily life, and in times of crisis and difficulty speaks to us directly, having no need of an intermediary in the shape of a church or any kindred institution. In other words, the voice of conscience is the voice of God. 'Now those who take up this position are constantly charged by the orthodox with inconsistency, for while they deny one infallible authority, it is alleged, they set up another, and a more dangerous, in its place; and if the voice of conscience is the voice of God, then there can be no such thing as a dilemma between right and wrong conduct in any set of circumstances, for all we need do is to act as our conscience directs us. But there is a fallacy in this argument. Conscience does not tell us how to act; it merely tells us the motives which should guide our actions. The best way of putting our motive into effect is a separate problem altogether, and is on the intellectual, not on the moral plane. So the whole point at issue between the individualist and the orthodox Churchman resolves itself into this: is man essentially a moral and religious being, or is morality something alien to his nature, which he can only understand when it is transmitted and interpreted by the Church, the priest or the Scriptures? In this controversy, as in most others, the drama has played its part,

and in most cases it has declared, with no uncertain voice, for individualism.

We may take Ibsen as our starting point. If we examine Ibsen's plays carefully, we shall find that in essence they all centre around the theme of the struggle between the individual and society, society representing the voice of self-constituted if somewhat arbitrary authority. Of course, it is true that they were actually directed against a rather narrow Norwegian bourgeois society of the middle and late nineteenth century; but even so, they involve a problem of much wider import. Man is a social animal; without some form of communal life self-development is impossible for him; hence the existence of "society." Now obviously, since man is a spiritual being, and since at least one of the objects of life is the manifestation of this spirituality through character and personality, the purpose of society should be to encourage the self-expression and the independence, as well as the intellectual freedom, of the individual. But unfortunately we find that only too often the reverse is the case. Society sets up laws of its own, which it is loath to change; it constitutes itself a censor of manners and ideas, assumes a pose of infallibility, and tells the individual that he must sink his private opinions, especially if they happen to be unorthodox, and while he is in Rome must not only do as Rome does, but think as Rome thinks. In other words, it becomes a mighty, overpowering, impersonal force, the tendency of which is to stamp out rather than to encourage individuality. To Ibsen such a state of affairs is intolerable, for not only is it degrading to the individual; it is definitely irreligious. It not only sets a very low worth on the human soul, but it stifles that truth which alone can come from free inquiry, and in the long run it must of necessity lead to intellectual hypocrisy. Accordingly, as we have seen already, we find two dicta constantly repeated throughout Ibsen's plays, dicta which sum up the whole import of the author's philosophy. The first is this: *The strongest man is he who stands alone* and the second is like unto it: *The minority is always in the right*. They, for Ibsen, are the whole of the Law and the Prophets. This great founder of the modern drama, then, regards the inner life of man as supremely important, and in this belief he dedicates his powers to preaching truth to the inner self. With Jesus and other great teachers he told men that the Kingdom of God was within them, and that therefore in questions of religion, morality and ethics

there was no authority higher than conscience: they must obey the inner light.

I have often examined *Brand* and *Rosmersholm* as plays symbolic of the revolt against convention, but they are equally representative of the conflict between authority and individualism, or private judgment. Brand is just one of those men who are strong enough to stand alone; and as for John Rosmer, as soon as he turns from an intellectual hypocrite (or shall we say, coward?) to an avowed and fearless free-thinker, he is born again. Here, says Ibsen, are the true men of God, the saviours of the world, who will stand up fearlessly in the face of a hostile people, cling tenaciously to the truth that is in them, and battle to death for what their conscience tells them is a righteous cause. Such a one was Jesus of Nazereth, such were the early Prophets, and such are the witnesses to the Spirit which arise in every age. Yes, Jesus was *a* son of God, but not *the* son of God, and when he died he had but begun a great work which it was for others to finish. But let us rest assured of this; that it is only the man who has complete individuality and can stand alone that is capable of finishing it and so changing the world. Given such men, earth may rid itself of many of its evils, wrong may vanish, and the reign of Love become an accomplished fact. In such a strain speaks Caesar Julian, converted by the zealous Maximus.

"In each successive generation there has been one soul wherein the pure Adam was born again; he was strong in Moses the lawgiver; in the Macedonian Alexander he had power to subdue the world; he was high perfect in Jesus of Nazareth.....

You call yourselves believers, and yet you have so little faith in miraculous revelation. Wait, wait—you shall see; the Bride shall surely be given me, and then hand in hand will we go forth to the east where some say that Helios is born. We will hide ourselves in the solitudes, as the Godhead hides itself, seek out the groves on the banks of Euphrates, find it and there—Oh glory of glories! thence shall a new race, perfect in beauty and in balance go forth over the earth; there, ye book-worshipping doubters, shall the empire of the Spirit be founded!"<sup>1</sup>

Ibsen was an uncompromising individualist; that is apparent not only from his plays but from his correspondence. Yet he was not blind to the dangers of that type of so-called individualism which is often no more than fanaticism. Even in *Brand*, where he intends us to admire the courage and perseverance of the hero, he does not

<sup>1</sup> *Emperor and Galilean*, Part I, Act III.



disguise the hardships which that perseverance imposes upon others who are too weak to bear it ; nor does he minimise the callousness to that suffering which Brand's own stern creed induces in his mind. In fact, *Brand* is an outstanding example of that very distinction between conscience and intellect to which reference has been made above, and it is in this light, I think, that Ibsen meant us to view the play. The hero's conscience tells him quite plainly on what motive he should act, and no one can take exception to the principle which he makes the guiding rule of his life " that which thou art, be it wholly." But the moral issue decided, next comes the intellectual problem ; how is Brand to translate his principle into action ? And it is there that he misjudges : for though there is an absolute principle of right and wrong, there is no absolute principle of right and wrong conduct. It varies with circumstances, and Brand fails to recognise this, with the result that he is driven by a headstrong will into just that course of fatal and cruel consistency which Emerson so much deplored.

But for the greatest modern play upon this question of authority and private judgment in matters of religion we had turn to Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, where the two come into sharp conflict. Joan believes firmly in her "voices" ; she believes, that is to say, that God speaks to her directly "through the imagination" as she expresses it.

" How do you know that you are right ? " the Archbishop asks her.

*Joan* : I always know. My voice.....

*Charles* : Oh ! your voices, your voices. Why don't the voices come to me ? I am king, not you.

*Joan* : They do come to you, but you do not hear them. You have not sat in the fields in the evening listening for them. When the angelus rings, you cross yourself and have done with it ; but if you prayed from your heart and listened to the thrilling of the bells in the air after they stop ringing, you would hear the voices as well as I do. "

This may be the pronouncement of a simple country maiden, but is probably the most direct statement of belief in direct communication with God that is to be found anywhere in the modern drama ; and it is all the more effective because it is set against the teaching of the orthodox Church. Joan is essentially and profoundly religious : this fact Mr. Shaw is careful to stress repeatedly. Always she describes herself as a faithful daughter of the Church, but her simple

mind cannot reconcile the idea of God's Church with the arrogant claim of infallibility which it puts forward. To her the position is this : the Church exists not for its own sake, but to work the will of God upon earth ; if, therefore, I obey the messages which God sends me, am I not a true daughter of the Church ? So the trial scene, the climax of the whole play, resolves itself into a clash between authority and private judgment. The ecclesiastical position has been stated quite clearly and quite fairly, by Mr. Shaw. The priesthood has been endowed with a supernatural gift, these clerics claim, and it is for it, and it only, to interpret the will of God. But Joan can see a position where she would have to decide between God and the Church.

*Ladvenu* : Do you not believe that you are subject to the Church of God on earth ?

*Joan* : Yes. When have I ever denied it ?

*Ladvenu* : Good ! That means, does it not, that you are subject to our Lord the Pope, to the cardinals, the archbishops and the bishops, for whom his Lordship stands here to day ?

*Joan* : God must be served first.

*D'Estivet* : Then your voices command you not to submit yourself to the Church militant ?

*Joan* : My voices do not tell me to disobey the Church, but God must be served first.

*Cauchon* : And you, and not the Church, are to be the judge ?

*Joan* : What other judgment can I judge by but my own ?

It is not difficult to imagine that the Archbishop and his ecclesiastical brethren were genuinely shocked at hearing such a bold declaration, for if carried to its logical conclusion it would have far-reaching effects. It might even mean the rejection of the divinity of Jesus, of the belief in the Apostolic Succession, and of many other dogmas ; and then the authority of the Church.....

Joan is burned, but as *Ladvenu* declares, her death is not the end, but the beginning. The epilogue, with the return of Joan, shows the triumph of individualism and private judgment. " My sword shall conquer yet," she declares, " the sword that never struck a blow. Though men destroy my body, yet in my soul I have seen God." And as the curtain falls she utters the concluding words : " O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive thy saints ? How long, O Lord, how long ? Gradually the mind of the human race is becoming emancipated ; but there is need of many more Joans yet.

## II

In his book *Religious Perplexities* Dr. L. P. Jacks makes the following statement :

" All religious testimony, so far as I can interpret its meaning, converges towards a single point, namely this. There is that in the world, call it what you will, which responds to the confidence of those who trust it, declaring itself to them as a fellow-worker in the pursuit of eternal values, meeting their loyalty to it with reciprocal loyalty to them, and coming in at critical moments when the need of its sympathy is greatest ; the conclusion being that wherever there is a soul in darkness, obstruction or misery, there also is a power which can help, deliver, illuminate and gladden that soul. This is the Helper of men, sharing their business as creators of value nearest at hand when the worst has to be encountered ; the companion of the brave, the upholder of the loyal, the friend of the lover, the healer of the broken, the joy of the victorious—the God who is Spirit, the God who is Love."

Of course, the orthodox Churchman would probably agree that this was all a vague kind of speculation, and certainly too abstract to be called a God. And it is indeed a different kind of God from that which the churches have preached for so many years ; but it is nevertheless the God of many modern dramatists. It is a broad definition, whereas the tendency in the past has always been to give a narrow definition, to try and limit God to a kind of superman, or something of a tyrant, who doles out rewards to his favourites and punishments to those who have offended him. But modern thought takes a more liberal view, and the drama, as we have seen already, is usually in the forefront of thought.

But not only has the conception of God undergone a transformation ; the conception of man and his relation to the Divine Spirit has also changed. In most of the older drama it was taken for granted that man was a child of sin, that his nature was hopelessly corrupt, and that it was only by some miraculous interposition, or by the special grace of God, that he was able to do any good at all. Modern drama, on the other hand, is founded on the belief in the essential goodness and purity of the human heart, and this it is which marks it out as distinct from the drama of any other period. It is a drama of hope, because, although it does not shut its eyes to the sordidness which can be seen all around us, it sees in humanity the possibilities of great achievement and of spiritual growth, with a will towards Right and Justice which finally must stamp out all that is morally

corrupt. Modern dramatists, that is to say, look for evidence of God in the human heart.

Something of this doctrine of the immanence of the Divine Spirit appears in as early a play as Ibsen's *Emperor and Galilean*, to which several references have already been made in other connections. In the fourth act of this piece the Emperor Julian narrates to Nevita a dream which he has had on the previous night, which points out to him the way he must follow in his search for God.

"I dreamed that I saw a child pursued by a rich man who owned countless flocks but despised the worship of the gods. This wicked man exterminated all the child's kindred. But Zeus took pity on the child itself, and held his hand over it. Then I saw the child grow up into a youth under the care of Minerva and Apollo. Further I dreamed that the youth fell asleep upon a stone beneath the open sky. Then Hermes descended to him in the likeness of a young man, and said, 'Come I will show thee the way to the abode of the highest god!' So he led the youth to the foot of a very steep mountain. There he left him. Then the youth burst into tears and lamentations, and called with a loud voice upon Zeus. Lo! then Minerva and the Sun-King who rules the earth descended to his side, bore him aloft to the peak of the mountain, and showed him the whole inheritance of his race. But this inheritance was the orb of the earth, from ocean to ocean, and beyond the ocean.

Then they told the youth that all this should belong to him. And therewith they gave him three warnings; he should not sleep as his race had done, he should not hearken to the counsel of hypocrites, and lastly he should honour as gods those who resemble the gods. "Forget not," they said on leaving him, "that thou hast an immortal soul, and that this thy soul is of divine origin. And if thou follow our counsel thou shalt see our father, and become a god, even as we."

Now this is plainly symbolic, though it is difficult to fix upon the precise interpretation of the symbolism. The inheritance of the race, stretching from ocean to ocean, perhaps represents the extent of human progress and achievement through the ages; the command not to sleep is probably an injunction to think fearlessly, or a call to intellectual alertness and liberty; the 'hypocrites' plainly symbolise Ibsen's old bugbear, compromise; but the most important of the three commandments is the last: "honour as gods those who resemble the gods," for into those few words Ibsen has packed the gist of a large part of

modern drama. "Forget not that thou hast an immortal soul, and that this thy soul is of divine origin": that is the belief at the bottom of all Ibsen's plays. Only because he is firmly convinced that the nature of every being is charged with a divine spark, which always urges it in the direction of truth rather than falsehood, of right rather than wrong, of love rather than hatred, does he declare that "the strongest man is he who stands alone," for moral courage can be founded only on the consciousness that however isolated we stand from man, we stand with God, who must finally triumph.

Ibsen, then, affirms the divinity of human nature, and only when man realises this divinity, he tells us, will the race progress as God intends that it shall. Put a low value on man's soul, and he remains at a low moral level, countenancing wars, oppression and injustice; put a high value upon it, and he climbs ever higher and higher, aspiring to something of that divine eminence which he believes to be his ultimate destiny.

Amongst our English dramatists the one writer who has stated the case for the immanence of the Divine Spirit more clearly than any other is George Bernard Shaw. Now, as we have seen already, Mr. Shaw claims for himself absolute intellectual liberty—liberty to believe and liberty to doubt as his reason directs; and as must inevitably be the case when a person sets out in his search for truth free from the tyranny of creeds, conventions and pre-conceived ideas, his religious beliefs are never quite the same for two moments together. In his very early days he seems to doubt the existence of a Higher Intelligence at all. Gradually, however, as we follow the evolution of his mind through play after play, we discern a growing suggestion of some directing force, culminating in the conception of the Life Force of *Man and Superman*. But neither this nor the later *Back to Methuselah* is directly a religious play. The first piece in which Mr. Shaw really comes to grips with religious questions is *The Devil's Disciple* where he launches an attack on the narrow puritanism which pervaded many English homes at that time. This puritanism clung tenaciously to the doctrine of original sin, with its implication that by nature man is not God's but the Devil's disciple. Taking this designation for the hero of his play, Mr. Shaw reveals the irony of the whole position by making the "Devil's disciple" at whom all the clerics and saints look askance, reveal himself in his true colours, a sound-hearted, self-sacrificing, yet unassuming person, who is ready

to take upon his shoulders the consequences of another's faults. Good deeds and self-sacrifice, the author tells us, are natural to man, springing as they do from the very foundations of his being, and it quite often happens that the people, apparently the most irreligious, are in reality the most truly good.

*The Devil's Disciple* centres around the story of how the notorious Richard Dudgeon saves the suspected chaplain, the Reverend Anthony Anderson from the gallows and comes near to being hanged himself in Anderson's stead. Anderson is far from an admirable character; indeed, one feels that the author has made him unnecessarily cowardly and despicable; but this fault, if fault it be, can be excused on the ground that it was probably committed with the intent of showing by contrast the fundamental soundness of Dudgeon's character. The Reverend Mr. Anderson is trying to convert Dudgeon, and for that purpose he invites him to his house to tea. Mrs. Anderson is alone with her guest at the moment, and half jocularly he suggests that they look more like man and wife than a hostess entertaining a disciple of the Devil; but somehow Mrs. Anderson does not relish being linked in this way with Richard. "I would rather have a husband whom everybody respects," she tells him, "than a .....;" and he, divining her thoughts, finishes the sentence for her, adding to it a little of his own philosophy. "Than the Devil's disciple. You are right. But I dare say your love helps him to be a good man, just as your hate helps me to be a bad one." Soon, however, Richard gives proof that he is not so very much worse than the chaplain, for to the lady's horror and astonishment a band of soldiers enters to arrest her husband, and mistaking Richard for that gentleman, apprehends him. Richard goes without a word, and so risks his life for another. The whole position is summed up by Anderson in the final act.

"It is in the hour of trial that a man finds his true profession. This foolish young man (*placing his hand on Richard's shoulder*) boasted himself the Devil's disciple, but when the hour of trial came to him, he found it was his destiny to suffer and be faithful to death. I thought myself a decent minister of the gospel of peace, but when the hour of trial came to me, I found that it was my destiny to be a man of action, and that my place was among the thunder of the captains and the shouting; so I am starting life at fifty as Captain Anthony Anderson of the Springtown Militia; and the Devil's disciple will start presently as the Reverend Richard Dudgeon, and wag his

paw in my old pulpit." And so the Devil's disciple proves himself a son of God.

The same conception of human nature is embodied once again in *The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet*, though in this case the episode is set on a western ranch, and the hero (using the word both in the accepted modern sense and in the more restricted literary sense) is a common horse-thief. Again, note the irony in the title. A "showing up" usually denotes the revelation of vicious or hypocritical tendencies in the character of a person who appears a model of virtue ; but Blanco's showing up is of the opposite kind. The very man whom everyone regards as a desperate and incorrigible criminal turns out to possess, at the very bottom of his nature, a spark of divine goodness, which blazes up at the most unexpected moment and completely upsets all his calculated wickedness ; and the agency through which he realises the divinity of his own nature is a distressed mother, with a little child at the point of death. Blanco meets them on a lonely moor as he is driving away a stolen horse ; the woman begs him to lend her his beast to ride to the doctor's with her child, and Blanco the desperate, Blanco the incorrigible, who had never known a human impulse before, feels his heart soften and tears come to his eyes. Without a word he hands her the horse and remains gazing abstractedly into space. So preoccupied is he that he does not even notice the approach of the Sheriff's men till they lay hands upon him to arrest him, and then he goes with them without any resistance. The old Blanco Posnet is dead for ever, for as he stood there looking and musing, lost to the whole world, a new light had broken upon him. "When you took me," he asks his accusers at the trial, "did I fight like a thief, or run away like a thief ? Or was there any sign of a horse near me ?"

*Strapper* : You were looking at the rainbow, like a damned silly fool, instead of keeping your wits about you ; and we stole upon you and had you tight before you could draw a bead on us.

*Sheriff* : That don't sound like good sense. What would he be looking at a rainbow for ?

*Blanco* : I'll tell you Sheriff. I was looking at it because there was something written on it.

*Sheriff* : How do you mean, written on it ?

*Blanco* : The words were "I've got the cinch on you this time, Blanco Posnet." Yes, Sheriff, I saw those words in green on the red streak of the rainbow ; and as I saw them I felt Strapper's grab on my arm and Squinty's on my pistol."

Thus does Blanco at last come to know his real self; but he is not the only one in the play who is shown up in this way. Mr. Shaw's thesis of fundamental human goodness is exemplified in at least two other characters—Feemy Evans and the Sheriff. Feemy is a woman of doubtful reputation who is hired to give false witness against Blanco, and has apparently no scruples about perjuring herself; but when she hears Blanco's story, even she finds that she can lie no longer, and breaks down in tears, exclaiming:

"O God, I felt the little child's hand on my neck—I can't (*bursting into tears and scolding at the other woman*) It's you with your snivelling face that's put me off it. No, it wasn't him. I only said it out of spite, because he insulted me. May I be struck dead if ever I saw him with the horse!" Blanco, understanding perfectly well what has happened, merely whispers to her, "Softy; cry-baby! Landed like me! Doing what you never intended to do!" As for the Sheriff, he too impressed by the action of the horse-thief whom a few minutes before he was eager to hang even before his guilt had been proved, and after commending his humanity and courage, adjourns the court and takes up a collection for the mother of the dead child.

In this way, then, Mr. Shaw shows the Divine Spirit at work in the life of man, impelling him, sometimes seemingly against his own will, to tread the path of truth and honour; but a mere dramatic representation is never enough for Mr. Shaw; he must have the moral of his play expressed plainly and unmistakably in so many words, and in this piece the person whom he chooses to drive that moral home is no other than Blanco himself. The convert's sermon, with which the play concludes, re-iterates in a rough and ready, yet a perfectly sincere manner, the belief in the divinity of human nature and the sanctity of man as instruments for the achievement of a divine purpose.

*Blanco*: Why did the child die? Tell me that, if you can. He can't have wanted to kill the child. Why did he make me go so soft on the child if He was going hard on it Himself? Why should He go hard on the innocent kind and go soft on a rotten thing like me? Why did I go soft myself? Why did the Sheriff go so soft? Why did Feemy go soft? What's this game that's upset our game? For, it seems to me that there's two games being played. Our game is a rotten game, that makes me feel I'am dirt, and that you're all as rotten dirt as me. 'Tother game may be a silly game, but 'tain't rotten. When the Sheriff played it he stopped being rotten. When Feemy played it the paint nearly dropped off her face. When I played it I cursed myself for a fool; but I lost the rotten feel, all the same.



*Elder Daniels* : It was the Lord speaking to your soul, Blanco.

*Blanco* : O yes! You know all about the Lord, don't you? You're in the Lord's confidence. He would'nt for the world do anything to stock you, would He, Boosy dear? Yah! What about the croup? It was early days when He made the croup, I guess. It was the best He could think of then; but when it turned out wrong in His hands, He made you and me to fight the croup for Him. You bet He didn't make us for nothing; and He would'nt have made us at all if He could have done His work without us. By gum! that must be what we're for. He'd never have made us to be rotten, drunken blackguards like me and good-for-nothing rips like Feemy. He made me because He had a job for me. He let me run loose till the job was ready, and then I had to come along and do it, hanging or no hanging. And I tell you it didn't feel rotten; it felt bully, just bully. Anyhow, I got the rotten feeling off me for a minute of my life, and I'll go through fire to get it off me again.....No more paths. No more broad and narrow. No more good or bad. There's no good and no bad; but by Jimmy, gents, there's rotten game and there's a great game. I played the rotten game, but the great game was played on me; and now I'm for the great game every time.

AMEN."

*The Devil's Disciple* and *The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet* are probably the two contributions to modern drama in which this belief in the immanence of God finds the most complete expression; but in several other of Mr. Shaw's plays we find hints which point in the same direction.<sup>1</sup> *Major Barbara*, for instance, does not take this subject as its central theme, yet in the delineation of the rather ruffianly Bill Walker we discern another Blanco Posnet. Barbara, in spite of family persuasions to the contrary, holds the view that human nature is fundamentally good, and that even the most depraved character will respond to the promptings of conscience, if only his conscience is awakened.

"There are neither good men nor scoundrels," she tells her father. "There are just children of one Father, and the sooner they stop calling one another names, the better.....They're all just the same sort of sinners, and there's the same salvation ready for them all."

Bill Walker is something of a materialist as well as a sceptic; because he has never seen his soul he refuses to believe that he has one; but Barbara is not long in showing him that he has. Bill himself, too, comes to see the reason in her contention, and walks away in silence. And it is just the same with the jovial soldier who appears "straight from Hell" in the epilogue to *Saint Joan*; even he has redeemed himself, and so earned one day's leave a year, by the performance of a good deed. "I never thought about it," he tells

<sup>1</sup> And, of course, also in *The Black Girl's Adventures* where the Black Girl, failing to find satisfaction in any of the deities presented to her by the Bible theology, at last discovers God in her small children and a life of service for others.

Peter Cauchon. "It came natural like. But they scored it up for me." That, Mr. Shaw would have us believe, is how all good deeds (that is, truly good deeds, done with no ulterior motive) come about; they are done "natural like," and though they may appear insignificant at the time, they are scored up by one who takes such trifles into account. Yes, man is primarily spirit, not flesh, and that spirit is of divine origin. That is what Magnus meant in *The Apple Cart* when he declared that no theory which regards man as an India-rubber stamp would ever succeed for long.

"The old divine theory worked because there is a divine spark in all of us; and the stupidest or worst monarch or minister, if not wholly God, is a bit of a god—an attempt at a good—however little the bit and unsuccessful the attempt. But the India-rubber stamp theory breaks down in every emergency, because no king or minister is the very least bit like a stamp; he is a living soul."

This, after all, must be at the basis of all religion, for the religious sense in the individual depends ultimately upon, and must always come back to, a natural yearning for a better and a higher mode of life; and true worship can be no other than a communion of the spiritual in man with the great forces akin to it in the external world. So, as Mr. Shaw assures us in his preface to *Back to Methuselah*, all reformations in religion are, in a sense, not a step forward but a step backward; the tendency is always to shake off dead creeds and formulæ and get back to primal things.

"Since the discovery of evolution as the method of the Life Force, the religion of metaphysical vitalism has been gaining the definiteness and concreteness needed to make it assimilable by the educated, critical man. But it has always been with us..... Protestantism was a movement towards a light called an inner light, because every man must see it with his own eyes, and not take any priest's word for it or any church's account of it. In short, there is no question of a new religion, but rather of re-distilling the eternal spirit of religion, and thus extricating it from the sludgy residue of temporalities and legends that are making belief impossible though they are the stock-in-trade of all the churches and all the schools."

Those churchmen (and one does come across such people) who accuse Mr. Shaw of having no religion would do well to ponder over this passage. Of course, if by religion one merely means ritual and creeds, then certainly Mr. Shaw is irreligious. But real religion is much more than this; it is deeper, broader and more vital, and in every clime and every age, through every prophet and every teacher, it has sprung from the same primal impulse.

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# SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY : OLD AND NEW

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## THE ERA OF " NATIONAL-SOCIALISM "

WE have seen how by the end of 1927 Russia had lost all hope of bringing about a world-revolution. In China, in the Islamic countries and in Germany, Russia after having obtained great authority and prestige lost much of what she had gained. Russo-Chinese friendship had turned into bitter enmity. Russian influence in the Islamic countries was on the wane. And Germany had adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Western countries. Whatever the reasons of Russian failure to sovietise the rest of the world, she was now compelled to abandon her schemes of world-wide revolution. Or at any rate it now became necessary that World-Revolution should be considered as a very remote objective of Russian policy. Russia without denouncing the idea of World-Revolution in so many words, now practically decided to live peacefully along with bourgeois nations.

Stalin now developed his theory of establishing socialism in a separate country. In 1928 came the first Five-Year Plan. Russia now seemed to be anxious to devote all her energies to the fulfilment of the Plan. Among other things it was essential for the success of the Plan that peace should be maintained with the outside world. From this time onwards we are in a period of Russian history in which Russia acts as a truly national state. The Plan necessitated more and more intercourse with the capitalist countries. But what brought Russia still nearer them and what made her a regular and "respectable" member of the international polity were firstly the invasion of Manchuria by Japan (September, 1931) and secondly the coming of Hitler to power in Germany (at the beginning of 1933).

In September 1931 came the Sino-Japanese War. It was no doubt a war, even if it was, and still is, referred to as a "dispute." Despite Japan's membership of the League of Nations, and despite the fact that she was a party to many an important international engagement—such as the League Covenant, the Kellogg Pact and the Nine

Power Pact—she actually invaded Chinese territory. Public opinion all the world over was indignant. But Japan stuck to her policy. She conquered Manchuria, and declared it to be an 'independent state.' It was given the name Manchukuo. The Chinese boy-Emperor Henry Pu Yi who had to abdicate in 1912 became the king of the newly established state. Since then Japan has been the master of Manchuria. She now also possesses the rich province of Jehol. And at the time of writing she is definitely trying to extend her dominion to other Chinese territories, to Mongolia for instance. And there is no doubt that Japan would not hesitate to occupy Russian territories in the Extreme East should opportunity present itself. Russia may be prepared at the present time to recognise Japanese claims in Manchuria, as is shown by Russia's sale to Japan of her share in the Chinese Eastern Railway for less than £10,000,000, and perhaps even in Mongolia, but she would certainly not tolerate any encroachment upon Russian territory. Such a step will undoubtedly result in war between the two countries.

That Japan is preparing for such a war, and that she expects a conflict in Siberia in the not very distant future is evident from the rapid construction of a new railway line in Manchuria, which was opened last year, between Keshang and Sakhalyan. It connects Harbin with the Soviet frontier by a new route. Clearly the line is of great strategic importance. Apart from economic gain—for it opens up a new agricultural region—it connects the new Japanese protectorate with the heart of Siberia by a much shorter route. In case of war with Russia this railway line would enable Japan to transport troops and supplies much more quickly to the Russian frontier. Blagovestchenask is an important Russian military and trade centre and has got a railway which runs into the heart of Siberia. The conquest of this town will enable the Japanese army to cut off all Russian communication with Vladivostok by the Trans-Siberian Railway, and will place the Soviet maritime provinces in the farthest East at the mercy of the Japanese invading army. Many towns are being rapidly founded on the new line. Penshan has already become quite important. Japan intends to build a large aerodrome in this town, for the place happens to be within easy striking distance of Soviet Russia. To-day Japan has got a very large army in Manchukuo. 130,000 Japanese troops, or one-third of the whole national army, are stationed in the new protectorate. Over and above there are 110,000 Manchukuo soldiers, and 12,000

trained "White-guardists," under Japanese command. One should be a great believer in the innocence of man to think that these forces are meant for the maintenance of "domestic peace." Russians are not such optimists !

It is quite understandable that Russia should be alarmed at the Japanese conquest of Manchuria and her probable intentions with regard to Outer Mongolia and Siberia. Russia has to protect 2,000 miles of frontiers from Vanchuli to Vladivostok which directly touch the territory which has now for all practical purposes become a Japanese possession. Besides, this territory projects into the domain of Russia. And Vladivostok, the only important Russian port in the Pacific, is connected with European Russia by means of the Chinese Eastern Railway which passes through Manchuria. True, the Trans-Siberian Railway also connects it with the West, but apart from the fact that this is a much longer route, as compared with the other, the Trans-Siberian Line too very closely skirts the Manchurian frontier and therefore cannot be regarded as immune from Japanese invasion.

The Sino-Japanese War affected Russian policy in two directions. It necessitated a military preparation on the part of Russia for a final settlement with Japan. Secondly there came a remarkable change in Russia's relations with many countries, including the U. S. A. But before we discuss these developments we must take into consideration another event which has so largely determined the attitude of the Continental states towards Russia and Russia's attitude towards them.

Closely following the Sino-Japanese War came the advent of the Nazis to power in Germany. At the end of what has been described as the first period of Soviet foreign policy, *i.e.*, 1927, the relations between Russia and Germany were, though not very, yet quite friendly. And such relations continued until the beginning of 1933 when Hitler became all-powerful in Germany. The Nazis in spite of many a point of resemblance between themselves and the Bolsheviki are enemies of communism and of Russia. Their hostility towards Russia is not wholly due to their hostility towards communism. They stand for a policy of expansion towards the East and therein lies the root of the trouble. Otherwise an understanding between Bolshevism and Nazism would not have been impossible.

Says Hitler in *Mein Kampf*: "We (National-Socialists) stem the Germanic stream towards the south and west of Europe, and turn our eyes eastward. We have finished with the pre-war policy of colonies

and trade, and are going over to the land policy of the future. When we talk of new lands in Europe we are bound to think first of Russia and her border states." He claims that "the organised Russian state was not due to any political capacity of the Slav race, but it was a wonderful example of the efficiency of the Germanic element in forming states among inferior races. This Germanic element may now be regarded as entirely wiped out in Russia. The Jew has taken its place." And the character of the Jew, according to the Führer is not that of the organiser, but of a "decomposing leaven." Hitler seems to be sure that "the Empire is ripe for a collapse." He abuses the present rulers of Russia, calls them "low blood-stained criminals" and the scum of humanity." He is afraid that Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism and the "international Jew." (The poor Jew must come in on whatever Hitler might speak or write. Hatred of the Jew is an obsession with him.)

Since Hitler's assumption of power the Socialists and Communists are being ruthlessly persecuted in Germany. This persecution and Hitler's declared desire of expansion towards the East are responsible for a complete estrangement between the two countries. But fortunately for Russia, she is not the only object of Hitler's attack. And those nations which consider themselves to be threatened by the militant Third Reich have lost no time in coming to an understanding with Russia.

The Far Eastern crisis brought Russia and the U.S.A. nearer each other. The U.S.A. was the only Great Power which had consistently refused to recognise the Government of the U.S.S.R. It was regarded as very unlikely that Soviet Russia and the United States, the most prominent representatives of such antagonistic political and economic systems as Capitalism and Communism, would ever come to an understanding. Post-war American Presidents, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, all had been opposed to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. America refused to recognise the Soviet Government on cultural and religious grounds, which still carry some weight in America. But in the year 1933 the world was not even surprised to find the new President of the U.S.A. taking the initiative in inviting Russia to send over a representative in order to "explore personally all questions outstanding between the two countries." Litvinoff, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who is to-day the most influential person in Russia after Stalin, went to

America. Negotiations continued for a few days. The result of these negotiations was that the Soviet Government was recognised by the U.S.A. in November, 1933. President Roosevelt declared that he wished to establish "not merely normal but friendly relations."

The American and other apologists of Roosevelt's policy would make us believe that economic considerations were responsible for this reversal of American policy. But an examination of the economic conditions of both these countries would make it clear that economics has very little, if at all, to do with this rapprochement. America cannot import anything from Russia, for practically all that Russia is in a position to export to America is found in abundance in the U.S.A. If that be the case Russia cannot afford to buy from America either, even if she requires certain goods produced in that country. And had this change in policy been really due to economic considerations the recognition of Russia ought to have come long before 1933. It was not economics, it was politics that determined the policy of the U.S.A. There was now a new and very disturbing development in the relations between China and Japan. America could not keep quiet over a development which would in the end mean a powerful blow to her own opportunities in China and which would most certainly increase the power and prestige of her rival in the Pacific. America could now well visualise Japan installed at Vladivostok, controlling the Pacific Ocean. It was not a very happy prospect for America. A Russo-American alliance, it was thought, would prove capable of checking the advance of Japan in China. This seems to be the only reasonable explanation of the change in America's attitude towards Russia. The Japanese Foreign Office described this move as "intensely interesting!"

Another result of the Sino-Japanese conflict was a change for the better in the relations between Russia and China. At the end of 1927 Russian influence in China disappeared altogether. During the four years that followed there was no improvement in these relations. In fact they became worse as a result of the controversy over the Chinese Eastern Railway. In 1929 there arose a serious trouble over the Railway between Soviet Russia and Chang Hsiao-Liang. Soviet troops had to enter Manchuria in order to compel the Manchurian lord to respect the provisions of the Treaty of 1924, providing for the joint ownership of the Railway. But the Sino-Japanese War resulted in a marked improvement in Russo-Chinese relations. China once

more resumed diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia towards the end of 1932. This concession on the Chinese side must naturally be attributed to the Japanese policy in Manchuria. China now realised that the Japanese peril was even more formidable than the Bolshevik. The renewal of the Russo-Chinese friendship has come opportunely for both the countries. Japan of course took the news seriously. An official spokesman regarded it as "most unwelcome." He declared that "the elements most disturbing to the peace of the world have now joined hands, and Japan stands squarely against these forces."

What Russian diplomacy could not achieve for five years in spite of constant endeavours was now achieved due to Japan's aggressive policy. To-day not only diplomatic relations have been restored between China and Russia, but the two countries understand each other much better.

Capitalist America recognised the necessity of coming to an understanding with Communist Russia, owing to the ambitions of the Japanese in China. France and her European allies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—recognised the importance of Russian friendship because of the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany. And just when Russia was getting nervous at the pace of Japanese advance in Manchuria and Jehol, she was in a position to settle her differences with her neighbours and with France. She concluded a number of pacts of non-aggression. In the month of July 1933 the Western and the Middle Eastern neighbours of the U.S.S.R., namely Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, signed pacts of non-aggression. The Soviet Government thus secured the safety of their Western and Middle Eastern frontiers in the event of a war in the Far East, so far as it is at all possible to obtain security by means of pacts and treaties.

The Soviet Pact of July 1933 is meant to "reinforce" peace between the signatories. It secures the signatories against aggression, a term which has been clearly defined. Of all the states that are parties to this pact Russia perhaps felt the greatest difficulty in the case of Rumania. For between Russia and Rumania the question of Bessarabia was still unsettled. Russia, however, by signing this pact virtually gave up her claim over Bessarabia. Poland in spite of this pact must still be regarded as an uncertain factor because of the recent development in her relations with Germany. But the Little Entente



are extremely nervous because of the possibility of an Austro-German Union. It was natural that they should welcome an understanding with Russia.

But much more important than these Pacts of non-aggression is the new friendship between Russia and France. Pacts of Non-aggression and Conciliation were concluded between the two countries. All disputes arising between France and the U.S.S.R. which could not be regulated by ordinary diplomatic means were, according to the Conciliation Convention, to be passed to a Conciliation Commission for amicable settlement. And in spite of French official denial it is as certain as anything can be that a regular alliance similar to the pre-War Entente has been concluded. France has forgotten and forgiven the Russian desertion of 1917 and the repudiation of debts by the Soviet Government. In face of the German danger, real and imaginary, France has come to definite understandings with Soviet Russia. The visit of M. Cot, the French Air Minister, and his party of aviation experts and French Air Ministry officials in September 1933, pointed to a new development in Franco-Russian relations. The Russian military and air authorities since then have been seeking technical advice in France, just as in the past they sought this advice in Germany.

Italy was not far behind the Western neighbours of Russia in signing a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Government in September 1933. Italian relations with the Soviet had been on the whole quite good for many years. But still better had been Italy's relations with Germany. Now, however, Hitler's policy with regard to Austria completely disillusioned the Italians about German friendship. Italy, like Russia, therefore had to revise her 'revisionist' policy. The conclusion of the Non-aggression Pact between Fascism and Bolshevism has greatly strengthened Russia's position in Central and Eastern Europe.

The culmination of all these pacts and alliances is Russia's membership of the League of Nations. In September 1934, the Government of Soviet Russia were formally solicited by representatives at Geneva to join the League. On behalf of the Soviet Government the invitation was accepted by Litvinoff. He wrote that his Government was willing to "become a member of the League, occupying therein the place due to itself, and undertaking to observe all the international obligations and decisions binding upon members in conformity with

Article IX of the Covenant." By "the place due to itself" was apparently meant a permanent seat on the Council ! The entry of Russia into the League must be regarded as a triumph for the anti-Nazi coalition. The withdrawal of Germany and Japan from the League was in some measure compensated by Russian entry.

Soviet Russia had consistently refused to enter the League. She always thought that the League was an organisation of the capitalistic and imperialistic powers, Great Britain and France being prominent among them, and the primary purpose of this society was to perpetuate these systems. The other nations regarded Russia as an outcast. Russia was considered to be unworthy for admittance to honourable society. But the circumstances had now changed. Because of the impending danger in the Far East "National-Socialist" Russia thought it advisable to join that very League which she had been so vehemently denouncing from its inception. And because of the German menace other nations also had to revise their opinions about Russia. They now tried their best to bring the outcast into the League of respectable nations.

Through all these pacts and understandings and her entry into the League Russia's diplomatic position has become very strong indeed. But Russia has not wholly depended on diplomatic understandings. Her military preparations in the Far East are advancing with a thoroughness typical of Bolshevik Russia.

Since the Far-Eastern trouble started the Soviet authorities have been trying to improve communications between Western Russia and the Far East. They have also been trying to make their Far Eastern army as self-supporting as possible. A double-track railway communication has already been established between Samara and Karymskaya. The Trans-Siberian line has been repaired and a more efficient system of signalling has been instituted. A second track which is being laid on the Trans-Baikal-Amur-Ussuri line is nearing completion.

Moreover, Siberia and the Far Eastern possessions of Russia are being systematically colonised. They are being freed of "undesirable" elements. Settlers are being imported from Western Russia. As a result of the extraordinary privileges that are granted to them many Russians find it more convenient to settle there. Agriculture is receiving the attention that is its due. And new industries are being established. The Soviet authorities believe, not without reason,

that in the event of war it will be possible to support the Far Eastern army by the supplies from Siberia and Far East.

The total strength of the Far Eastern army is estimated at 150,000 men. Special attention is being bestowed on the construction of aeroplane bases. Irkutsk is an important example. About four hundred aeroplanes are there, out of which fifty are said to be heavy bombers. Chemical works have been started at Kamerovo to produce poison-gas and other war-chemicals. All these measures clearly show that Russia is preparing for the coming struggle.

Russia seems to be anxious to avoid a conflict, as is evident by her attitude with regard to Manchuria and Bessarabia. She would have war neither in the East nor in the West. It does not mean that she values peace more than war. But her economic programme in order to be fully realised requires a long period of peace and tranquillity. In fact a great war involving Russia may mean the end of the Communist experiment in that country. But Russia feels she will not be allowed to live peacefully. Japan will strike before long. Germany may utilise this opportunity to realise her dream of expansion towards the East. This Russia must resist. In view of this danger she has tried to make herself impregnable by means of political understandings and pacts of non-aggression on the one hand and far-reaching preparations for war on the other.

*Dacca.*

*(Concluded)*

# ARTS AND CRAFTS OF INDIA

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LET me, first of all, try to remove a few misunderstandings about art that prevail in the minds of our people. I shall then proceed to analyse the causes which were responsible for the spread of our art culture among our people in earlier times and the reasons for its decay in modern times. The first confusion is about the words "arts and crafts." There is very little difference in the significance of the words "Arts" and "arts and crafts." "Arts and crafts" is a phrase which includes the arts of design and of handicrafts—all those arts which "go to the making of house beautiful." The phrase had its origin in the revival of arts and handicrafts which began about 1875 in Europe. In England specially the growth of the factory system with its specialized functions for each workman had almost destroyed the feeling for art among workmen. Hence, the movement was started by William Morris to rescue public taste from cheap imitation of foreign models, to encourage handicrafts and to raise them to their rightful position in the category of fine arts. It was in his hand that plastic art revived in its former glory. His conviction may thus be quoted in his own language :

"What I mean by art is some creation of man which appeals to his emotions and his intellect by means of his senses.

"We have two kinds of art: one of them would exist even if men had no needs, but such as are essentially spiritual, and only accidentally material or bodily. The other kind, called into existence by material needs, is bound no less to recognise the aspirations of the soul and receive the impress of its striving towards perfection.

"Not only is it possible to make the matters needful to our daily life works of art, but there is something wrong in the civilisation which does not do this; if our houses, our clothes, our household furniture and utensils are not works of art, they are either wretched makeshifts, or what is worse, degrading shams of better things."

The truth underlying his conviction is not to be understood with reference to William Morris's country only. It might equally be applied to any other country's art, particularly to India, where for very many reasons the artistic conscience of the people has degenerated,

Thus the word " art " in a broad sense of the term now refers to anything which is not an immediate product of nature, but artificial and made by the aid of human dexterity. By " arts " we also mean those phases of human activity which result from human skill. Thus it is only for the sake of convenience that art is classified into useful or applied arts on the one hand and fine arts on the other. The latter embrace painting, sculpture, architecture and music, and, according to some, even poetry. Pottery, brasswork, silverwork are classified as useful or applied arts. These latter could be practised by anyone who had hereditary skill and acquired the necessary talents or the requisite training. In handicraft, however clever the craftsman may be, it is absolutely impossible for him to manufacture two articles identically alike. This is one of the reasons why artistic handicraft is also classed as fine art by connoisseurs.

Be it noted that in India aesthetic arts embrace 64 kinds of human skill and aesthetic achievements, including weaving, woodwork, metal work and the like. But these are the products of manual crafts and not of mechanical devices, for the simple reason that they were not then invented. In the present condition of this machine-ridden world, handicrafts are fast losing their ground in India and abroad.

Art, as has already been said, can be aesthetically divided into groups, but it has been usually partitioned as graphic art, *i.e.*, fine art and plastic art, *i.e.*, arts and crafts. But it is not possible even then to think of them apart. A piece of work should have design and aesthetic appeal, without which it can have commercial value, but no intrinsic value as art. If the design and aesthetic appeal are taken out of it, the term art-ware cannot be applied. And design and aesthetic appeal are the very essence of fine art. Similarly an artist who has devoted his life to only painting pictures cannot be blind to the beauties of objects of high craftsmanship. Moreover, no artist would care to see his work placed in such material surroundings as do not frame the picture properly. Even a picture or a sculpture must needs be supported by crafts.

This close dependence between crafts and fine arts is as old as society. In the pre-historic ages, the primitives had also thought of beautifying their surroundings and household objects. Primitive people dwelling in caves and natural surroundings had to struggle hard for their existence, and they found recreation in beautifying their cave-dwellings by painting, on their walls, scenes of their daily search

for food and shelter. That is why we find in ancient caves in Spain and in India wild hunting scenes. They even used to tattoo their body to decorate themselves. The human instinct for self-adornment was responsible for discovering ornaments in crude forms of beads and stones which developed into fine jewelleryes of the day. Later on, probably, these primitive men attached other significance to these ornaments and used them as symbols in their rituals. But, originally, it may be asserted that these craft-objects were vehicles of aesthetic satisfaction. The sense of beauty thus achieved in the bygone days can be traced in the works of art found in Egypt, Babylonia and Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa in India. In such practical objects as ancient flints we notice all kinds of decorations, and the difficulty of engraving them on hard stone in those days can better be imagined than described. In Mahenjo-Daro we find well-cut beads and ornaments the workmanship of which still puzzle the modern man. Those ancient art-relics reveal to us the real urge for creation and dynamic rhythm, which is sadly lacking in so-called great achievements of art. Those primitives had no civilization worth speaking of, and yet we find expressions of art-culture in their crude handiwork. No distinction between Fine Art and Crafts was then thought of.

The process of the development of the human mind could be traced through these relics of ancient arts and crafts. Thus a broken pitcher found in an ancient site would tell a long tale of the ancient thought and culture of a people. For instance, pottery is one of the most ancient handicrafts in the world and its evolution traces the evolution or the progress of the whole human civilization. The crude beginning of earthen jars which we find among the primitives gradually took shape as glazed ones in Egypt, Persia and finally reached its perfection as fine porcelain in China which can be rightly classed as fine art-ware. Originally porcelain was made in China and then it found its way through Persia to the different parts of the world. It was a great discipline for other peoples to copy them and many devoted their lives to achieve perfection in that art, with the result that porcelain-ware became so cheap as to find itself in every household. Thus the natural evolution of only a useful object, *i.e.*, a craft-product ended in a perfect Fine Art.

The second confusion is about the origins of our indigenous art-forms. There is an idea current among our people that all such origins are native to the soil. But this is falsified by the history

of India. Many nations were attracted by the magnificence and wealth of India; Huns, Greeks and other foreigners attacked India several times with the result that there was a constant intermixture of foreign culture, tradition and ideas. India imbibed various cultures particularly new ideas about arts and crafts. So the history of Indian arts and crafts is a history of the intermixture of artistic achievements of various countries. Exchange of foreign art-ware with India had become so common that it is now difficult to distinguish the peculiarly Indian elements in any ancient art work. It is widely held that from very ancient times foreigners came from Asia Minor to India for trade and commerce and used to exchange goods and commodities in Egypt and Persia. The origins of inlay work on ivory, gold, silver, etc., or Damascene work of Northern India are still in the dark. It is difficult to state whether they were invented in India in ancient times or in the mediaeval period or whether we got them as a result of association with foreigners in some distant prehistoric times. Similar is the case with the art of printing on cloths or filigree works.

Such exchange of art culture has happened practically in all countries all over the world. Early European art was obviously influenced by the Egyptian, and Persian and European scholars themselves acknowledge the debt. To-day also we find Chinese and Japanese influence in the decoration of houses in Europe. The easy and simple house decoration and furniture of Japan is easily traceable in a modern style of European home. Similarly in the period when Buddhism was expanding beyond the frontiers of India we clearly find traces of Indian culture and art in Central Asia, China and Japan. Chinese contribution in Persian art is similarly traceable. It is thus very difficult to estimate a nation's contribution to another in the development and gradual evolution of its civilization, art and culture. One can never say to what extent one nation is indebted to another.

Yet we must not think of intermixture of traditions as the only process of development in Indian art. It is certain that a piece of art-work for a particular branch of art might have come from any country, but finally it must needs take to the native forms. Thus it is through adaptation by the native talents to the local motifs and designs that culture and art are nationalized. This association with foreign culture, tradition and interchange of ideas since time immemorial seems to be

a plausible reason for the wonderful variety in Indian arts and crafts. Art cannot be confined within the boundaries of a country.

Apart from traditions and motifs which can be foreign or national, Nature to which the artist refers is certainly indigenous, and the artist and the designer must take clue from the nature of their own native soil.

One may try to examine the conditions which rendered it possible for art to be appreciated by our people even when they were not educated in the present sense of the term. Machinery and quick transport were unknown in olden times. This led to limited markets. The famous muslin, brocade, ivory work, etc., of India thus retained their appeal and were thus appreciated both in India and abroad. We know from history that European statesmen and economists were alarmed by the enormous transshipment of their gold to India in exchange for Indian art-wares. India's geographical situation was not clearly known to the Western world in those days and it was these art-wares that offered them a glimpse of India thousands of miles away.

Moreover, the Indian village organization was highly favourable to the development of arts and crafts. Before the advent of machine-made products each Indian village was a self-sufficient economic unit. The villagers produced everything that they had need of, according to the economic organization of such villages; each worker received remuneration in grain. Naturally the village artists and craftsmen had no anxieties for their living, for the village system made sufficient provision for it. In exchange for their art-ware and commodities of general requirement, they enjoyed rent-free lands or other remunerations from their peasant customers. The design and shape of commodities produced by these people depended not only upon the social customs and traditions of the village, but were also determined by religious conventions. Copper, brass and silver pots for marriage gifts were designed and executed according to the standard models definitely laid down by religious dogmas for such occasions. In rural areas there were different localities for different kinds of artists and craftsmen, for example, copper-smiths, braziers, weavers, etc. Similar was the organization in towns and cities.

It was also the custom among the rich to call the craftsmen and artists in their own houses and to get their artistic wares



executed under their own supervision. Sometimes such patrons would even suggest changes to the artists in standard models and designs. Thus the artizans were supplied with delicate and beautiful designs and so deviation from the usual course was possible.

It is well known that Akbar directed the whole construction of his palace and adjoining garden to the minutest details. He took great delight in spending his leisure hours with the artists, while they were at work. Shah Jehan had the famous Taj Mahal executed under his direct supervision. It was this great interest in arts of the Moguls which excited the admiration of the foreign merchants and ambassadors. We know much about Indian arts and artists of the Mogul period from contemporary European travellers. Bernier's account of 1656 throws much light on the subject. There was a particular day when the Emperor used to sit in *Dewan-i-Khas* with his lords and Umrahs for the selection of the best foreign art-wares. Various kinds of articles from various parts of the worlds were brought before him. If perchance he took fancy to a certain piece of art-ware, he would ask the local artists to make a similar one. Thus there was a constant flow and intermixture of foreign art with Indian art during the Mogul period. In a fusion of culture like this much that was bad was also copied. Moreover, every year there used to be a *Nau-Roza* fair to celebrate the new year festival in which craftsmen and artists used to bring their art-wares for sale before the Emperor. There was thus an active royal interest in the progress of arts and crafts which naturally helped and stimulated the artists. It has become proverbial to speak of the exquisitely fine workmanship of Shah Jehan's Peacock Throne. An artist if he could attract royal notice for his works, would get *Jagirs* and monthly allowances for his family which would be transmitted from generation to generation. Thus the hereditary and class artists were patronized as in Hindu times. The system was very helpful to the growth of arts and crafts as it became a family profession for generations, with the result that such artists attained a very high degree of specialization and perfection.

Apart from direct patronage and other kinds of support, the artists primarily get inspiration for their design from Nature and secondarily from national culture and tradition. Nature, indeed, supplies the inspiration for the conception of design, for an artist always tries to imbibe all that is beautiful, grand and noble in Nature, he makes them his very

own, and then reshapes and remodels their expression in his own creation. This is the joy of creation, which is another explanation for the transformation in the artist's imagination of natural objects, sometimes beyond recognition.

I shall now give certain illustrations which will show the diffusion of motifs among nations, their dependence upon local environment and traditions. They will also indicate the transformation that occurs in their process of operation. In ancient India people conceived the world in terms of a lotus. Artists have given different interpretations of this lotus motif and have given expression to it in innumerable modes and fashions in their creation. The numerous forms and designs of the lotus have found their way into places like Java, Bali, Cambodia, Siam, where Indian culture and art have found admission. Even now in the pottery of the above-mentioned places we find a variety of lotus designs. Similarly we find an abundant variety in the shape and design of the lily in Egypt. All these artistic designs of lily and lotus do not actually coincide with the real lotus or lily. Artists of both countries have only taken the internal outline and beauty of these flowers as their basis and given expression to their various artistic conceptions thereof.

In China the dragon figure is abundantly found in commodities of daily use. We find ornamental dragons in their dress and livery, in their everyday utensils. The theme has been heavily worked—so much so that when designed for a royal article the dragon claws have five nails, in the case of royal representatives they have four, and for the commons three nails only.

Many motifs of design are inspired in Bengal from corn seeds, "courie," myrobalans, fish, etc., and such other local commodities. Every country has its traditional art-symbol handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes, owing to excessive use of these art symbols in works of arts and crafts, the work becomes cumbersome. For ages Persian carpets have been bearing their characteristic symbols like the cypress. Similarly we recognize a piece of Indian art by the peculiarity of its own treatment of symbols and the general artistic conception. Thus we can distinguish between the works of various places by their special features and symbols.

The predominating feature of all such craft designs is the sense of dynamic rhythm. From very early times in Bengal, in ritual ceremonies, a particular kind of floor decoration, *Āpanā*-design

done with rice-paste by the ladies, has been used. These *Ālpanā* decorations convey a rich rhythmic sense. The rhythm in fine art though not clearly tangible as in poetry, can still be felt. A flow of a stream or of a fountain if looked at too closely would yield a rhythmic grace to one who has got one's sense of rhythm developed. A group of trees sometimes spread their branches in such a manner as would suggest rhythm and balance to the poets and artists, though the spreading might have been due to a certain physical situation of the grove. The artists, however, is not immediately concerned with them. His primary interest is rhythm. This rhythm is the essence of creative force and the imagination of an artist. This sense of rhythm is the source of delight to the artist and its absence brings discord. There is energy and force dormant in things which apparently seem static. Man's creation is never striving for perfection. Man's continual struggle for the attainment of perfection is a quality which demarcates him from the rest of creatures and is the cause of his superiority. Therefore Art, which best expresses this striving is the most distinguishing human quality.

If art is a human quality, what is the relation between the artist and other human beings? An artist's creation is not meant for public recreation alone, but is the expression of an internal urge for creation. To quote Clive Bell, "Art should not come to the people, but people should come to Art or leave it alone." Artists and art connoisseurs can discriminate, perceive and appreciate a work of art better than ordinary people who have hardly and rarely the requisite technical training. There is no royal road to understand and appreciate a work of art, but it can only be perceived by one who has cultivated an aesthetic sense. No doubt, art is a universal language and has an appeal for all. But it makes special demands from its likely devotees. Unfortunately, in our country, the art-sense is diminishing. The reasons, in my opinion, are, first, handiwork stands in competition with machine-made products. Secondly, the education we receive in homes, schools, colleges and in the Universities sadly fails in developing the true Indian culture and that is the reason why we cannot understand the inner significance of our art. People rush towards cheap machine made trifles, which come to India from abroad as so-called objects of art. Consequently the hereditary craftsmen are left unemployed and find their living in mills and large-scale factories,

totally abandoning their professions which once found favour in the country and abroad. People have little regard for the dignity of labour of our artists and craftsmen. Naturally they are inclined to go in for general education for attaining position and respect in the new social order. Those who are still persisting in their respective hereditary handicrafts care more for the increased demand of the market rather than for quality. These handicrafts do not find favour in the Indian market, for they have lost their former quality and fineness but have attained only a "Curio" value in foreign lands. That is the reason why the manufacturer only looks to the demand of the foreign market for their production. Consequently we notice a rapid degradation of our arts and crafts. As our craftsmen and manufacturers have to depend to a very large extent on the demands of foreign markets, naturally they have to design and shape according to foreign tastes. This is also one of the reasons for the deterioration of the quality of design. Unless a taste for a country's art is developed among her people, nothing solid can be achieved in the way of a revival. The example of Japan in this connection is very appropriate and full of significance. They have preserved their indigenous art through cottage industries in their own homes, and for foreign export they manufacture cheap, shoddy articles in large-scale factories with the aid of machinery. The result is that even from the economic point of view they are not losers but gainers.

If we could realize the above points and wish to popularize Indian handicrafts in India we might work it up in the following ways :— (1) arranging for the Exhibition of Old Indian handicrafts and keeping them in our Museums, (2) awarding prizes in annual exhibitions to encourage new ideas in the designs of handicrafts, (3) giving lantern lectures based on comparative study of Indian and foreign handicrafts with slides or cinema shows, (4) establishing handicrafts associations in various provinces which would give orders to the craftsmen for beautiful designs and which would help to popularise those products, (5) making catalogues of new designs of various handicrafts, (6) publishing illustrated articles about handicrafts in various magazines in different languages in order to create a taste for these articles.

Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., President of the Board of Education, in a recent address to the members of the National Society of Art Masters deplored the tragedy of Art Education in England at the

present time. He said, "If we were to meet the demand which was increasingly being made by industry for a higher standard of industrial art, we could only do so by improving first of all our education for the Fine Arts. Education for commerce and industry was not the end from which to approach the problem of art education. One of the dangers was that art education might be regarded too much as the hand-maid of industry. He suggested that the only direction from which we could usefully approach the problem was the direction of education in fine arts.

"Broadly speaking, the nation would have a higher standard of industrial art if it had a great school in the fine arts. If we had a national school of painting, sculpture, and architecture, its influence would be felt throughout all the Art schools and in every branch of industry."

The influence of fine art in life is very great. Even the grotesque and capricious works of modern European artists such as Picasso, Paul Klee, Gris and others have exerted their influence over the manufactures of carpet and furniture of Europe. Their creations lose their grotesqueness when their applications are seen in handicrafts. Artists of Bengal have already exerted their influence in the matter of ladies' dress in other provinces. Since the incoming of European merchants and traders there has been a gradual change in the household decorations and furniture, etc., of our country.

The primary aim of manufacturing modern conveyances such as motor cars, aeroplanes, railway, ships, etc., is their great utility. But to-day we perceive that even in such things of utility there is a craving for art in design and shape. Manufacturers are ever striving for an improvement in design and shape. There is a school of people who think that art has no place in the modern scientific world, but that opinion is no longer tenable.

Man has a constant craving for change and that is why man's civilization is dynamic. The world would have remained static for ages if the art-urge had been absent. This art-urge is the chief agency for development of civilization and culture.<sup>1</sup>

*Lucknow.*

<sup>1</sup> An abridged version, by the author himself, of his *Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*, 1934, at the University of Calcutta.

# TRADE BALANCE AND PUBLIC FINANCE: THE EXPERIENCE OF FASCIST ITALY.

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[T has become a commonplace topic in the commercial discussions of to-day that Italy's economic activity has assumed phenomenal proportions in recent years. The entire foreign trade<sup>1</sup> (imports and exports) at the end of 1929 was valued at 36,189,000,000 liras. The progress can be appreciated not only in the background of 1922-23, the first years of the fascist regime, but also in that of the pre-war conditions. The following table<sup>2</sup> will illustrate the position:—

1909-13 (annual average) :	5,631	millions
1922                    ...                    :	25,067	„
1923                    ...                    :	28,274	„
1929                    ...                    :	36,189	„

The high figures since 1922 and indeed of the entire war and post-war period are due to the depreciation of currency which has been maintained even by the stabilization of 1927. In any case, the expansion of Italy's foreign commerce is palpable. In terms of *per capita* value the growth can be seen in the following table:—

1909-13                    ...                    ...	779,7	liras
1922                    ...                    ...	584,3	„
1923                    ...                    ...	645,9	„
1929                    ...                    ...	875,2	„

In comparison with 1922 the total foreign trade (imports and exports) per head of the population represents in 1929 an increment of 60 per cent.

The exports from Italy, the raw produce and even the manufactures of mechanical and textile industries, have been on the increase. Indeed, the Italian people has been getting known abroad more and more as an industrial race. The changes in the

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento Economico dell'Italia, 1930* (Banca Commerciale Italiana, Milan), p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> Porri, *L'Evoluzione Economica Italiana nell'ultimo cinquantennio* (Rome, 1926); Mortara, "La Vie economique en Italie" (*Revue d'Economie Politique*, Paris, March-April, 1928).

character of Italy's exports can be followed as follows (in million liras) :—

	Raw Materials for Industry.	Half-finished materials for industry.	Finished goods.	Food products and Live animals.
1909-13	316,1	582,1	664,7	649
1922	1,142,9	2,833,0	3,134,3	2,192,2
1929	1,613,8	3,256,9	6,430,7	3,587,4

In this general growth of exports on all fronts one cannot miss the preponderating item, that of exports in the finished goods line. On this item the expansion is from 3,134,300,000 liras in 1922 to 6,430,700,000 liras in 1929. A more vivid picture would be exhibited if we look to the percentual make-up of the different lines of goods in the export-schedule of 1929 in comparison with those of 1909-13 and 1922. Thus we have the following figures:<sup>1</sup>

	Raw materials for Industry.	Half-finished materials for Industry.	Finished goods.	Food-products and Live animals.
1909-13	14,3	26,3	30,0	29,4
1922	12,3	30,5	33,7	23,5
1929	10,8	21,9	43,2	24,1

We understand that in pre-war years on the average not more than 30 per cent. constituted manufactures in the total of goods exported by Italy to foreign countries. Italy was known in those days chiefly as an exporter of food products, live animals and materials for industry. The character of the Italian people was in the main agricultural down to 1914. In the course of some fifteen years the results of the Italian *Swadeshi* movement have become conspicuous in so far as in 1929 the finished goods accounted for 43·2 per cent. of Italy's exports, *i.e.*, occupied as much place in the statistics as food products, live animals and raw materials for industry in 1909-13. The industrialization of Italy is further evident to foreigners in the fact that her exports in raw materials have come down from 14·3 to 10·8 per cent. and in food products and live animals from 29·4 to 24·1 per cent. In Italy as in India and other countries such as those of Latin America, China and so forth the industrialization is in a great measure to be attributed to the technical and commercial activities engendered by the Great War and the post-war economic nationalism.

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento*, p. 612.

In the light of Italian statistics students of comparative industrialism will find the figures about exports from India in the line of manufactured goods quite instructive.<sup>1</sup> Of the total Indian exports in pre-war years the manufactures constituted 23 per cent. In 1928-29 this percentage rose up to 27. The ascending curve of India from 23 to 27 may be placed in the perspective of Italian ascent from 30 to 43.2. The tendencies in industrialization are manifest in both countries but are relatively more prominent in Italy than in India. But in any case foreign peoples are already convinced that Italy as well as India are two new manufacturing countries in contemporary world-economy.

The expansion in exports is not the only item of importance in Italian commerce of the last half a generation. The other side of the shield is no less conspicuous. For, the Italian market appears to be keen enough to absorb plenty of, and indeed, increasing quantities of imports. The trend can be seen in the following columns (in millions of liras):<sup>2</sup>

		Imports.	Exports.
1910-13	...	3,496	2,528
1922	...	15,765	10,698
1923	...	17,189	12,757
1929	...	21,300	14,889

It is interesting to observe that in this expansion of imports from 3,496,000,000 liras in 1910-13 or from 15,765,000,000 liras in 1922 to 21,300,000,000 liras in 1929 the percentual make-up of the different lines of goods remained almost constant. There is a slight diminution in the percentage of imports in regard to finished goods. The structure of imports may be followed in the percentages given below:<sup>3</sup>

	Raw Materials for industry.	Half-finished materials for industry.	Finished goods.	Food Products and Living animals.
1909-13	37.3	18.6	23.8	20.3
1922	34.9	18.2	14.9	32.0
1923	40.4	16.5	14.4	28.7
1929	37.7	20.7	19.7	21.8

<sup>1</sup> *Review of the Trade of India in 1928-29* (Calcutta), pp. 150-51.

<sup>2</sup> These are the corrected figures prepared by Istituto Centrale di Statistica. See *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1930, Rome, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> *Movimento*, p. 612.



The really noticeable feature in the structural composition of the imports consists in the item represented by finished goods which from 23·8 per cent. came down to 19·7 per cent. of the total imported in Italy. And yet it is worthy of consideration that so far as machines, machine-tools, apparatus, etc., are concerned, the imports actually rose both in weight and in value. Thus for the triennium 1927-29 we get the following figures:<sup>1</sup>

1927	...	744,000,000 quintals	691,000,000 liras
1928	...	759,000,000 „	795,000,000 „
1929	...	956,000,000 „	965,000,000 „

One Quintal = 112 lbs.

The Italian people has been consuming more and more of foreign machineries. This is but another indication of expanding industrialization in Italy and of her efforts to rationalize the existing industrial concerns. On this count, again, as on others, Italy's recent commercial statistics would be more or less similar to India's. That India has been consuming more and more of *Produktionsmittel* (means of production), i.e., aids to and instruments in industrialization, is embodied in the following schedule bearing on her imports of iron and steel goods:<sup>2</sup>

	Weight.	Value.
1913-14	1,018,200 tons	Rs. 1,601,000
1928-29	1,169,000 „	, 2 024,000

Iron and steel goods comprise sheets and plates, beams, bridge work, nails, fish plates, bolts and so forth. Imports of machinery and mill work also tell the same story. For instance, the pre-war average was valued at Rs. 56,114,000. In 1928-29 the figure rose to Rs. 1,83,604,000. The progress of India in industrialization is likewise exhibited in her increasing absorption of metals excluding iron and steel, hardware, and motor cars.<sup>3</sup>

The expansion of both exports and imports in Italy like that in India as well as the evidences of expanding industrialization in the two regions may be regarded as the signs of a more or less universal progress in "technocracy" as understood in a wide sense and in the standard of living throughout the world. Those countries that had

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento*, p. 616.

<sup>2</sup> *Review*, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Review*, pp. 202-3.

been relatively backward in this regard in pre-war years have been trying to "catch up." The sources of inspiration in each region possess of course a local colouring in nomenclature. So far as Italy is concerned, fascism may in its economic aspects be taken as tantamount to modernization and industrialization. And the economic prosperity may be taken as one in a great measure due to the atmosphere of self-confidence and the spirit of initiative encouraged by Mussolini, the *duce* himself. The political stability and social equilibrium such as one encounters in Italy to-day were indeed unknown in that country for years. Since 1925, at any rate, the fascist regime has been enjoying a period of uncontested "law and order."

But still the fact remains that the Italian balance of trade is "passive," to use a continental expression, *i.e.*, adverse or unfavourable, as known in the Anglo-American terminology of foreign commerce. This passivity is to be measured by over 3,000,000,000 liras for the first half of 1931 and by over 5,000,000,000 liras for the year 1930.<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that during the entire fascist regime the passivity has been always high, the five-milliard level of 1930 furnishing the norm or average. The position of unfavourable balance in Fascist Italy may be seen in the following columns (in million liras):<sup>2</sup>

		Imports.	Exports.	Passive.
1922	...	15 765	10,698	5,067
1923	...	17,189	12,757	4,432
1924	...	19,381	16,529	2,852
1925	...	26,200	21,015	5,185
1926	...	25,879	21,175	4,704
1927	...	20,375	15,632	4,743
1928	...	21,920	14,559	7,361
1929	...	21,300	14,889	6,411
1930	...	17,325	12,115	5,210

It is only in comparison with the pre-war and early war-period conditions that the extraordinary dimensions of the passivity under the fascist regime may be comprehended. The following figures describe the situation of those days (in million liras):

		Imports.	Exports.	Passive.
1910-13	...	3,496	2,528	968
1914	...	2,923	2,431	492
1915	...	4,704	2,787	1,917

<sup>1</sup> *Bollettino mensile, di statistica* (Rome), August 1931, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Annuario, 1930*, p. 277; *Bollettino*, August 1931, p. 818.

In order to understand the exact character of this passivity it would be necessary also to take note of the currency changes. Three different periods are to be observed: (1) the pre-war period of gold lire, (2) the war and post-war inflation period, (3) post-stabilization period of the depreciated lire (since 1926). Brought down to the uniform gold standard, the passivity of Italy's foreign trade may be exhibited as follows :—

## ( a )

1910-13	...	968	million	lires
1914	...	473	"	"
1915	..	1,698	"	"
1916	...	4,097	"	"
1917	...	7,722	"	"
1918	...	8,268	"	"
1919	...	6,042	"	"
1920	...	3,049	"	"
1921	...	2,012	"	"

## ( b )

1922	...	1,240	"	"
1923	...	1,055	"	"
1924	...	643	"	"
1925	...	1,072	"	"
1926	...	939	"	"
1927	...	1,254	"	"
1928	...	2,005	"	"
1929	...	1,740	"	"

From the above schedule it would appear that the average of passivity for the fascist regime (1922-29) is 1,243,000,000 gold liras. And this is to be placed by the side of the pre-war average of 968,000,000 gold liras. Naturally, the passivity of the war period and of the first few years after it has to be treated as exceptional in this consideration. But, altogether, one has to observe that the trend of Italian balance of accounts is the exact opposite of that of India where the balance<sup>1</sup> has been invariably "active" or favourable with the exception of the year 1922 when the imports happened to exceed the exports.

Italy was and continues to be a country of passive balance. Under the fascist regime the enormous weight of the passive balance has been occasioned undoubtedly by the vast increase in the imports of raw materials at the service of the new industries and especially of

<sup>1</sup> *Review*, pp. 141-46.

those that attend to the export trades. These increases may be indicated below (in million of liras):<sup>1</sup>

	Raw Materials for Industry.	Half-finished goods for Industry.
1909-13	1,274,9	636,5
1923	6,942,7	2,835,4
1929	8,030,3	4,414,0

It is now necessary to call attention to one special feature of Italy's pre-war commerce. The balance of accounts in those days was established in a peculiar manner. Trade relations in goods used, as indicated above, to be passive. But the equilibrium was maintained in two ways. First, Italy being a land of tourists for pleasure or pilgrimage, the expenses of foreigners on Italian soil constituted virtually so much sale (export) of Italian goods abroad, which, therefore, brought so much foreign monies into Italy. Secondly, foreign monies used to pour in into Italy in other ways too. Italian emigrants living in the two Americas were in the habit of making remittances to their kith and kin at home. The figures on this item were likewise considerable enough to be counted in international exchange.

During the period 1910-13, for instance, the total imports into Italy could be paid for by "visible" exports to the extent of 71.4 per cent. only. This indeed is the literal meaning of Italy's having a passive balance of 968,000,000 liras on account of imports being 3,496,000,000 liras of which exports covered only 2,528,000,000 liras. In the year 1913 the visible exports accounted for 65 per cent. The remaining 35 per cent. was made up of "invisible" exports, *i.e.*, foreign monies entering Italy in and through personal intercourse ("tourism") or by post and telegraph. Of this amount 13.2 per cent. came from Italian emigrants abroad and 12 per cent. represented the monies spent by foreign tourists within Italian boundaries, while the rest could be accounted for by the services of Italian ships, etc.

Since the war, especially since 1921-22 or rather the beginning of the fascist regime, there has been a tremendous falling off in the amount of money remitted by emigrants from foreign countries. First, on account of immigration legislation in America, and secondly, on account of Mussolini's population policy the stream of emigration from Italy encountered a serious check. But, on the other hand, the stream of foreign travellers to Italy has been on the increase. It should

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento*, 1930, p. 612.

appear that some 50 to 60 per cent. of the passive side of the balance is to-day being met by the expenses of foreigners on Italian soil. In 1921 this item brought 1,750,000,000 liras. In 1926 something like 3,500,000,000 liras, i.e., double the amount of 1921, came into Italy from this source alone.

"Tourism" is, therefore, regarded as an important "industry" in Italian economy, and the *Ente Nazionale delle Industrie Turistiche* (National Society of Tourist Industry) abbreviated as "Enit" looms large in the consciousness of Italian financiers, statesmen and business houses. Travellers pour in into Italy by land as well as by sea. The number of foreigners landing at different ports of Italy during the quinquennium (1926-1930) is indicated below:

1926	...	86,593
1927	...	89,613
1928	...	93,921
1929	...	104,646
1930	...	104,111

The falling-off in 1930 is but another sign of the world's economic depression during 1929-31. But otherwise the tendency to increase is prominent. And in any case the figure is quite high, absolutely speaking. Indeed, not less than 60 per cent. of the entire ocean-traffic of Italy in passengers is non-Italian. The amount of foreign monies being spent within Italian boundaries by foreign sojourners can therefore be easily estimated per day, week or month.

To this have to be added the incomes from the services of Italian ships as carriers of passengers, foreign as well as native. In 1928 as well as in 1929, not more than 20 per cent. of these passengers was carried by non-Italian ships. That is, 80 per cent. of all the passengers (163,193 in 1928 and 180,532 in 1929), Italian and foreign, landing in Italy came on board Italian boats. In 1930 also the same 80 per cent. was observed. It has to be noticed that in 1926 the percentage was somewhat lower, namely, 77·3 per cent. The expansion of Italian shipping along with its repercussions on Italy's balance of accounts is therefore to be taken as another feature of contemporary Italian economy.

Notwithstanding, the balance, as we have seen, remained passive. In their negotiations with Great Britain and the U.S.A. in regard to the payment of war-debts, the Italians were able to demonstrate the unsatisfactory character of Italy's commercial position. Add to this the problem of repayment itself and the question of Italian finance

automatically rises to the plane of international complications. But, on the other hand, Germany's payments to Italy on account of reparations according to the Dawes Scheme (1925-30) and under the Young Plan (1930-31) belonged to Italy's credit side.

The actual payments made by Italy since 1926 on account of the war-debts are indicated below :

(a) To Great Britain :

1926	...	...	...	4,000,000
1927	.	...	...	4,000,000
1928	...	...	...	4,125,000
1929	...	...	...	4,250,000
1930 (15 March)	...	...	...	2,125,000
1930 (15 March-15 Dec.)	...	...	...	3,187,494
1931 (15 March)	...	...	...	1,416,664
(15 May)	...	...	...	354,166
(15 June)	...	...	...	354,166

Total           23,812,490  
(nearly 2,208,000,000 liras)

(b) To the U. S. A.

				\$
15 June 1926	...	...	...	5,199,466
15 „ 1927	...	...	...	5,000,000
15 „ 1928	...	...	...	5,000,000
15 „ 1929	...	...	...	5,000,000
15 „ 1930	...	...	...	5,000,000
15 „ 1931	...	...	...	13,360,000

Total       38,560,091  
(nearly 741,000,000 liras)

The payments made by Italy to her creditors during the five years and a half amounted to nearly 2,949,000,000 liras. Against this have to be placed the actual receipts of Italy from Germany such as are indicated below (in Marks) :

	Money.	Coal and other goods.	Total.
1 September, 1924-17			
May, 1930. ...	134,726,000	420,404,000	555,130,000
Transitory period ..	25,535,000	41,381,000	66,916,000
15 June-15 December 1930. ..	60,375,000	30,625,000	91,000,000
15 January-15 March 1931. ..	25,875,000	13,125,000	39,000,000
15 April, 1931	11,533,000	4,375,000	15,908,000
15 May, 1931	11,533,000	4,375,000	15,908,000
15 June, 1931	11,533,000	4,375,000	15,908,000
Total ...	281,110,000	518,660,000	799,770,000

The total receipts, namely, 799,770,000 Marks equal nearly 3,600,000,000 liras.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that Italy altogether received more from

<sup>1</sup> *Bolletino Mensile*, August, 1931, p. 855.

Germany than she paid to Great Britain and the U.S.A. For all practical purposes, the war-debts and the reparations may be said to balance each other so far as Italy is concerned.

Indeed the Young Plan, as finally accepted by the interested governments with the protocol of the Hague signed on 20th January, 1930, assured to Italy the full cover of her debts to Great Britain and the U.S.A., and in addition an average surplus of something above 40,000,000 Marks (180,000,000 lires) for the first three years.<sup>1</sup>

Italy has to fall back ultimately on her own public finances. She must have a surplus budget in order to be able to meet her foreign claims, arising from the unfavourable trade balance. Here, however, the taxable capacity of the people furnishes the limit to how far the collector can dare. The standard of living of the people is likely to be jeopardized as well as the incentive to industrial enterprise. War-debts, budget and the limits of taxation have been repeating themselves in Italy almost on French lines in the regular logical complex. The fiscal pressure cannot be made more heavy. The commercial policy of the hour has concentrated itself, therefore, on the systematic expansion of exports in all directions and all along the line.

Exports are generally grouped into four classes: (1) hands, *i.e.*, emigration of labour, (2) capital, (3) services, and (4) goods. The last item, namely, the export of goods we have already considered. Let us now attend to the remaining three.

In regard to the exportation of labour Italy sought for some time to obtain concessions in Southern Russia for agricultural work. The object was to divert a part of the surplus population to those regions. The territory might eventually grow into a profitable field for the investment of Italian capital as well as the source of raw materials for factories and workshops in Italy. But Soviet Russia, while not inattentive to the plans for the investment of Italian capital and the consequent development of her economic resources, did not entertain the scheme of Italian labour-migration with any degree of enthusiasm. Italy, besides, is not very well-equipped with surplus capital. So her plans for colonising Russia ended in nothing.

Italy tried France also as a field for Italian emigration and colonisation. But she gave it up rather abruptly. Mussolini's scheme of

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento*, 1930, p. 787.

nationalism attaches for the moment a special importance to the promotion of home resources. The fascists want as many of their nationals back to their fatherland as possible. The idea of exporting Italian labour to foreign countries seems to have been abandoned for the time being. All the children of Italy are wanted in Italy itself to man its fields, factories and trading houses. Instead of exporting hands Italy is equipping herself to export the products of her economic activity. Industrialism and economic expansion happen to be the slogans in Italian public life at the present moment.

It is not to be ignored, however, that fascism lays great stress likewise on the nationalistic importance of Italian emigrants settled in foreign countries. The activities of the *Commissariato Generale dell' Emigrazione*, established in 1901 as an organ of the Foreign Office have, since the conclusion of the Italian-French agreement of 1916, been pursuing the patriotic principle that the country of emigration has a right to some of the profits which its emigrants confer on the land of immigration. This same principle has acquired a tremendous dynamic significance under the energism of Mussolini who has taught the people to consciously look upon the Italian emigrants in foreign countries as so many limbs of the *collettività*, the totality of the Italian people, *i.e.*, as integral parts of a great socio-cultural complex. The emigrants constitute *colonie etniche*, "ethnic" (although not political) colonies, and thus so many provinces, so to say, of *la piu grade Italia* (Greater Italy),<sup>1</sup> whose interests deserve to be promoted by the Motherland also.

Statistically, the fascist economics of population is embodied in the figures bearing on emigration. In 1925 the total emigration amounted to 280,081 persons, at the rate of 702 per 100,000 inhabitants. The stream has come down steadily. By 1929 it was 190,140 and implied 460 per 100,000.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to observe that Italian emigration during this period lay more in the direction of European countries than in that of the transoceanic. The proportion is indicated below :—

		European.	Transoceanic.
1925	...	63.63	36.37
1926	...	53.57	46.43
1929	...	58.14	41.86

<sup>1</sup> Luft, "Italienische Auswanderungspolitik" in *Welt-wirtschaftliches Archiv* (Jena) 1927, I, pp. 287\*-299.\*

<sup>2</sup> *Statistico*, p. 43.



The diminution of net emigration would also be evident if from the figures relating to emigrants we subtract those bearing on the repatriated persons, as in the following table:<sup>1</sup>

		Emigrants.	Repatriated.	Net Emigration.
1921	...	283,000	157,000	126,000
1925	...	292,000	211,000	81,000
1929		203,000	163,000	40,000

The exportation of capital has not occupied much attention in Italy. For, in reality Italians themselves are in need of foreign capital for their own industrial projects. But still in recent years since 1925-26 Italian financiers have made their appearance as investors in foreign fields. The objective is not so much the acquisition of dividends and profits as of openings for the export of goods or of sources for the supply of energy and raw materials.

The *Banca Commerciale* has taken the initiative in mining exploits. Petroleum has been attacked in Mexico, coal in Polish Upper Silesia. Roumanian and Galician oil has likewise come to a certain extent under the influence of Italian "high finance." Italian electrical concerns have been financing some of the hydro-electric works in Styria (Austria). A number of Italian banks have joined hands similarly to promote the financial, industrial and economic development of Albania. Finally, there is the important Polish loan issued by the *Banca Commerciale* for which an important portion of the state tobacco monopoly is collateral. Italy has failed up to this moment to contribute some finance to the Russian projects. The Italo-Russian transportation scheme across Caucasus, eventually with the object of penetrating Persia and Trans-Caucasia, has not yet materialized.

In 1929 Italy's loans<sup>2</sup> to foreign governments and companies were valued at some 218,000,000 liras and in 1930 to 294,000,000,000 liras. The foreign investments of Italy are tabulated below:—

	1923	Austria	...	200,000,000 liras
April	1924	Poland	...	400,000,000 liras
July	1924	Hungary	...	170,000,000 liras
October	1924	Germany	...	100,000,000 liras
February	1928	Greece	...	£ 400,000
November	1928	Bulgaria	...	\$ 1,500,000
February	1929	Rumania	...	\$ 8,000,000
July	1929	Austria	...	\$ 3,500,000

<sup>1</sup> *Statistico*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Movimento*, 1930, pp. 300-03; 1931, pp. 106-09.

February	1930	Hungary	...	\$ 2,000,000	
May	1930	San Paulo	...	£ 500,000	
June	1930	Germany	...	110,000,000	lires
July	1930	Austria	...	100,000,000	„

The programme of maritime subsidy has been renewed in 1926 for the next twenty years. The renewal indicates the firm determination of Italy to expand her merchant marine and pursue her policy of commercial penetration. The activity of the Italian dockyards has already placed this country at the third position in the world's construction of sea-going vessels. And she nurses ambitious projects of connecting the Black Sea with London, Rotterdam and Hamburg, and the Mediterranean with Central and Southern Africa. The statistics of exports and imports point already to the fact that Italy's goods are flowing in the directions of England, the U.S.A., Argentina, Chili, India, Sumatra, Java, etc. And some of these are the countries that furnish her with the most voluminous and expensive raw materials.

The expansion in tonnage of mechanically propelled ships is indicated in the following table:<sup>1</sup>

1923	...	2,118,000
1924	...	2,676,000
1925	...	2,894,000
1926	...	3,150,000
1927	...	3,396,000
1928	...	3,349,000
1929	...	3,215,000
1930	...	3,362,000

During this period the world's tonnage has grown from 53,905,000 to 68,024,000 tons.

Along with Italy's expansion in tonnage there has proceeded an improvement in quality also. And in this aspect of rationalization the subventions offered by the Government have played a considerable rôle. To all this have to be added the noteworthy fusions that have taken place. In 1928 the three companies, the *Navigazione Generale Italiana*, the *Lloyd Sabaudo* and the *Cosulich* were amalgamated in order to co-ordinate the services in the directions of North and South America. This fusion has been followed by a further amalgamation with the *Lloyd Triestino* and the *Societa Veneziana di Navigazione*, which are interested in Asia Minor, India and China. All the shipping interests of Italy have thus been brought under one roof.

<sup>1</sup> *Movimento*, 1930, pp. 706-07; 1931, pp. 583-84.

The improvement in the condition of the balance of accounts is the immediate goal of all these activities. In 1926 there was a conference of all the productive forces under the personal guidance of Mussolini. And the central problem of present Italian economy was envisaged in the following manner :—“ Make the national industry produce as much as possible in order to diminish purchases abroad ; exploit all the indigenous raw materials that have been till now neglected or exported ; reduce the importation of raw materials, or at least, get emancipated from the monopolies by seeking new sources or supply ; export always increasing quantities of finished products.”

And in this project the society and the state have been working hand in hand since then. The policy of the fascists is the policy of the industries and trades. Among the righthand men of Mussolini are to be counted technical experts like Volpi and Belluzzo. The “General Confederation of Industry” is a member of the Fascist Party. Altogether, the efforts at the economic rejuvenescence and expansion of Italy constitute a national, unified, “ imperial ” event in Italian sentiment.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For land reclamation (*bonifica*) as an element in the population policy and “ rural mobilizing ” of Fascist Italy see Serpieri, *La Legge Sulla Bonifica Integrale* (Rome 1931), pp. viii, 11-15, 33-35.

# ‘ILMU’T HADITH OR THE SCIENCE OF TRADITION

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THE word Ḥadīth literally means a news or a report. But the Muslims since the lifetime of their Prophet generally use it for the report of his saying or doing. Ḥadīth in this restricted sense of the term has been of great importance to the Muslims since the earliest period of the history of Islam. Most of them, if not all, observed minutely whatever their Prophet did or said ; some of them made a note of his sayings, and a few of them collected them in the form of booklets, which are known as the booklets of some of the companions of the Prophet.

When the messenger of God had passed away, the reports of his words and deeds were needed all the more. It was these reports only that could serve then as guide to the Muslims, in cases where the Qur’an was silent or inexplicit. “ The life of the Prophet,” as von Kremer says, “ his discourses and utterances, his actions, his silent approval and even his passive conduct constituted, next to the Qur’an, the second most important source of law for the young Muslim Arabian empire.” Just as the various officials appointed by the Prophet himself, while deciding legal cases in the absence of any explicit relevant instructions in the Qur’an depended on the Ḥadīth of Muhammad, so after his death his first two Caliphs also sought for Ḥadīth as their guide in difficulties. ‘Umar the first, the second Caliph of Islam, wanted also to collect together all the reports of the various sayings and doings of the Prophet. He consulted a congregation of the Muslims in Medina about it. The congregation advised him unanimously in the affirmative. He considered the problem carefully for a considerable time and at the end on account of certain weighty reasons decided in the negative. The pressing needs of wars also deferred the collection of Ḥadīth for some time. These wars carried the companions of the Prophet, who were the only custodians of Ḥadīth, to regions far off from Arabia and spread them throughout the newly conquered countries. The task of the collection of Ḥadīth,

therefore, became difficult and almost unsurmountable. But the Muslims of the time proved equal to the great task. Before the middle of the first century of the Hijira - a remarkable activity in connection with the learning and search for traditions characterised them and these activities continued with unabated vigour and zeal for many generations and centuries.

All these various generations of the students of Ḥadīth displayed marvellous zeal in pursuit of the subject. Their love for it had been profound. Their enthusiasm for it knew no bounds. Their capacity to suffer for the sake of it had no limit. The rich among them sacrificed their riches at its altar and the poor devoted their lives to it in spite of their poverty. They undertook long arduous journeys in quest of it. "From one end of the Muslim world to the other, from Andalusia to Central Asia," says Goldziher, "wandered the assiduous, indefatigable seekers of Ḥadīth and gathered them from every place, in order to relate them to their hearers. This was the only possible method of collecting together in an authentic form the Ḥadīth which were scattered in the various provinces. The honourable title of 'al-Raḥḥāl,' the traveller, or of 'al-Jamwāl,' the wanderer, is seldom used with them but in its literal sense. The title 'Ṭawwāfu' l-i-Aqālīm, the wanderer round the world, is no hyperbolical designation for the travellers among whom there were some such personages as could boast to have travelled four times throughout the East and the West." "They travelled throughout these countries," he adds, "not for the sake of sight-seeing and gaining experience, but in order to meet the traditionists at these places, to hear traditions from and to profit by each of them just like the bird that does not sit on any tree but in order to pick its leaves."

About the end of the first century, however, 'Umar the second, a pious Caliph of the Godless dynasty of the Umayyads, gave an official organised form to the activities of the seekers for Ḥadīth. He instructed some of them to collect as many traditions as were available from certain individual teachers. He issued circular letters to the various scholars of Ḥadīth living in the different provinces, to collect together as many traditions as they could. These collections, according to some Arabic writers, were published by him throughout the Islamic dominions.

After 'Umar the second, various traditionists living in the different provinces took up the great task begun by the pious Caliph and

compiled many collections of Ḥadīth which are mentioned by the great Arabic bibliographer Ibnul-Nadīm but unfortunately are lost to the world. Many later collections, which were compiled mainly during the 8th and the 9th centuries, are still extant and are studied by the Muslims in the different parts of the world.

In these works generally, the reports of the various sayings and doings of the Prophet of Islam are collected together according to three different principles. (1) In some of them they are put together under the names of the various Companions of Muhammad who are said to have related them from him. These works are given the general title of 'al-Musnad.' (2) In some of them they are arranged in various chapters according to the subject-matter with which they deal. These collections are known as 'al-Muṣṇaf.' (3) And in some of them they are arranged under the alphabetical order of the names of the authorities from whom the compiler himself received them. These collections are generally called 'al-Mu'jam.'

The traditions thus collected by the continuous honest hard labours of many generations of the Muslims of various countries, belonging to different races and various schools of thought, have been subject of minute study by the Muslim divines and doctors and a source of inspiration to the Muslim world, up to the present date. Their study led to the origin and development of many branches of Arabic literature, *e.g.*, those on History and Historical Criticism, Geography and Genealogy, Collection of Ancient Arabian Poetry and Lexicography and above all Islamic Law and Jurisprudence. As a matter of fact the Ḥadīth and the Qur'an, as Wüstenfeld has pointed out, had been the main cause of all the scientific activities of the Arabs (Arabic writers) under the Abbasides.

Ḥadīth literature, however, which will be presently dealt with, may serve as a source of important lessons to modern scholarship just as the lives of the students and the teachers of Ḥadīth, of the medieval period, their pure unbiased disinterested and selfless love for and devotion to it, may serve as an example and source of inspiration to many of the modern teachers. The system of Isnād in early Ḥadīth literature, as it will be presently seen, remains unique in the literature of the whole world even to-day. The exactitude of many of the compilers of traditions is difficult to equal and impossible to surpass. Their zeal in its pursuit may continue to be unsurpassed in the literary history of the world.

## HADÍTH LITERATURE.

The earliest, largest and the most important collections of Ḥadīth, are the ' Musnads ' of Abu Daud al-Tayalisi, and of Aḥmad b. Hambal and the ' Genuines ' of al-Bukhārī and of Muslim. The first of these books which possesses all the various features of caution and exactitude of the later compilers, contains traditions related by companions of the Prophet. It enjoyed great popularity till the 8th century of the Hijira. The Patna manuscript of the book alone, on which is based its Hyderabad edition, bears the names of three hundred male and female students who read it at different periods and among whom are found some of the most eminent traditionists of Islam. After the 8th century its popularity declined and now its manuscripts have become extremely rare.

The most important and exhaustive of all the Musnad works which we have received, however, is that of Imam Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. Hambal al-Marwazi al-Shaybani. His remarkably saintly and selfless life and firm stand for his own conviction, against the tyrannical inquisition and persecution started by the liberal-minded Caliph al-Mámún and continued, according to his last will, by al-Wáthiq and al-Mutawakrill, created a halo of sanctity round this great collection of traditions and, in spite of its great bulk, it survived the vicissitudes of time and revolutions of empires and was printed at Cairo in 1896.

Imám Aḥmad was of Arabian origin. His forefathers had taken an important part in the early wars of Islam and also in the overthrow of the Umayyads and the establishment of the Abbasides. He himself, however, was born in Baghdad in the year 780 and was brought up by his mother, his father having died during his infancy. Having received his early education with the best teachers of the time, he began the study of Ḥadīth at the age of 15, and having mastered the knowledge of the Muslim divines of Baghdad at an early age, he travelled through the important parts of the Islamic world, visiting the various centres of Ḥadīth-learning, attending the lectures of the various traditionists, and at last came in touch with Imam Shafii with whom he studied jurisprudence and law. Having finished his studies he made the service and teaching of traditions the sole object and mission of his life, and continued it quietly and peacefully till the year 833 when there arose a storm of persecution of orthodox Muslims

throughout the Abbaside Caliphate, in which Aḥmad also greatly suffered.

The great liberal-minded Caliph al-Mámún accepted the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an as against its co-eternity with God, and invited the people to accept his views. But some of them rejected it. Threat and persecution followed. The former succeeded with a few, and the latter with a few more. But some important traditionists, including Imám Aḥmad, refused to yield. The Caliph who was then at Tarsus ordered that they should be put in chains and sent to him. The orders were carried out. But the Caliph himself died before the pious prisoners had reached their destination. He had, however, made a will to see that all the important men were converted to his views, and two of his immediate successors did not fail to use persecution and torture to achieve this end.

Imám Aḥmad, therefore, was kept in prison for 18 months, was whipped by 158 executioners one after another, continuously; he was badly wounded and lost his consciousness. But he persisted in his own views which was dictated by his own conscience and refused to yield his soul to the sword and was at last set free. He died in the year 855. A wonderful scene of sorrow and grief followed. Not only over the whole of the great metropolis, but also over distant places, was cast a gloom of melancholy which, as Patton, an American Orientalist, says, could have been seldom witnessed.

Aḥmad's character had been exemplary. For money he had no love. He always refused pecuniary help large as well as small, from the rich princes as well as from the poor friends, and when he heard that his sons had accepted stipends from the Caliph he cut off all connection with them. He met all his needs by means of what he himself earned. He was extremely gentle by nature, and was anxious to harm no one. Honesty and justice were the essentials of his character.

His Musnad which is the largest and one of the early collections of Hadīth received by us, contains 30,000 traditions relating to widely varied subjects, narrated by 700 companions. It occupied a large part of his life and time. But he died before giving it the necessary last touches and the great task of editing the manuscript was left for his son, Abdalláh, who, together with his brother and cousin, had read it with the compiler in 13 years.

Both the compiler as well as the editor showed scrupulous exactitude and honest keen sense of scholarly responsibility in their



work. The compiler, of course, had not been strict in the choice of his materials, some of which are declared by later authorities to have been forged but he always reproduced all that he received from others stating the least differences between the reports of the various narrators as well as those between the various reports of the one and the same narrator, and always giving the source of his information, leaving it to the readers themselves to find out the authenticity of the various traditions. His main object was not to collect together only the genuine traditions but to compile together all traditions which after examination might prove to be genuine.

The editor also played his part most scrupulously and admirably. He showed the care and exactitude of a modern editor. He collated the original manuscript of his father with the notes which he had taken at his lectures, and also with the knowledge which he had gathered from other traditionists, and added notes pointing out the differences between them, and every peculiarity of the original MS., but always took great care that the text of the manuscript was not impaired in the least. At one place, for example, after writing a word in separate letters, he says "so was it written in the manuscript of my father but when he read it to us, in his lecture, he pronounced it as one word.

The book occupied an important position in Ḥadīth-literature and served for a long time as a source for important works and compilations and on account of the pious personality of its compiler, it gathered a halo of sanctity around itself which is shown by the fact that in the 12th century, about three hundred years after his death, it was read from the beginning to the end, by a society of pious traditionists, before the tomb of the Prophet in Medina.

#### THE 'SAḤĪḤ' OF AL-BUKHĀRĪ.

Not only more important than the Musnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥambal, but the most important of all the works in Ḥadīth-literature, is the Ṣaḥīḥ (Genuine) of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Bukhārī who interrogated more than one thousand masters of Ḥadīth, living in places so far from one another as Balkh, Merv, Neshapur, the Hijaz, Egypt and Mesopotamia, sought aid of prayers before recording every tradition, weighed every word that he wrote with "scrupulous exactitude," devoted more than one-fourth of his life to the actual

compilation of his work and at the end produced his epoch-making book which is accepted by most of the traditionists as the most authentic work in Ḥadīth-literature and by the Muslims in general, as an authority next only to the Qur'an.

Al-Bukhārī, the son of a traditionist of some reputation, who was descended from a cultivator of Bukhara, and was made a slave by its governor after its conquest by the Muslims, was born in the year 194/803. His father died during the infancy of the child, leaving him considerable fortune. The infant, though of weak physique, was endowed by nature with strong intellect, sharp retentive memory, great tenacity, inexhaustible energy and large capacity for hard methodical intellectual work.

He began his educational career under the supervision of his mother, began the study of Ḥadīth at the early age of eleven, and gathered the knowledge of all the traditionists of his town in six years' time. Then he went for a pilgrimage to Mecca, wherefrom he started on his journey in search of Ḥadīth. He travelled through a large part of the Muslim world for about forty years, only for the sake of knowledge. About five years before his death he came to Neshapur, which he had to leave soon, on account of differences with the governor. He therefore settled down in a village in Samarqand where he died in 869.

Throughout his life he had been strictly pious, honest, and generous particularly to the poor and the students. He never showed temper to anyone nor did he bear ill-will against anybody. Tradition was his hobby and archery his pastime, in which he had special skill.

His collection of traditions, the Ṣaḥīḥ (Genuine) in which he collected together 7,275 traditions arranged according to their contents and subject-matter, under separate legal headings, after a great deal of labour and keen critical research which cannot be surpassed even by modern scholars, shows not only his vast knowledge, painstaking accuracy, scrupulous exactitude, great acumen, but also his juristic ability and legal merit. The book at once attracted the attention of the Muslim world and gained the respectful regard of the Muslim divines. It was read by ninety thousand students with the author himself, and has been commented upon and criticised and all its various aspects have been discussed by a large number of scholars in their books, a long list of which is found in various works in Arabic and some European languages.

## THE SAHÍH (GENUINE) OF MUSLIM.

But the position of the Genuine of al-Bukhárí has not been altogether unrivalled in Ḥadīth-literature. Almost simultaneously with it another 'Genuine' had been compiled by his student Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, which has been considered as superior to the work of al-Bukhárí by some, equal to it by many, and next to it by most of the authorities on traditions of Islam.

Muslim, unlike al-Bukhárí, was of Arabian origin. He was descended from one of the most powerful clans of the Arabs, various members of which had taken important part in the early history of Islam. Some of his forefathers and relatives had held important offices in the West as well as in the East, during the early Caliphate.

Muslim himself was born in a distinguished family of Arab Muslims in Khurasán in the year 817 and inherited considerable fortune from his father who also was a traditionist. Having finished his studies in the different centres of Islamic learning of his time, he settled down at Neshapur and spent the rest of his life in the service of Ḥadīth on which he wrote many books, and died in the year 874.

The most important of all the works of Muslim is his 'Genuine,' which has been considered as the best compilation of Ḥadīth, superior even to the work of al-Bakhárí in the details of arrangement of traditions and in freedom from confusion.

Hundreds of collections of traditions have been compiled after the Genuines of al-Bukhárí and Muslim, but these two great works, on account of their intrinsic merit, always occupied and still occupy an unrivalled position in the whole literature on Ḥadīth and are recognised by the Islamic world as the greatest and the most authentic works on the subject.

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*(To be concluded)*

# STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN BENGAL DURING THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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AGRICULTURE has always formed an important element in the economic life of the people of Bengal. Mr. Dow remarked, "Agriculture constitutes the wealth of every state not merely commercial. Bengal, a kingdom six hundred miles in length and three hundred in breadth, is composed of one vast plain of the most fertile soil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of industrious people, capable of producing provisions for double the number, as appears from the deserts which oppression had made: it seems marked out by the hand of nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture."<sup>1</sup> Dow's observation is supported by an almost similar statement of another contemporary European writer, Mr. Orme, who writes, "Rice which makes the greater part of their food is produced in such plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often sold at the rate of two pounds for a farthing; a number of other arable grains, and a still greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices of their diet,<sup>2</sup> are raised as wanted, with equal ease; sugar, although requiring more attentive cultivation, thrives everywhere ...."<sup>3</sup> The chief agricultural products were paddy,<sup>4</sup> wheat and other *rabi* crops, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton,<sup>5</sup> betel, etc. It is generally supposed that Bengal never produced wheat; Stavorinus however states clearly that besides rice Bengal produced "also very good wheat, which formerly used to

<sup>1</sup> Dow's *Hindoostan*, Vol. I, cxxxvi. It would appear from this that in Dow's time (1767-69), half a century's oppressive rule of Zamindars had brought down the area under cultivation and the population to about half its normal extent.

<sup>2</sup> *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, pp. 113a and 115a.

<sup>3</sup> Orme, *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan*, Vol. II, p. 4. A contemporary description (27th Jan. 1770) of manufacture of sugar in the villages is given in Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 1300; the same process has been in use for centuries in the country; a noticeable point there is the use of the bye-product of the cane fibres as fuel for the manufacturing process. Abbe de Guoyon notes (*A New History of the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 498) that places like Bussundri, Fresindi or Gorgat produced "vast quantities of the finest sugar in Bengal."

<sup>4</sup> Rameswar's *Sivāyana, Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature*, Part I, pp. 136-37.

<sup>5</sup> Parker, *The War in India*, p. 2. London, 1772 A.D.

be sent to Batavia." But this wheat growing and export were discouraged "in order to favour, as much as possible, the corn trade of the Cape of Good Hope." <sup>1</sup>

We may try to localise the agricultural products in different parts of the province. Beginning from the north we find that Rungpur was a well-cultivated region, its chief produces being wheat, sugarcane, and tobacco.<sup>2</sup> The country round Cochymeda (a large village and *gunje*) was planted with tobacco in many places. The road from Cochymeda to a small village named Luckypur, 7 miles along the south-west bank of the Sanalotta River, was mostly through paddy-fields. Much tobacco was also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dewangunge, a large village which formed the limit of Rungpur towards Cooch-Behar.<sup>3</sup> The country between Baganbarry (Bygonbary near the town of Mymensingh) and Chilmari was quite flat on the west side of the river Brahmaputra and was covered mostly with paddy-fields,<sup>4</sup> the country on both sides of the river Brahmaputra between Baganbarry and Mobaganj was full of paddy-fields, interspersed with groves of betel and other trees.<sup>5</sup> The country round Olyapour<sup>6</sup> was well-cultivated, "every spot of ground being either sown with paddy or planted with betel trees."<sup>7</sup> The country from Olyapour to Kaliganj (on the Brahmaputra), a few miles below Olyapour, was full of paddy-fields and betel-groves.<sup>8</sup> In Purniah, paddy, wheat, pulse and mustard seeds, and other food-grains, all kinds of corn and pepper, grew in abundance.<sup>9</sup> Rennel calls it "a fine wheat country and exceedingly well-stocked with cattle."<sup>10</sup> Pepper grew in abundance in *sarkar* Mahmudabad,<sup>11</sup> which comprised north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Jessore and western Faridpur. Wheat and opium were produced <sup>12</sup> in the borderland between Purniah and Rungpur. The tract from Barasat <sup>13</sup> to Jessore

<sup>1</sup> Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, February, 1766, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> 'Spelt Oliapour in Rennel's map (plate 44, Part 2), The modern Ulipur, headquarters of a thana of that name and still the seat of the principal kutchery of the Baharbund Zemindars.' Bengal : Past and Present, 1924, Vol. XXVIII, p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, p. 54. The country round Olyapur belonged to the Baharbund pargana.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Byaz-us-salatin*, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, p. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ryaz-uz-salatin*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Stavorinus describes the process of opium production in Behar, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 474.

<sup>13</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, p. 73.

was open and well-cultivated, the produces being paddy, gram, etc. The road from Calcutta to Hajiganj lay mostly through paddy-fields, Rennel noticed a great number of tanks on the roads, and a fine 'tope' of cocoanut and betel trees at Chaldibarya, 6 miles from Barasat.<sup>1</sup> Much paddy and cotton were sown in the neighbourhood of the *nullah* Mahespunda,<sup>2</sup> five miles south-east of the Jalanghi. The country round the villages of Serampur and Gurgoree (in the Nadia district) was well cultivated and produced much paddy.<sup>3</sup>

Extensive lands were cultivated on both sides of the Ganges in the Pabna district, particularly on the west side, where much paddy was grown,<sup>4</sup> e.g., the territory adjacent to Habbaspur on the Ganges south-west of Pabna, was an important paddy-producing centre. Betel was produced abundantly in the neighbourhood of Sunapara (Sonapara about 9 miles down the Chunnunah Creek,<sup>5</sup> and in the village of Bandorse or Gopalpur, lying a mile below the head of the Eastern Comer.<sup>6</sup> The country on both sides of the Arti river was well-cultivated and produced much paddy and cotton.<sup>7</sup> Cotton and paddy, sufficient for local consumption, were also cultivated in many places on the banks of the Ganges from Dacca to Jafarganj.<sup>8</sup> Much paddy was also grown in the Binetty island.<sup>9</sup> The portion of the country from Binetty island to the head of the Nawabganj Creek (7 miles below Hajiganj) was sown with paddy and cotton.<sup>10</sup> The land round Azimpur (a village in the present Faridpur district) was well-cultivated and produced sugarcane, tobacco betel-nut,<sup>11</sup> and betels were grown near Gournadi.<sup>12</sup> Those parts of the country lying between

<sup>1</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, pp. 86-87. "The country in general (round Jingergascha) is open and well-cultivated; in the groves there are great numbers of cocoanut trees, and a kind of trees named Cazir-Gatch (the bastard date-palm) from whence they made a coarse kind of sugar."—*Ibid*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> This creek was the head of the Mathabhanga, also known for the first forty miles of its course as the Kumar, Comer or Comare of Rennel. See Rennel's *Journals*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, October, 1764, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> "Binetty island is about five miles long and lies in a N.W.B.N. and B.E.S.S. direction; it has 11 villages on it, but scarce a single tree. Being low it is mostly sown with paddy, of which I judge there is at least  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The banks of the river opposite to this island are mostly sown with paddy and have a great number of villages on them."—*Ibid*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Gournadi lay nine miles below a creek running from Habiganj. According to Rennel, betel-leaves were the chief produce there.

Doycally,<sup>1</sup> and Rajabary, Chandpur and Luckypur,<sup>2</sup> about Luricule<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of Adampur, and at the head of the Luckya river, produced a large quantity of betel-leaves.<sup>4</sup> Five miles above Feringy-bazar, where the Buriganga river fell into the Icchamati, the country was well-cultivated and produced paddy and cotton,<sup>5</sup> and similarly the part about Sultan-suddy (Sultan-Shahadee), situated about 16½ miles from Dacca on the western bank of the Meghna, was also an important paddy-producing area.<sup>6</sup> The part of the country about Ossunpur, 50 miles north-east of Dacca, produced betel-leaves.<sup>7</sup> These were also produced in the lands about Chanderganj, lying 15 miles south-east of Luckipur<sup>8</sup>; the lands stretching for 14¾ between Chanderganj<sup>9</sup> and Colinda were extremely fertile and produced much paddy, and a little quantity of cotton, so that the immense quantity of cotton required there for the manufacture of cloths was brought from distant places.<sup>10</sup> Betel-leaves were grown in an abundant quantity in the locality round Cassidya.<sup>11</sup> Much cotton was produced in certain parts of Birbhum, *e.g.*, in paragana Barbucksing (Barbaksing), that is, the country round the Surul Factory, and in paragana Surroofsing (Swarupsingh), 19 miles east of Suri.<sup>12</sup> Lands round Suri produced much paddy.<sup>13</sup> Bankura<sup>14</sup> and Burdwan<sup>15</sup> produced *capas* (cotton) sufficient only for local consumption. From a note in *Ryaz-us-salatīn* we know that indigo was cultivated in certain parts of Maldah.<sup>16</sup>

Various kinds of *rabi* crops, such as *māskalāi*, *moog*, *cholā*, *aḍahar*, *masurī*, *barbatī*, *maṭar*, *maḍuā*, *bhūrā*, *vava* (barley), *khesārī*, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> Rennel's *Journals*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> "Chandpour (Chandpur), a small but remarkable village, lies on the south bank of the Niagonga near the point of its conflux with Meghna. It is situated about 31 miles from Dacca, 11 from Rajabarry, and 23 or 24 from Luckypur."—*Ibid*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 39. "Luricule, once a remarkable village, lies almost half way betwixt the Ganges and Meghna, is about 28 miles S. E. from Dacca and 3 miles E.S. from Rajanagore. Here are the ruins of a Portuguese church, and of many brick houses."—*Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> ".....this village (*i.e.* Chandergunge) is situated in Puruguna of Amidabad which is an extensive and fertile province."—*Ibid*, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*. Rennel remarks:—"I saw but little cotton growing, so that the immense quantities of cotton used in the manufacture of their cloths must be brought from distant places."

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 76.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 109-111.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> Holwell, *Interesting Historical Events*, p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 196.

<sup>16</sup> *Ryaz-us-salatīn*, p. 46.

are referred to in contemporary literature.<sup>1</sup> There we get also some idea of the chief agricultural implements, and of cultivation and field work. The following 'kasastras' (agricultural implements) are mentioned in Rāmeśvara's *Sivāyana*; *kodāly*, *kāste*, *lāṅgal* (plough), *jowāl*, *fāl*, *biḍe*, *mai*.<sup>2</sup> Both buffaloes and oxen were yoked to the plough,<sup>3</sup> and cowdung was used to manure the fields.<sup>4</sup> The owners of the fields regularly inspected the work of the labourers, and occasionally sat by the fields until the labourers finished their day's work and plodded their weary steps homewards. This is evident from a passage in Rāmeśvara's *Sivāyana*, which further describes the process of rooting out weeds from the fields (*i.e.* how the labourers separated the weed from the paddy-plants and finished their work in one tract after another as quickly as possible).<sup>5</sup> Irrigation formed an important part of the field-work and the preservation of water was a principal object, "for which the high lands were moulded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains;" and these reservoirs were "kept by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain."<sup>6</sup> Water preserved in tanks were also of much use in this respect.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes the proprietors of neighbouring lands came into collision with one another for enjoying precedence in the matter of taking water for their fields from a particular tank.<sup>8</sup> There is a passage in Rāmeśvara's *Sivāyana*, which describes how water was sometimes drained off from overflowed fields.<sup>9</sup>

The Maratha invasions and the ravages of the Portuguese and the Mugs, affected agriculture for the time being to some extent.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa*, lines 235-36; Bhāratacandra, chap. on "*Dillite utpāta-varṇana*."

<sup>2</sup> Rāmeśvara's *Sivāyana*, p. 44 (B.E.).

<sup>3</sup> "Yamer nikat hate mahisere āni

*Tomār enḍete dāo yute Sulapāni*" ("Get a buffalo from Yama, and yoke it along with your ox").—*Ibid*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> "Vṛṣa o simher nād āche ta jamiū  
*sār kari māthe tūhā dāo charaia*" ("There is much of animal dung collected there; scatter it in the field as manure").—*Ibid*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide Typical Selections*, etc., Part I, p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> Parker, *The War in India*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>7</sup> Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup> Craufurd, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

<sup>9</sup> P. 53.

<sup>10</sup> "*Chāṣā kaivarta yata yāya palāiā*  
*Bichan balader pithe lāngala laiya*" ("The agriculturists of the Kaivarta caste took to their heels with their ploughs, and with paddy seeds on the back of their bullocks.")—*Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa*, lines 305-06. Compare:—

"*Cehle ghumalo pādā juralo bargi elo deśe*  
*Bulbulite dhān kheyeche khājānā diba kise ?*"

("The children have fallen asleep, the quarters have become quiet, (but) the Bargis have entered into our lands, the bulbul (a kind of birds) have eaten up paddy grains; how to pay the rent?")



The Maratha invasions of the mid-eighteenth century proved indeed to be a great calamity ; it did, at least for several years, disturb the even tenor of life of the bulk of the people in Western Bengal. Under the pressure of the repeated incursions of the Marathas and the ravages of the Portuguese and the Mug pirates, the villagers experienced great difficulties in following their peaceful vocations and activities. After 1757 the oppressions of the revenue farmers and aumils added to the miseries of the agriculturists, till they had their cup of distress filled to the brim in the great famine of 1770 A.D. About the year 1772 Mr. Pattullo observed, " The unwise practice of pushing up the rents every year in Bengal, has afforded a full demonstration of the destructive consequences, by having rendered many of these lands desolate." <sup>1</sup>

The East India Company did not at first care about agriculture and their trade in agricultural products was limited. The factories in the interior of the country had all been established in the manufacturing centres ; and nowhere do we meet with instances of their having any arrangement for stocking agricultural goods. However in the year 1758 the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors that they would encourage the planting of cocoanuts, betel and tobacco, according to the instructions they had received in their letter of 3rd March, 1758.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the agricultural products were exported to different parts of India and to various other countries outside India.<sup>3</sup> Thus Bengal rice and wheat went to Kashmir and Tibet in exchange of musk, gold and woollens, and Bengal wheat also competed with the Cape of Good Hope trade.

#### *Patna.*

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Court, 31st December, 1758, para. 119.

<sup>3</sup> " The rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire, and other countries to which they likewise send rice, sugar, betelnut, ginger, long pepper, turmeric, and variety of other drugs and productions of the soil."—Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 4. Also Stavrinus, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 391.

# TOWARDS A NEW WORLD WAR

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## I

MOST observers of recent developments in the international situation would agree that the world is passing through a period of deepening anxiety and gloom. We have got used to the economic depression which began in 1929 and possibly there has been some amount of recovery from its worst effects. But the political crisis which has followed shows as yet no signs of abatement. People are freely talking about an impending outbreak of a new and more terrible world war. Of course it is idle to prophesy and it is well to remember that there are today at least three factors which tend to restrain any hasty recourse to arms. The economic and political dislocations caused by the last great war are not yet completely forgotten, for many states have not yet recovered from their exhaustion; recent improvements in the methods of warfare, as yet untried on any large scale, have increased the element of uncertainty and incalculability in armed conflicts between great nations; the possibility of complete destruction and financial ruin is much greater today than ever before. Notwithstanding all these considerations, international relations for some time past have been drifting towards a situation which may very easily get out of hand. The world has gone back to the temper and atmosphere of 1914.

In this connection it is natural to glance back at the sixteen years of contemporary history since the settlement of Versailles. From the standpoint of today, the twelve years from 1919 to 1931 seem to have pointed on the whole towards peace. The first half of this period was of course full of disappointment, unrest and alarm. Bolshevism still loomed as a terror; the former allies of Russia were engaged in a policy of armed intervention in the internal struggles of that country; fighting was still going on in the Near East; and the ungenerous treatment of vanquished Germany was creating troubles by intensifying Franco-German bitterness, troubles which, as many pointed out, were bound to persist. But in spite of all this the memory of the

horrors of war was still strong enough to keep down militarist aspirations. The League of Nations aroused hopes of peace and expectations of settlement of international disputes without recourse to war. The problems of the Far East were settled amicably; and the Washington Agreement effected an important step towards limitation of naval armaments. By the second half of this period, things had improved considerably and even the economic difficulties towards its end lessened the prospects of war. The tangle of Reparations was very largely smoothed out and by the end of 1929, foreign garrisons were withdrawn from German soil. Disarmament plans were being discussed continually and systematically and a world conference was arranged with high hopes. The Locarno pacts established comparative security in the heart of Europe. The League was gaining in effectiveness by the admission of Germany and the increasing contact with U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Briand's plan of a European federation within the League was being discussed by governments, in 1930. The post-war world seemed to be on the way to settle down.

But since 1931, international relations have been worsening steadily. The hopes of the preceding period now seem to have rested on insecure foundations. There is also not much ground to expect that the present ill-will and inter-state clashes represent merely a passing phase. In the history of the last four years, four factors, ominous for the maintenance of world peace, clearly stand out;—the aggressive policy of Japan, the militant temper of Nazi Germany, the failure of the League of Nations, and the deadlock or breakdown in the negotiations between the Great Powers in the matter of disarmament.

## II

The first clear indication of the new epoch was furnished by Japan's action in the autumn of 1931. She adopted a policy which has become since then clearer and bolder with the passing of time. The world thus entered a phase which showed increasingly that we have not travelled very far from the pre-war outlook in politics. Contemporary Japanese policy has revealed five features.

In the first place there is the familiar and traditional effort to control and dominate China. The three Manchurian provinces were first occupied by force and China was coerced by an attack on

Shanghai. The puppet state of Manchukuo was next floated on its existence and its frontiers strengthened by the conquest of another province, Jehol. At the same time, the Japanese are penetrating into Mongolia the effects of which would become clearer later on. It is also reported that Japan is now engaged in developing intensively her influence and interests in the provinces of North China. There are again rumours that Japan is trying to control Siam and to gain concession in the Malay States.

Her Chinese policy brought Japan into conflict with the collective system represented by the League of Nations. The Manchurian adventure involved the breach of three international treaties—the League Covenant, the Nine Powers Treaty and the Kellogg Pact. The disregard of the resolutions of the League and the Lytton Report accepted by it could have only one sequel—withdrawal of Japan from the League which is now an accomplished fact. Japan however retained the ex-German islands in the Pacific which had been entrusted to her as a mandate. She has even been accused of fortifying these islands in violation of her international obligations.

Japan has also embarked on a far-flung trade offensive, to capture new markets in different parts of the world. Japanese goods are being poured into South America, India, West Asia and even North-east Africa. The Japanese themselves attribute their commercial success and the astonishing cheapness of their products in the world-market to industrial efficiency, modern productive methods (like the Toyoda loom in the textile mills) and to the simplicity in the standard of life for the workers. Unfriendly critics however are in the habit of explaining the Japanese trade expansion by a continuous cutting of wages, currency manipulations and governmental assistance. A policy of commercial development cannot evidently be condemned but the fact remains that a sudden expansion creates ill-will and calls for a tariff war. Moreover, the Open Door system is being abandoned, in disregard of treaties in Manchuria.

Fourthly, in April 1934, the Japanese government announced an Asiatic policy which has been aptly called the Japanese Monroe Doctrine. Japan asserted that, she was specially responsible for security in East Asia, especially China and that she would oppose any dangerous foreign activities in this sphere. Protests from other interested powers led to official explanations but the advancement of

this new doctrine is of very great interest for it flatly ignores the Nine Powers Treaty of 1922. It may be argued that Japan has every right to assert her claims in China as other countries have their special spheres of influence. None the less this constitutes a new upsetting of the balance in the Pacific area. It ought also to be remarked in passing that the Asiatics are not over-enthusiastic over Japan's concern about their freedom from European exploitation.

In December, 1934, in the last place, Japan gave the usual two years' notice to terminate the Washington Naval Agreement. She is now demanding a revision of the 1922 ratio and claiming the recognition of her right to have as many capital ships as Britain or U. S. A. As these powers are not convinced of the justice of the Japanese case, there is now every prospect of the renewal in the race of naval armaments. Japan's demand is based upon the two principles of equality and security. But it must be remembered that the sentimental cry of equality may be raised by other Powers also. The ratio was accepted as satisfactory by Japan in 1922 and under the Washington Agreement Japan's position remained almost impregnable because of the prohibition of the construction of naval bases in Chinese waters. It is natural therefore that the question is being asked now as to what is the real intention of Japan.

The true explanation of Japanese policy of recent years lies in a realistic understanding of her needs and specially of the problem of the continuous pressure of a rapidly increasing population. Birth-control is frowned upon in Japan as unworthy of a great people and anyhow that cannot very well become the official policy of a government today. Japanese immigration is not permitted by white countries which still have vast vacant spaces; the Pacific Dominions of the British Commonwealth as well as the United States of America have thus contributed to the aggravation of the problem. Climatic conditions prevent any extensive Japanese colonisation in her existing possessions. Hence the course which has seemed easiest to Japanese leaders is intensive industrialisation to support a larger population and the search after outlets for goods and sources of raw material. Capitalist imperialism is the conscious chosen policy of Japan today.

It must however be admitted that two other reasons must have influenced the recent trend of Japanese policy. The Manchurian experience showed that the other Great Powers were very reluctant to

interfere and this meant that the League was incapable of doing anything. From that time onward Japan's conduct became more and more daring as was clearly anticipated by many observers. Secondly there is reason to believe that grave social discontent exists in Japan and that the semi-Fascist rulers there are anxious to divert attention from the domestic to the international "front" and restore unity in the country by patriotic flourishes.

### III

Four countries are specially threatened today by the Japanese advance and their reactions are therefore worthy of some notice. Their relations with Japan constitute the first great source of anxiety in current international politics.

China is naturally very bitter against Japan for her highhandedness though the great outburst of feeling in 1931 seems to have cooled down to a great extent. At present, the Nanking Government is in great difficulties. The Communist revolt in the heart of China still continues to be unsubdued and the relations with Moscow have not been very friendly for years. Consequently, the Japanese are in an advantageous position and are trying to win over the Nationalist Government to a sort of Asiatic alliance against foreigners. But it is difficult to believe that a complete reconciliation is possible between Japan and China. It is more likely that China will either resist Japan or fall completely under her sway.

Soviet Russia is seriously threatened by the Japanese expansion in the mainland and the construction of strategic railways. The Government of the U. S. S. R. is at present very keen on peace for it has nothing to lose by waiting and its hands are full with the Second Five-years Plan. But developments in her Far Eastern Provinces may any day force the hands of Russia, specially if she secures allies in the struggle. Japan's ambition may very well aim at rolling Russia out of East Asia back beyond the Baikal Lake.<sup>1</sup>

British markets are shrinking and British prestige is on the decline in the Far East. Japan's growth in power may also be considered threatening to isolated British possessions while the defence of

<sup>1</sup> T. Betts, "Strategy of Another Russo-Japanese War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XII, No. 4.

more extensive territories even is a matter of anxiety. A defensive policy is best suited to British interests and in the past there have been among Englishmen much sympathy with and admiration for Japan. But here again relations are getting more strained for many reasons.

The United States of America have a traditional reluctance for war and luckily their chief industrial products do not compete with Japanese goods. But unhappily the ill-will between the two great Powers has been pronounced and the last four years have appreciably added to the tension. It is a mistake to think that America will remain aloof in Pacific affairs because she does not interfere in Europe. America has her own vital interests and imperialist problems, and her military resources are enormous.

No country desires immediate war in the Pacific region but undeniably there is more and more clash all round. Ill-will is accumulating and national imperialism may suddenly be found to have overstepped the limit. Local wars are now more likely to lead to a general conflagration. A trifling event may set fire to the powder magazine of conflicting interests and mutual distrust.

#### IV

Germany is the second storm centre in world-politics today. She was rightly dissatisfied with her position after her treatment at Versailles, but ten years after the War it seemed that she was settling down into a policy of co-operation with other states which of course materially strengthened the prospects of peace. Then came the rapid expansion of Hitlerite movement which is often interpreted as a Fascist attempt to ward off social revolution in Germany. The Nazis came into power only in 1933 but their influence has been paramount throughout the last four years in Germany. This revival of militant nationalism is clearly revealed in different aspects of German outlook today.

Under pressure of this new temper, Germany not merely raised the issue of equality in the Disarmament Conference but also withdrew from its deliberations when it shelved the German demand of equal disarming of all nations or equal right of every state to arm. She spoiled this good beginning however by withdrawing from the

League and recently by her decision to begin rearming herself in flat disregard of the Treaty of Versailles, the *status quo* is also seriously threatened by the intense revival of Germanic propaganda by the Nazi Government. The Saar has been recovered this year but the 'anschluss' with Austria and the restoration of Danzig (with possibly the Polish Corridor and Mernel thrown in) still remain objects of national ambition. Hitler had formerly preached the historic German mission of colonising and civilising East Europe. His present diplomacy has revived the dreams of a compact Germanic Mittel-Europa. Behind him stand the old interests which would like to get back the lost colonies.

The origin of the German nationalist revival is usually traced back to the humiliation of Versailles. But the necessity to stifle the growth of communism is also apparent in Nazi propaganda. After Versailles, Germany attracted a good deal of sympathy amongst liberal circles in every country. Today however there is a marked swing of the pendulum in public opinion. People ask themselves whether France is not right after all in demanding guarantees against German revenge. French policy is largely responsible for the present bitterness but the growth of sympathy for France today shows that Germany has overdone her part of an injured nation.

The justification of Germany's conduct centres round two arguments. It may be said that the Treaty of Versailles now violated by Germany was signed under duress, that in addition the victors had already broken the spirit of the treaty. This is not legally convincing because defeated states always have to accept an imposed peace and the violation of the spirit of an international understanding does not justify the disregard of its definite deliberate provisions. The moral argument for Germany appeals to the justice of her protest against the terms of Versailles. But does a "just" cause absolve a state from the guilt of the unilateral violation of its obligations? A particular war might be considered 'just' but is an appeal to force a guarantee for securing justice?

## V

The new trend of German policy has already produced its inevitable reaction thus completing the second source of international



anxiety today. After the War, Britain was generally sympathetic towards Germany as was seen clearly at the time of the Ruhr struggle. The National Government is even now not exactly anti-German but the pressure of circumstances tends at the present moment to revive the entente with France, so much so that Mr. Baldwin could bluntly announce that England's frontier was on the Rhine. Nazism has also produced a good deal of hostile comment in the British Press which was very caustic about the "June purge" in Germany last year. Russo-German friendship again, built up since the Treaty of Rapallo, has broken down after the Fascist *coup d'etat* in Germany and the U. S. S. R. has gone to the length of joining the "bourgeois" League to guard against possible attack.

But the soul of the European reaction against Germany has been provided naturally by French diplomacy which may either preserve peace or plunge the continent into a general war. The latest French policy has practically transcended the League and aims at securing through pacts virtually reviving the pre-war type of alliances. Over Poland is raging at the moment of writing (May, 1935) a diplomatic struggle between France, her old ally, and Germany her new-found friend. The French have won over Soviet Russia and a closer alliance may follow between the two powers. The French still retain the Little Entente on their side though after the murder of King Alexander on French soil, Yugo-slavia is reported to be wavering on a German direction. Lastly, France for the time being seems to have come to an understanding with Italy.

Italy of course has much in common with the two great dissatisfied Powers—Germany and Japan. In Mussolini's picturesque phrase she is a "proletarian nation" shut out from the good things of life and the condition is similar in the two other states. She is also in favour of the revision of treaties which she has condemned as unfair. Like Germany and Japan, Italy is openly contemptuous of the League and her Fascist government has supplied the model for them. Moreover Italy is jealous of France and of French allies, notably her neighbour Yugo-slavia.

But for the present Mussolini has taken his stand on the other side. The German dream of advance in Central Europe and of control over Austria and Hungary at the least has alarmed all Italy and this seems to be the greater danger now. Italy evidently has been given by a recent understanding a free hand in Abyssinia. From the

beginning of this century, France has steadily opposed Italian advance towards Abyssinia ; but obviously security in Europe is of much greater value to France than the fate of Abyssinia and Italy seems to have gained her point.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Italy would like to stand well with Britain and America and Il Duce has his vanity satisfied in picturing himself as the holder of the balance of power in Europe today.

## VI

The third factor of disquiet is the breakdown of the collective system. The fatal turn in the fortunes of the League was taken in 1931 and England and France were largely responsible for it. America is usually blamed for her non-co-operation with the League but it is common knowledge that Secretary Stimson would have stood by the League if its Council had tried to exert its authority in the Manchurian Question. The decline of the League is a matter for regret for all countries, because the usual charge that it is an Anglo-French show ignores the fact that the small states were most devoted to it and they secured at least the moral condemnation of Japan's action. In fact, the League has become no one's business and increasingly the old politics of the Great Powers are re-emerging. Like Canning, modern statesmen are probably thanking God that things are taking on a more wholesome and natural complexion again.

Like the League, Disarmament also has failed and for the same reasons. All the great questions connected with the problem remain unsolved. The idea of quantitative or proportionate reduction in armaments broke down as any common measure in estimating relative military strength was lacking. The plan of qualitative disarmament or the abolition of particular weapons could not proceed because there was no agreement as to which weapons were offensive and therefore fit to be abolished. Drastic schemes of disarmament were not seriously considered and the French plan of internationalising certain categories of military forces failed to find support. Land or air disarmament talks finally broke down when the question of security in Europe became acute once more and Germany began to re-arm.

With regard to naval forces also, there is no agreement even apart from Japan's claim to equality. England and America do not see eye

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Woolbert, "Italy in Abyssinia," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XIII, No. 3.

to eye in the matter of the calibre of guns and size or number of big ships. England on the whole inclines to the view of Admiral Richmond<sup>1</sup> that there is no reason for not prohibiting bigger naval guns which of course will enable a reduction in the size of the capital ship. America wants heavier ships and guns but obviously her requirements demand fewer vessels. Anglo-American proposal to abolish the submarine is opposed by France and Japan. The situation is further complicated by the Italian insistence on naval parity with France. A naval conference is due this year but the prospects of a settlement are very remote indeed.

## VII

A new world war will be such a calamity that naturally everyone is interested in the question of how to avoid it. But the danger today lies in the fact that we are more and more getting used to this new state of things in which peace depends upon a balance of power between armed groups of states which must break down sooner or later. A world war would affect every country and all nations. Unfortunately, no great hope can be built upon three political possibilities which might be suggested as likely bulwarks of peace.

A revival of the collective system in international matters is the best ideal solution of the problem of war but it is now hardly a probable development in the near future. The League is at present on a downward path and its immediate future seems to be that of a partisan group unless the three Great Powers now outside it come in. When that happens the crisis will have already passed away.

Another possibility of course lies in the forces of moderation gaining the upper hand in Germany and Japan. But it is not easy to satisfy their demands though there is justice in many of these. The two Powers have much to complain against and their claims are not always unreasonable. But the essential thing in the international crisis today is not to find out where abstract justice is to be found. A course of action which tends to war has to be condemned because war will plunge into chaos every country in the world. Is it unreasonable to ask why every one must suffer for the mere chance that the real or fancied wrongs of a few states may be set right?

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Richmond, *Sea Power in the Modern World*; also his article on "Naval Problems of 1935," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. XIII, No. 1.

Who will guarantee that a new world war would produce a better peace settlement? Moreover the diplomatic methods of Germany and Japan can hardly be excused or defended.

Theoretically an alliance of the satisfied Powers may preserve the *status quo* and world-peace by superior strength even today. But here the danger comes from the fact that any such union is superficial because even their interests do not always coincide. England and America do not have the same degree of interest, for example, in the Pacific and in Europe. Russia and U. S. A. are very lukewarm towards each other. France and Italy are natural rivals in South-east Europe, the Mediterranean and Africa. Fascist Italy is altogether an uncertain factor from the standpoint of the erstwhile "Allied and Associated Powers."

Expectations of preservation of peace thus have now to centre round special agreements between contending Powers (France and Germany, U. S. A. and Japan, for example) which might be arrived at on account of want of sufficient preparation for war. Past experience has fully shown the unsatisfactory character of such makeshift understandings. Meanwhile every Power is preparing for war which of course only brings war nearer. A very significant feature of these preparations is the hunt for oil and the measures for storage and steady supply of petrol which is now essential for the army, the navy and the air force alike. The oil monopoly in Manchukuo, the encouragement of hydrogenation by the German Government, the British control of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company all indicate the widespread anxiety in this direction.<sup>1</sup>

## VIII

The present international crisis naturally evokes different kinds of reactions amongst observers. Fundamentally no country is really united and still less the whole world. The different attitudes are product of different interests and outlooks. More and more, conflict seems to be the rule in every sphere of life.

There is in the first place the widespread feeling of indifference—a sort of expectation that things will straighten out themselves

1 See Ivor Thomas, "A World Picture in Oils," *Political Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

somehow—an absorption in the ordinary affairs of life. After all, wars do not take place every day and a storm may always blow off. At the other extreme is the philosophy of despair and fatalism which tends to hold all human effort to be futile.

Of much greater interest is the Fascist reading of history which is only the latest and frankest version of nationalist faith. History is the conflict of races and communities and war is the healthy law of life. National or imperialist expansion ought to be the aim of a healthy people but some nations are the chosen. Race-pride, the glorification of war and an adherence to the conception of nationalistic justice are openly avowed as maxims by this school of thought.

The Marxist analysis of the situation is totally different from the above. History is regarded as the conflict—open or veiled—between classes ; rather than between individuals or peoples. The policy of a country is in reality the policy of the ruling class and that in its turn is largely shaped by the economic interests of that class. According to Lenin, capitalism in its progress is bound to accentuate three contradictions or conflicts—between the capitalists and workers within a country, between rival capitalist powers, and between imperialist countries and subject peoples. The Communists believe that these contradictions cannot be removed within the framework of capitalist society.

Finally, there is the ordinary pacific point of view which without trying to develop a philosophy of history concentrates, rightly or wrongly, on the one object—to thwart the outbreak of war. The pessimism to-day about the prospects of peace is due to the increasing realisation that the only weapon left in the hands of the opponents of war is publicity and exposure of the danger of war and that possibly this is but a broken reed.

*Calcutta.*

# TRANSPORT PROBLEMS OF BENGAL

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The province of Bengal may be roughly divided into four natural regions, viz., the Ganges-Brahmaputra Doab or Northern Bengal; the area to the west of the river Bhagirathi known as Western Bengal; the old Gangetic delta of central and lower Bengal, and the new delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra comprising what is known as Eastern Bengal. The principal products of North Bengal are rice, jute and tea but in Western Bengal rice is the main crop. In the old and in the new deltaic regions of lower and Eastern Bengal, both rice and jute are the principal crops. In the transport problem of Bengal therefore the carriage of these agricultural crops from the different producing centres of this province to their market places has chiefly to be taken into account.

The acreage of rice and jute, the principal agricultural products of the province, may with advantage be summarised here. The districts of North Bengal comprising Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Rungpur, Bogra, Pabna and Maldah, have 5,020,400 acres of rice area and 457,300 acres of jute, while lower and Central Bengal comprising 24-Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Nadia and Murshidabad have 3,638,600 and 144,800 respectively. Eastern Bengal comprising the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunj, Chittagong, Tipperah and Noakhali has rice area of 8,987,400 acres and jute area of 987,200 acres, and Western Bengal comprising Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapur, Hooghly and Howrah has only 3,923,700 and 4,300, respectively. This gives a general idea of the four principal producing divisions of rice and jute in Bengal. Besides rice and jute large quantities of oil-seeds, sugar-cane and tobacco are also grown in different areas of Bengal, but these crops are of comparatively minor importance.

The products of Eastern Bengal are chiefly carried by river services, but as there are rail roads also in this area, the railway and the water ways compete keenly for the traffic. On the other hand, for a comparative paucity of water communication, agricultural products of Western Bengal are carried chiefly by rail roads. In the old Gangetic delta comprising the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad and Khulna, the water ways are generally not navigable by large steamers, and the rail road is therefore the chief mode of communication. North Bengal is dependent to a very great degree on rail roads though the districts of Maldah, Rajshahi, Pabna, etc., on the Ganges and the Brahmaputra are also approachable by river steamer services. The rail and the river services compete for the carriage of jute from these districts to the jute press houses and the jute mills round Calcutta.

Bengal has the largest rice area in India, but by far the greater bulk of its products is locally consumed and therefore the average load of traffic in Bengal rice is not very *Long*. The products of the rich rice area in the Sunderbunds, as well as of the districts of 24-Parganas, Khulna and Backergunge are carried to Calcutta generally by country boat services. Calcutta receives large supplies of rice also from Northern and the Eastern Bengal by the E. B. Railway and the steamer services, while the B. N.

Railway and the E. I. Railway import large quantities of rice from Bihar and the Orissa, as well as from the districts of Midnapur, Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura in Western Bengal.

As the jute mills of Bengal most of which are situated round Calcutta consume about 50 per cent. of the total produce, it is obvious that Calcutta should have a very large supply of jute for local consumption. By far the biggest jute baling centre of the province is Calcutta which receives large quantities of raw jute in drums and in *kutch*a bales or even *pucca* bales of 5 maunds each and the movements of such jute to the press houses of the mills in the neighbourhood of the city have been fostered by means of special concession rates by the rail and the river steamer services from the different jute areas of Bengal.

Besides receiving jute by rail and river from the different jute areas of Bengal and Assam and from Northern Bihar, Calcutta imports large quantities of tea from the Dooars and the Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal as well as from the Brahmaputra valley and the Surma valley districts of Northern and Central Assam by rail and river services alike. The principal alternative routes for the carriage of Brahmaputra valley tea to Calcutta are over the E. B. Railway *viâ* Pandu, Amingaon and Santahar or *viâ* Pandughat and Sunderbunds rail *cum* steamer route, or *viâ* all steamer route services through the Sunderbunds. It will be noticed in this connection the charges for the tea traffic *ex* the different tea areas to Calcutta have been fixed more on consideration of competition than of the distances.

The specially low lump-sum rates for the carriage of the traffic in jute and tea from these areas as well as the special rates on the principal inward and outward traffic of Calcutta over the E. I., B. N. and the E. B. Railways, have helped not a little to develop the local and foreign trade of the great commercial city of Calcutta. The port of Chittagong also finds some help in the special railway rates for the export traffic in jute and tea in competition with Calcutta. But what is unfortunate is that in their zeal to divert the traffic each to its own way the rail and the steamer services are often found to be oblivious to the interests of the trade or to the economic development of the land. The Surma Valley (Cachar) tea is generally carried to Calcutta *viâ* Chandpur and Goalundo or *viâ* Chandpur and the Sunderbunds river-steamer route, or *viâ* Cachar service—all-river routes. Here also competition plays the most important part in the fixation of transport charges.

The railway rates in the area described above are determined chiefly by the rates prevalent on steamer services. The country boats again are beginning to compete keenly with the river steamers, for the carriage of jute *viâ* Chandpur to Calcutta by the Sunderbunds. In the circumstances the transport charges for jute by the river steamers services will obviously be seriously affected but we are informed that the jute mills and press houses were all helping the steamer services. As jute is now the most important article of trade between East Bengal and Calcutta, the appearance of the country boats has already created a new feature in the transport problem of Bengal. A similar competition between the country boats and the river steamer services is likely to grow in the regions of Chandpur and Chittagong, which will affect also the railway rates to and from these places.

In addition to rice and jute Calcutta imports also enormous quantities of wheat, grain, pulses and oil-seeds every year which are received principally from Bihar, U.P., the Punjab and C.P. Bengal does not produce any wheat worth the name, while oil-seeds of this province are generally of inferior quality. Hence Bengal has to depend largely on the surplus

products of the other provinces and the transport problems of wheat and oil-seeds are important inasmuch as on them depends the proper maintenance of the flour and the oil milling industries of this province.

As by far the greater bulk of the oil, flour and rice mills of Bengal have grown round Calcutta, to feed which enormous quantities of wheat, paddy and oil-seeds are received every year, the question of traffic facilities at Calcutta railway warehouses and sidings has also to be carefully reckoned with. In this connection the problems of the terminal accommodation of the E. I., B. N. and the E. B. Railways here are very important and the traffic position of the Calcutta Port Trust Railways forming the connecting link of the E. I., B. N. and E. B. Railways round Calcutta has to be taken into account. Besides, the port of Calcutta has to deal in a very large export, import, and entrepot trade, and so the question of traffic facilities at the Docks and the Kantapukur Sheds have also to be taken into careful consideration.

On the question of comparative value of rail roads and water ways as agents of transport it is not denied that railway is the most important method of modern transport but though the rail road is unrivalled for long-distance journeys the water ways have also their own importance. Cheapness of the cost of transport is the one principal advantage of the water ways. Moreover, water ways are more suitable for the transport of cheap articles, specially in cases where quick service is not essential. In a deltaic province like Bengal with abundance of navigable water ways, whose local trade consists of cheap agricultural goods, water service should even to-day constitute the principal mode of transport, so the navigable rivers and canals should be its principal trade routes.

In the central and lower Bengal where there is a number of natural water ways no attempt has yet been made to maintain them in proper condition with the result that the dying and dead rivers in this area are gradually converting the land into swamps and jungles. We are substantially in agreement with the Irrigation Department Committee of 1930 recommending for a comprehensive survey of the river systems of this area, and while on the subject the committee observed that the work during the previous years had been seriously hampered both by the shortage of staff and financial stringency.

The principal river steamer route of the province on the Calcutta and the Eastern Canal system constitutes a direct link through the Sunderbunds between Calcutta and the rich rice and jute districts of Eastern Bengal as well as the tea districts of Assam. This canal will be about 1,200 miles long. The Madaripur *Beel* route between the rivers Madhumati and Kumar, was originally a part of the Calcutta and Eastern canal, and it now offers a shorter alternative steamer service route from Calcutta to Eastern Bengal, or to Assam. The Madaripur *Khal* route is navigable by steamer services throughout the whole year, and a very heavy traffic in rice, jute and tea is carried over this route.

Commenting on the water ways of Bengal the Irrigation Department Committee of 1930 observed that the new embankments in the reclamation in the Sunderbunds had stopped the spread of tidal waters, and were killing the river systems of the province. The existence of the link between the Hooghly with the steamer route to the east is also seriously threatened on this account. From an examination of the water ways of Bengal it will be found that a number of navigable canals in this province have been allowed to deteriorate through sheer neglect and



want of care. As an instance in point, we notice that the northern side of the river Hooghly is no longer navigable by steamer services and hence the traffic from Calcutta for the Ganges Services has to be diverted by the circuitous Sunderbunds-Goalundo route. The trade of lower Bengal with the riverine cities and districts of Bihar and U. P. is thus seriously handicapped.

In respect of the transportation problems of Bengal a short review of some of the principal country boat routes will not be out of place. The canal branching off the river Hooghly near Chitpur and Dhappa is a very important country boat route for the carriage of traffic between Calcutta and Khulna. It divides into two tributaries that pass by Balliaghata and by Dhappa and unite again near the Bhangore canal. This Bhangore canal goes as far as Kulti where it joins the Sunderbunds river.

The Bhangore canal provides a passage for country boats laden with jute and general merchandise from Calcutta to the Eastern Bengal side, as well as to Chittagong and to Assam. But on account of continual neglect the canal has undergone much deterioration so that bigger vessels cannot ply over this system, and it is also not navigable by boats with loads of 4,000 or 5,000 maunds except in times of high tide. We understand that an embargo has been placed on boats carrying more than 5,000 maunds of merchandise. An unsatisfactory state of affairs has led to a steady decrease of traffic in this canal. The deterioration of this boat route will eventually lead to a serious dislocation of the local trade of this province. The prosperity of Bengal will obviously be seriously affected.

Among the inland water ways of the Western Bengal the cases of Orissa coastal canal and the Midnapore canal are worthy of great consideration. The Orissa coastal canal and the Hizli tidal canals were once important trade routes between Bengal and Orissa. With the opening of B. N. Railway through Cuttack and Puri to Waltair and allowing it to run parallel to the Orissa Coastal Canal, the latter has undergone much deterioration. Besides this, another coastal service by the sea route was maintained between Calcutta and Chandballi, which used to carry salt, kerosine oil, piecegoods, and yarns from Calcutta to Orissa. Between Chandballi and Cuttack there was another feeder service, but all these have been practically discontinued in competition with the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

A brisk traffic by the Orissa coastal canal would develop country boat services and confer corresponding benefit on the labour classes of the Midnapore district and Northern Orissa by offering suitable employments to them. The local trade would also obtain greater individual attention and thrive to that extent. By allowing the B. N. Railway to run parallel to the canal which was already in existence, the Government of India have been instrumental in causing serious economic loss to the province, and a section of the people.

By means of its competitive stations at Bhadrak, Cuttack and Danton the B. N. Railway has ruined the Orissa Coastal Canal in the same way as the Buckingham canal between Bezwada and Madras was ruined by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. We are not in a position to give an account of the loss that has been incurred to the province by the deterioration of the Orissa Coastal and the Hizli tidal canals, but the case of the Buckingham canal as was worked out by the Government of Madras in their evidence before the Aeworth Committee may be suggestive. From the observations of

Hon'ble Mr. A. F. Gilman who represented the Government of Madras before the said Committee we find the following :—

“ The experience of the Buckingham Canal (constructed at a cost of Rs. 86,14,000) since the advent of the Railway has been this, first of all Traffic decreased considerably.....and in recent years there has been practically no through traffic so far as the Government are aware between the North of the Presidency and Madras.

A competitive mode of alternatives in Transport has been instrumental in many cases for the loss of such a huge capital and serious injury to the local trade and local people that as a general rule it should never be encouraged by the Government. The Acworth Committee expressed a similar opinion on the question of the feasibility of a Government protection to the indigenous coastal shipping services plying between the ports of Broach and Bombay against indiscriminate attacks from the state-subsidised railway systems like the M. & S. M. or the B. B. C. I. Railways. In the case of Orissa Coastal canal had the Government of India (Railway Board) been sufficiently alive to the interests of the people, the B. N. Railway would not have been allowed to run parallel to the latter.

The B. N. Railway also runs parallel to the Midnapore canal between Midnapore and Uluberia. The Midnapore district, as we know, is very rich in rice. The Midnapore canal has also direct water way connection with the rich rice districts of Orissa, and so it should be very suitable for the carriage of the comparatively short-haul and cheap commodity like paddy and rice by country boats. The maintenance of the Midnapore canal, as well as the Damodar and the Eden canals in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly in proper order is very helpful to the flow of trade and economic prosperity in this area. The state of affairs here is also far from satisfactory, but in spite of the comparative neglect to these water ways a number of rice mills have grown in the locality at Bagnan, Uluberia, Machada, etc., which utilize these trade routes.

The maintenance of proper water ways is of greatest importance in Eastern Bengal. Besides the trunk line water ways used by the fleet of steamers maintained by the I.G.S.N. Co., there are innumerable khals, beels, and creeks in this area which serve the same purpose as the roads and highways in the opening of a country. During the rainy season when almost all the movements of jute take place, the network of rivers and drainage channels are practically the only means of communication in the interior. Unfortunately these waterways are also being continually neglected with the result that in some cases the channels of communication have choked up entirely while in others the movements of agricultural produce by water has been seriously hampered. We find further in the evidence of the Indian Jute Mills Association before the Royal Commission of Agriculture in India that in the Jute districts of Eastern Bengal the water ways were more important than the roads but in recent years sufficient attention has not been given to their proper maintenance. In fact serious silting has taken place in certain of the main Sunderbund channels and elsewhere, in some of the Eastern Bengal districts, the encroachments of water hyacinth are seriously threatening the smaller feeder water ways.

The Irrigation Department Committee of 1930 observed “ that the maintenance of the navigable water ways of this province is a matter of vital necessity, without which trade would come to a standstill.” As there are about 20,000 miles of navigable water ways in Bengal, the Committee was of the opinion that a separate organisation for the water ways of Bengal was immediately necessary. For this purpose it was

suggested that the work should be taken off from the Irrigation Department of the Government of Bengal and a separate Trust be created on the line of the Calcutta Improvement Trust or Port Trust, as such a body would work more expeditiously than a Department of the Government. In this connection the Committee recommended that the local Government should make a grant of 5 lacs of rupees per year which was worked on the basis of the existing revenue and expenditure of the Government on that account. It was further suggested that a surcharge should be levied on the fares of passengers and the goods earnings of the river steamers by these routes and such country boats that were utilised exclusively for the purpose of the trade should contribute to the upkeep of the water ways by means of license fees. But our information is that nothing has been done so far.

Besides its 20,000 miles of navigable water ways there are about 3,450 miles of railways in Bengal made up of Broad, Metre and Narrow gauge and about 36,500 miles extra municipal roads of which 3,500 miles are metalled. Out of these metalled roads 1,234 miles of road run parallel to the railways of the province within the radius of ten miles. The appearance of the commercial road motors has created a new feature in the transport problem of the province, which we shall describe later on.

The principal Trunk line railway systems having direct entrances to Calcutta are the E. I., B. N. and the E. B. Railways. The E. B. Railway system is situated practically within the province of Bengal, whereas the mileages of the E. I. and the B. N. Railways in the province are 600 and 236 only. The provinces of Bihar and Orissa and Assam, the hinterland of this great port town are served by E. I., B. N. and the E. B. Railways. Exports of manganese from C. P. are divided equally between the ports of Bombay and Calcutta. It is believed that the new Raipur-Vizianagram section of the B. N. Railway will divert a substantial portion of this traffic to the port of Vizianagram as the distance is comparatively shorter. For the surplus products of wheat, oil-seeds and cotton of the United and the Central Provinces there is a keen competition between the Calcutta and the Bombay lines desirous of carrying the traffic to their own side.

The B. & N. W. Railway is a feeder service to the E. I., for the surplus products of Northern Bihar and of the U.P. on the other side of Ganges. The B. & N. W. Railway has no port of its own and this railway has a very heavy traffic specially in grain and seeds, hides and skins and sugar to Calcutta. Though the A. B. Railway has its own port in Chittagong, the greater bulk of the traffic of this Railway moves towards Calcutta instead of to Chittagong as the former has many commercial advantages. The A. B. Railway is to all intents and purposes a feeder line to the E. B. Railway and it also works in unity with the E. B. Railway in many cases on account of the existence of a keen competition with the water services. The competition and combination between the E. B. and the A. B. Railways as well as between the railways and the water services for the carriage of rice, jute and tea from the Northern and the Eastern Bengal and the Brahmaputra and the Surma Valley districts of Assam are the leading features in the transportation problem of Bengal. The Assam Bengal Railway has direct entrance into the jute districts of Mymensingh by its Mymensingh-Bhairab Bazar line, carrying loose jute to and from Chandpur, one of the leading jute baling centres of Eastern Bengal.

The question of competition between Calcutta and Chittagong is a prominent factor in the transportation problem of Bengal and it may be remembered

that Chittagong is already a major port. There are a number of minor ports in Bengal like Narayangunge, Chandpur, Barisal or Noakhali, but these ports having no overseas trade, do not compete with Calcutta in any way. These river ports are feeders to Calcutta as well as to Chittagong, but they have their own importance in the carriage of inland trade of this province. Though Chittagong is a major port and it is comparatively nearer to some of the rich jute districts of East Bengal and the tea districts of Central and Northern Assam, the trade is being artificially diverted to Calcutta. Such rates discriminations have affected the transportation problem of the province. Cases of block rates also are not wanting in this connection and an examination of the rates for tea from the Darjeeling and the Dooars to Calcutta will be illustrative.

We hear sometimes of the proposal of a direct rail connection between India and Burma. If the scheme matures, the transportation problem of Bengal will take a different form altogether, for in that case there will be greater competition between the ports of Calcutta, Chittagong and Rangoon than on the lines of the existing competition between Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi, but a rail road connection between India and Burma is a very costly affair. It appears therefore that it will not be possible for us to secure such connections in the near future. Further the present arrangements for the carriage of trade by the maritime route do not appear to be bad either.

Though the port of Rangoon does not compete directly with Calcutta in the same way as the ports of Western India, Calcutta cannot altogether ignore that port. The trade connections between Burma and India proper are getting closer and Bengal as the nearest province cannot afford to neglect the trade and transport problems of the latter. Burma has a very important exportable surplus in rice and mineral oil. Though large quantities of Burmese rice are exported every year to foreign countries, India also receives a heavy supply of other commodities a substantial portion of which comes to the port of Calcutta. The imports are becoming heavier and have of late very seriously affected the rice industry of Bengal.

Like the jute of Bengal rice is the commercial crop of Burma. The trade figures of Burmese exported rice to Bengal show in

1932-33	112,734 Tons
1933-34	345,058 ..

The production of Petroleum in Burma compared with the products of the other provinces of India show as follows:—

	1929.	1928.	1927 (Gallon).
Burmah	253,400,524	2,602,187,263	245,400,524
Assam	33,538,889	31,502,288	33,538,689
Punjab	19,208,880	12,254,160	10,667,600

In the report of the Indian Tariff Board on oil industry, 1928, we find that from the Burmese fields more than *nine-tenths* of indigenous petroleum is obtained. The best known and oldest field in Burmah is the Yenonguay field which lies two miles east of the Irrawaddy, a few miles north of Mandalay in the middle region of the province. The production of Yenonguay field is on the decline, and the oil companies of Burmah, *e.g.*,

the Burmah Oil Company, the British Burmah Petroleum Co., the Rangoon Oil Co., etc., are looking for new fields to supply the deficiency in the neighbouring area. The Assam Oil-fields are situated at Digboi in the Dibrugarh district which however is comparatively much smaller. The most economical method of transporting crude petroleum is by means of a steel pipe through which oil is pumped to the refinery. In America a pipe line system of 1,000 miles or more occur, but the only oil companies in India which own a pipe line connecting with the refinery area are the Burmah Oil Company, the Attock Oil Company, and the Indo-Burmah Petroleum Company. The length of Burmah Oil Companies' line which extends from the oil-fields to Rangoon, is 275 miles while that of Attock Oil Company to Rawalpindi refineries is 54 miles and the Indo-Burmah Petroleum Company links a distance of 25 miles.

Mineral oil and petroleum are, like coal, found in sedimentary rocks ; but there is a fundamental difference between the exploitation of coal and oil. Oil will flow, coal is solid ; and an oil well taps a variable, sometimes considerable area round the actual bore ; but oil-fields generally have a very short life, and it is estimated that the world's petroleum will be exhausted long before many of the great coal reserves are even touched.

The total figures of traffic in kerosene oil over some of our principal railways show as follows :—

	Gallons.
E. B. Ry.	288,900
	<u>8,600</u>
	297,500
A. B. Ry.	35,600
Burmah Ry.	51,800
E. I. Ry.	135,500

The Big Oil-fields of Burmah can only be reached by river.

The traffic figures of the E. B. R. represent nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the total oil carried by all the Indian Railways (inclusive of Burmah Railways) in spite of the fact that Bengal does not produce any oil. This accounts for the imports of oil from America, Russia, and also Burma and Assam to Calcutta. Similarly though Bombay Presidency does not produce mineral oil, the traffic figures of the G. I. P. in mineral oil much exceed the traffic figures of the A. B. and the Burmah Railways, together, which indicates for the heavy imports of mineral oil in the port of Bombay.

As there is no direct rail road connection between Bengal and Burmah, it is obvious that the mineral oil of Burma must enter this province by water and similarly the Burmese rice will also take the same route. It is only desirable to develop such trade connection which will benefit both the provinces. The heavy post war imports of rice from Burma to Bengal on account of the shrinkage of its European markets may be very injurious to the agricultural population of Bengal, but so long as the Burmese rice is available at such a cheap rate it will be extremely difficult to check the imports. The loss to the province on this account will only be recouped by our paying greater attention to the cultivation of such crops like sugar-cane, oil-seeds, or cotton and the exports of flour, oil, sugar, etc., from Bengal to Burma may counterbalance the loss which this province may suffer through the heavier influx of Burma rice in the markets of Bengal.

Regarding the possibilities of developing a closer trade relation between Bengal and Burma, it may be remembered that before the war the average

annual exports of flour from the Calcutta port ranged between 15,000 and 20,000 tons per year, as against the present export of only 2,000 tons. A brisk trade in mustard oil between Bengal and Burma may be developed by improving the condition of the Calcutta oil mills so as to make them capture the elastic and wide markets of Burma. The Calcutta oil mills should also have a big market in the city of Calcutta itself and the adjoining areas where the consumption of oil is very large, but inspite of this the condition of the Bengal oil mills is said to be tottering. The oil mills in this part of the country are experiencing trouble on account of inequalities in the transportation charges for oil-seeds and oil and as the oil-milling industry of Calcutta is an important factor in the economic welfare of the province, the transportation problem which the Calcutta oil mills has to face may be described as a matter of vital interest to this province. The Calcutta oil mills get their supply of raw products from the United Provinces but we find that the railway rates on such seeds from the principal commercial towns of the United Provinces have undergone an increase of 60 per cent. over the pre-war rates, and the oil mills of the United Provinces have been favoured at the same time by special rates on oil sent to Howrah, and so they are in a position to oust the Calcutta oil mills from their own legitimate markets. In addition we find also that the B. and N. W. Railway has also combined with E. B. Railway in diverting the products of the United Provinces to the principal cities of Eastern Bengal and Assam by means of through special rates. The markets of the Calcutta oil mills are thus restricted and a province is unduly favoured by artificial methods inspite of the fact that both the E. I. and the E. B. Railways are state-owned and state-managed institutions.

Such freight discriminations have been seriously affecting the economic position of Bengal. A correct solution of the transportation problems of Bengal requires overhauling the rates and removing the inequalities on the railways. As another instance in point we may take the case of the flour milling industry of Bengal. The flour mills of Calcutta have also been seriously affected by a disproportionate raising of railway rates on the U.P. wheat sent to Calcutta. Similarly the Bengal Cotton Mills also are in a position of great disadvantage in respect of railway rates for raw cotton piece-goods to be sold in U. P. in competition with the Bombay cotton mills. If the railways will give a sympathetic consideration in this matter the Bengal cotton mills will be more prosperous, and it is quite possible that the cotton piece-goods from this province will find a wide market not only in Bengal, Bihar and Assam but also in Burma.

In conclusion a few observations on the road systems of Bengal will not be out of place. It is true that as a deltaic province Bengal is not so much in need of adequate roads, but the province is so very poor in good roads that substantial improvements in its road systems are really desirable for the development of the local trade of Bengal, in the same way as we require navigable *khals* and canals in the riverine districts of the province. It has been observed in the Mitchell-Kirkness report that with the exception of the Dooars and Darjeeling roads there is practically no metalled road of any length and importance in the whole of the East Bengal or to the north and east of the Grand Trunk Road, and generally speaking the conditions of the metalled road in the Presidency is said to be deteriorating. The Grand Trunk Road is the principal roadway in Bengal which runs parallel to the E. I. Railway between Calcutta and Barakar over a distance of 150 miles. Obviously there will be competition between the E. I. Railway and the road motor services on the Grand Trunk Road. The competition is said to be very acute in the sections Howrah-Bally, Khall, Bally Khall-Serampore,

Serampore-Chinsurah Court, Chinsurah Court-Tribeni, Burdwan-Memari, Burdwan-Musagram, Burdwan-Mankar, Asansol-Panagarh, Raneegunge-Asansol, and Asansol-Barakar, and the loss of the E. I. Railway in passenger earning on this account has been estimated in the Mitchell-Kirkness Report at rupees four lacs per year. In certain sections round Calcutta and Burdwan the goods traffic of the E. I. Railway has also been seriously affected by the competition from the road motor services, which generally offer more facilities to the traders in short-distance traffic.

Though metalled roads practically run alongside B. N. Railway in the province of Bengal, this railway does not seem to have been so much affected by the road competition. The Eastern Bengal Railway serves a greater area in this province than the E. I. Railway or the B. N. Railway, but it has proportionately less mileage of metalled roads to encounter in competition. In spite of this it will be noted that the E. B. Railway has legitimate grievances against the roads programme in Bengal, for in the evidence before the Road Committee of Mitchell and Kirkness the E. B. Railway represented that the money sanctioned by the Central Road Board has been utilised in the development of parallel roads in the zone of the E. B. Railway, *e.g.*, the Jessore Road, the Cossipore Road, the Diamond Harbour Road, or the Dacca-Narayangunge Road which will only stimulate rail and road motor competition. This money could have been better spent in the development of road lines as feeder services to the railways. These observations are worthy of a very careful consideration.

As the question of Road *vs.* Rail competition has become very acute in recent years we hear so much about giving road powers to the railways, or disallowing the use of roads in the zone of the railways to the motor services, but in such cases would it not be a better solution of the problem if the railways would exert themselves and offer better facilities in services as well as in charges. By a recourse to such improvements in the methods of railways working there will be no necessity for throttling the road motor service by means of legislation. Some sort of Government control is necessary over such forms of transport, though for the interests of the travelling public and the traders a bankrupt transport service is a danger to the country, and uncontrolled systems of transport lead to serious monetary loss, which the Government have a sacred duty to check. The earlier history of railway transports in Great Britain is sufficiently illustrative of the baneful effects of an uncontrolled system of transport on the Transport Companies themselves as well as on the people having dealings with such companies. A healthy Government control over the road motors may be effected by means of a closer supervision that financially solvent companies with the intention and capacity laying down for the business on sound lines will only be allowed to work.

The trunk line services have been hit much harder by the appearance of the road motors, but the remedies that we have suggested for recouping the loss of traffic over the trunk line railways are also generally applicable in these cases. The proper scope of road motors lie in being the feeders to the trunk line railways and the water ways. Before their appearance the light railways occupied the same position, for such railways were cheap to work and suitable for areas with intermittent traffic, but the road motors are cheaper still, and in a position to give greater individual attention. In these circumstances the light railways have no longer the same utility and there is no meaning therefore in maintaining or continuing an obsolescent means of communication. The light railways are moreover financially unprofitable to the State because in most cases the trunk line railways have to be maintained by rebates or guarantees under the

Branch Line terms of the State's agreements. Such railways should therefore be purchased by the State and absorbed into the adjoining main line at the first opportunity and construction of fresh branch line railways should not henceforth be sanctioned and we are glad to find that the Government of India has also expressed the same view. In the construction of new light railways, or in controlling such railway already in existence in this province these factors should be given very careful consideration.

Finally on the question of evolving a systematic plan that will improve the transportation and therefore the trade of Bengal by opening the interior of this province, and securing for the local producers a closer touch with the consuming markets, we are substantially in agreement with the findings of the Mitchell-Kirkness report that the topography and the many water ways of Bengal preclude the planning of an inter-connected road system throughout the whole presidency. In certain areas the building up of an inter-connected road system is a possible ultimate objective, while in others the waterways and the existing railways must remain for many years the sole channel of communication, and in such localities roads must be planned as feeders to the water ways. In the same report it has been further observed that whatever may be the eventual plan there is no doubt that a plan is needed which should take into consideration all requirements whether for reconstruction of the existing over-burdened roads or the provision of new through trunks or the improvement of local and railway feeders. This view we fully endorse.

*Calcutta.*



## ART EDUCATION IN ITALY <sup>1</sup>

The Fascist Regime has given new life and has carried out most important reforms in the field of artistic education.

The studies and organization of the Royal Academies of Fine Arts have been radically modified; institutes of general artistic culture have been created, such as the artistic "licei" annexed to each Academy; the institutes and schools of industrial art which, before the coming of Fascism, were directly dependent on the Ministry of National Economy, have been restored to their natural places, that is to say, in dependence on the Ministry of National Education and, more precisely, on the General Direction of Fine Arts, thus conferring on all artistic teaching the greatest unity of aim, of management and of control; all studies in the Royal Conservatories of Music have been reorganized, and the programmes of teaching, which for over thirty years have been in want of a revision, have been completely renewed, besides there having been founded new and extremely important courses such as those for orchestra conducting and singing (didactic branch). The condition on which musical institutes may be made equal to the Royal Conservatories of Music have also been regulated; new laws have been issued regarding the recognition of Italian music schools abroad which have attained great importance, and the conditions on which they may be made equal to the State Conservatories (and thus we have had the first Italian Music Institute abroad officially recognized—that at Alexandria, Egypt); special courses for higher "perfectioning" have been appointed at the Royal Music Conservatory of Saint Cecilia at Rome, and scholarships for study and perfectioning are being awarded by the School of the Royal Opera Theatre.

This, in brief, is the work accomplished by Fascism in the past ten years; truly a vast and comprehensive accomplishment which has renewed both body and soul in the field of artistic education. The cult of glorious traditions could no more be an aim in itself; it could no more be allowed to fall back on past laurels; it was necessary to follow the fast rhythm of the renovations in artistic forms and ideals, and Fascism has realized all this with its far-reaching vision of the cultural and artistic necessities of the Italian Nation.

To get a nearer view of the actual organization of artistic education, we will see that it is given:

- (a) In the Royal Schools of Art, in the Royal Institutes of Art, and in the High Institutes for Artistic Industries;
- (b) In the Royal Artistic "Licei" and in the Royal Academies of Fine Arts;
- (c) In the Royal Music Conservatories and in the Royal School of Recitation.

Royal Schools and Institutes of Art reach the number of sixty, and aim at preparing for work and artistic production, according to traditions, of the industries and raw material of the regions in which they are established. They are divided in as many branches as the special kinds of work which is

<sup>1</sup> Communicated by Professor Syamadas Mukhopadhyaya, M.A., Ph.D.

given in them. The School of Art, or junior course of the Institute of Art, bestows the technical preparation and necessary culture for an artsman; helps workshop experience, formed under the guidance of a Head of Art, gives lessons in applied drawing and moulding in those branches in which they are needed, and in other subjects of general culture. The higher course of the Institute of Art prepares the pupils for original works in applied art, and provides them with the necessary culture to become a Head of Art. Besides workshop training, the pupils acquire a sure and practical experience of the natural and historical forms of art, drawing, moulding and applied painting, domestic architecture and, finally, technological and general culture subjects.

With the co-operation of local societies the Ministry of Public Education will be able to promote the foundation of High Institutes for artistic industries so as to prepare, by integrating the education received at the Art Institutes, candidates for the Technical direction of the artistic industries. Those promoted from the art institutes will be admitted by competition, in a number to be yet decided on. The management of these schools and institutes is in the trust of a special Board which receives the delegates of the abovementioned local societies. The didactic and disciplinary direction belongs by right to the Director, helped by the College of Teachers.

In the Artistic "Licei" and in the Academies of Fine Arts of Bologna, Florence, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Rome, Turin and Venice, teaching of art is given independently from its applications to industry. To each of these academies is annexed an Artistic "Liceo." The course lasts four years and aims at preparing for the specialized study of painting, sculpture, decoration, scenography and architecture by the teaching of artistic and general culture subjects. The artistic subjects include: figure drawing, design drawing, figure modelling, design modelling, geometrical drawing perspective, elements of architecture, artistic anatomy; and those of general culture; Italian and Foreign literature, history of art, mathematics, physics, natural science, chemistry and geography.

The Academies of Fine Arts aim at preparing for artistic activity by frequenting and working in the study of a master: they include special courses of painting, sculpture and decoration which last 4 years. A course of scenography lasting 4 years has been founded in the Royal Academies of Fine Arts at Milan, Bologna and Rome with lessons of stylistic scenography, history of art and history of costume.

The pupils or a titular professor attend his courses cumulatively. They are allowed to work in halls adjoining the professor's study, if not in it itself, and the professor has the authority to demand the execution work of his art. The teaching of painting, sculpture, decoration and scenography may also be imparted by masters with private titles who are so qualified by a ministerial law with the approval of a special committee. The students of these courses decide at the beginning of the scholastic year whether they wish to attend the school of the titular professor or that of any other art master. Special evening and holiday courses for workers and free schools for the nude may be annexed to the Academies of Beaux Arts. The management of the Academy of Fine Arts and of the Artistic "Liceo" is committed to the care of a president elected by the Ministry and assisted by the Board of Administration and the Board of the schools.

The Conservatories of music are situated at Florence, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Pavia and Rome and attend to all musical education. The diplomas of certain musical institutes considered worthy of it, institutes

founded by the communes in which the final examinations take place according to the ministerial programmes, have been legally recognized equal to the diplomas awarded by the abovementioned Royal Conservatories.

The teaching in the Royal Conservatories is done in the various schools of which each one devotes itself to a particular subject, *e. g.*, schools for composition, school for singing, school for Piano, etc.

Age limits, maximum and minimum, have also been decided for each School, according to the specific character of the course. For admittance to the first year of the first period of each school it is necessary to possess the title of passage of the fourth elementary final examination. But those who do not possess such title can be admitted by taking an equivalent examination. Those who have passed all the final examinations of the last period of a school are awarded a diploma. The directors of the Conservatories are assisted by the Board of Administration and by a school board formed by all the teachers. The Royal School of Recitation is annexed to the Royal Conservatory of Music at Rome, and is trusted with the theoretic-practical teaching of dramatic art.

Foreigners are admitted to the institutes for artistic education in the year of the course for which the Board of the School judge them sufficiently qualified. In the Artistic "Liceo" and in the Conservatory of Music one cannot repeat more than once the same year of a course. One cannot be admitted to the same year of Academy for more than five years. Examinations are for admission, promotion and suitability diploma, qualification. By passing an admission examination one is allowed to enter the higher course of the Art Institute, the Artistic "Liceo," the Academy of Fine Arts, the Conservatory of Music and the School of Recitation. By passing the qualification examination one enters the Academy of Fine Arts and the High School of Architecture. The pupils of each institute are admitted to the succeeding classes which do not require an admission examination by means of a promotion examination, while outsiders must take a qualification examination. The examination for diploma must be taken at the end of the studies in the School of Art (or lower course of the Art Institute), in the High Institute for Artistic Industries, in each separate course of the Academies of Fine Arts and of the Conservatories and in the School of Recitation. At present the Conservatories of Music award certificates of accomplishment of the inferior course, of the medium course and diplomas. To enter the School of Art and the higher course of the Institute of Art one must possess a certificate of promotion to the sixth elementary class or of admission to the intermediate schools of first grade. To enter the higher course of the Art Institute one must have a certificate of the school of art or lower course of the Art Institute, or else a degree of the School of professional preparation, or a certificate of admission or promotion to the fourth class of an intermediate school of first grade. The entrance examination to the artistic "Liceo" for candidates already possessing a degree of the school of professional preparation or else one of admission and promotion to the fourth class of another intermediate school, is limited solely to the artistic test. To enter the Academy of Fine Arts one must possess a degree of the Art Institute.

In all the Institutes of artistic training pupils are obliged to pay attendance fees, decided by law and of fixed character. Exceptions are made however, for cases of poverty or for pupils belonging to large families.

*Calcutta.*

# Miscellany.

[I. *British Bankers against Nationalisation* (B. K. SARKAR)—II. *Economic and Financial Developments in France* (B. K. SARKAR).]

## I. BRITISH BANKERS AGAINST NATIONALIZATION

Britain's "big five" banks—Midland, Barclays, Lloyds, Westminster and National Provincial and their branches,—do the bulk of English banking. At the annual meeting of the banks their chairmen make carefully prepared and widely published addresses which reflect British financial sentiment.

Reginald McKenna, once Chancellor of the Exchequer, told the shareholders of Midland :

"Is the consumer of banking service, whether as the owner of deposited funds or as a trade borrower, likely to be better, more economically, and more fairly served by one vast bank, invested with all the powers of unrestrained monopoly, or by a few highly competitive institutions ?

"The banks are in active competition with one another, and can maintain their own shares of the available business only by efficient service and sympathetic consideration of their customers' requirements. Any bank which failed to satisfy its customers would lose them. But what protection would the customer have if all banking were under one control ? Then indeed the power of the single bank could be misused oppressively in a manner we are now hardly able to conceive.

"Moreover a monopoly, which can be efficiently operated only on a basis of more or less complete standardization, could not be expected to show the responsiveness to individual needs which is essential to good banking. What, then, is to be gained by it ? So far as I have seen nothing adequate or even feasible has been suggested.....Any monopoly of an essential service can be used to extort large profits at the expense of the public ; but a profit-making motive is not avowed by those who urge this particular project of nationalization. I conclude that there is no assurance of any compensating benefit to set against the grave evils which must arise if all banking power were concentrated in one hand."

Rupert Beckett of Westminster shared Mr. McKenna's fears of political control and asked :

"Is this the time, then, seriously to propose that the control of the Banks should be taken out of the hands of those who have proved themselves and placed under the direction of a State department, and the savings of the millions of bank depositors made the basis of socialistic experiment ; or to suggest that the advantages enjoyed by the public through the active competition between the banks should be sacrificed under the dead hand of bureaucracy ? "

Beaumont Pease of Lloyds pleaded for the wider international exchange of goods :

"My business is in practical every day affairs, and every day I see in my daily work obvious reasons for our poor condition. Why cannot we pay our debts to America ? Because she will not take our goods in

payment. Why was Australia unable to send her barley to Belgium ? Because she refused to accept Belgian glass \* \* \* I could multiply such instances indefinitely. If our well-being depends on trade, and if trade is the exchange of goods between man and man and between nation and nation, these obvious obstacles must be removed if trade is again to flow freely. Surely it is not necessary to look for 'some great thing' or to babble of the virtues of experiments with currency, or the nationalization of banks, when some cure at any rate for the world's economic leprosy is so obviously at our doors."

The Chairman Colin F. Campbell of the National Provincial cited conditions in Germany and Italy :

"These measures are interesting," said he, "as a further illustration of the limitations of those who try to organize trade by official authority, instead of leaving it free to follow its own lines of development. Dictated economy finds that it cannot dictate beyond the borders of its own country and for navigating the shifting currents of world trade the elasticity of private enterprise has so far shown itself to be the surest guide."

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

## II. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE

The political unrest which prevailed at the beginning of 1934 incited capitalists to transfer their funds abroad, and also encouraged hoarding. After a few weeks, however, public opinion seemed to be regaining confidence; the withdrawals of capital from banks, savings banks and the like declined, and once more deposits exceeded withdrawals. In November the gold held by the *Banque de France* touched its highest point for the year ; 82,525 millions of francs, against 81,015 millions in circulation. After a brief reaction, the gold stock at the end of December amounted to 89,124 millions, against 83,412 million francs in circulation. In a word, throughout the whole year the monetary position of the *Banque de France* remained exceedingly strong.

Another point to note is that at no time during the year was there anything approaching a panic at the Bourse. And, quite recently, the firm line taken by the Flandin Cabinet in handling the economic situation, coupled with an improvement in international relations, created definitely favourable atmosphere. The efforts made by the Finance Minister to promote recovery of the national finances have done much to augment the confidence of capitalists in the economic future of the country.

Despite the prevailing opinion to the contrary, there can be no doubt that the past year witnessed a genuine deflation of prices. At the present moment prices in France still are higher than those prevailing in countries with depreciated currencies, calculated on a gold basis ; but the discrepancy was reduced in the course of 1934.

In France as in India and elsewhere agriculture has been hard hit by the slump in agricultural produce and by over-production with its inevitable consequence—unremunerative selling prices. The French Government tried to remedy this state of thing by taking action with regard to the output of corn and wine. But for all that, the situation remains a difficult one, and the dissatisfaction of the peasantry is considerable.

# Abstract

## INDIAN PANTHEISM AND WESTERN THOUGHT

In an article entitled, "Indian Pantheism and Western Thought," published in the January number of the *Hibbert Journal*, Prof. W. S. Urquhart, D.LITT., D.D., D.L., emphasises the need of a co-operative religious effort on the part of the adherents of Christian religion to fight against secularism and irreligion, for which a fuller understanding of the religious faith of India is needed. With a glowing tribute to India's love of religion and contribution to it, Dr. Urquhart plunges into his subject and goes on:—

"India might be said to have conducted the most colossal experiment in the religious effect of the doctrine of immanence which is to be found in the whole history of religion. It has taken the form of a pantheistic attitude, which is on the whole more negative than positive. India has been described as 'radically pantheistic and that from its cradle onwards,' and its pantheism has been more diffused in popular consciousness and more continuous in its development than in any other country. There has been a readiness to find close at hand the materials both for speculative insight and religious devotion. Every bush may be afire with God, and every natural occurrence a manifestation of His indwelling. Through pantheism both mind and spirit may be satisfied together.

"If we take the double formula, 'God is all and All is God' as the fundamental formula of pantheism, we may say that Indian thought is more interested in the former or negative aspect than in the latter or positive aspect, although the diffusion of divinity is by no means regarded as unimportant. Greater emphasis is laid upon the unity of God than upon the diversity of His manifestations, and, if necessary, the diversity—even the differentiation between man and God—has to be sacrificed to the unity. Even in the earliest religious literature the literature of the Rigveda, dating from before 1000 B.C., this passionate search for unity manifests itself. The multifarious polytheistic deities are grouped together, classified, generalised in function and organised in relative importance. Even though there may be no permanently supreme deity, one or other of the gods obtains temporary supremacy, and this is evidence of the growth of the conception of concentrated devotion. The ritual, also, is pressed into the service of unity. The sacrifice is, according to an ancient Vedic conception, the 'thread spun out to reach the gods.' It is an opportunity of tapping the hidden forces of reality, or it is itself a latent fundamental power, deeper than the gods themselves, the mysterious constitutive principle of the universe. •

"We find traces also of the internalising of the mechanism of the ritual and the bringing of it into association with the aspiration of the worshipper. The connection takes place first of all on the physical plane, as the agitated outbreathing of the emotionally excited worshipper is quite simply conceived as dispersing and losing itself in the atmosphere. A higher plane is reached when we conceive of the breath as becoming articulate in prayer and of this as penetrating and having efficacy in the objective world of reality. We are here on the verge of the conception of

the close relationship between the aspiration of the worshipper and the underlying power of reality, and the way is prepared for the identification of Atman and Brahman, the spirit of man and the spirit of the universe, a conception which was to have a predominant place in later religious and philosophical thinking. A further step in idealisation is reached when the *efficacy* of the knowledge possessed by the priests is emphasised. The ability to penetrate beneath surface appearance to hidden meaning is closely associated with mysterious power, and in this connection we may see even the germ of the negative conception that reality is different from appearance and is to be reached by the disregard of the suggestions of ordinary experience.

"So through the centuries the search for unity grew in intensity, and as the primitive joyousness of the Vedic period gave place to a more somber mood in the grey twilight of more abstract speculation, the consciousness depended that the Ultimate Reality was to be reached mainly through negation. The effort to transform the All into God encountered too many obstacles in its treatment of the distracting diversity of experience, and the tendency was to turn attention rather to the other form of the pantheistic principle, to emphasise the idea that God was All, or, in other words, to deny the reality of all that was *not* God that God might be all in all. There is, indeed, a transition from the positive mood to the negative. Our forms of perception and categories of thought are thrown out in order to grasp the objects of the world, and, however adequate these may be as far as ordinary objects are concerned, they are found to be inadequate for dealing with the ultimate reality. But yet they lead us towards it. Space and time are useful forms even for religious satisfaction in that the unbroken continuity of space and the equally unbroken continuity of time suggest the idea of cosmical unity. Spacelessness means unlimited universality and timelessness the permanent and unchanging. Similarly when we extract from the category of causality its uttermost significance this may be taken to mean passing beyond particular events to that which is the ground of all happening, the discovery of Eternal Being behind and beyond all Becoming.

"The Indian mind, especially in the thought of the Vedanta, deepens the significance of this discovery by passing sentence of annihilation on the world of sense it has left behind. The objects of our ordinary experience are but 'names and forms,' unrealities, appearances; and the world they constitute is but little better than a dream. Our categories are constructions of the self, figments of our imagination or perhaps the products of some cosmic imagining of an arch illusionist, of whose mysterious existence we are deemed aware, but who has no secure place in the scheme of ultimate reality.

"The outgoing or expansive movement of our minds has been of the nature of a deception—self-deception or cosmic deception, it matters little which—but yet it has not been wholly a mistake. It is only a direction which has been wrong. The true significance of the expansive movement in knowledge is that we are related to reality beyond ourselves but its error is that it has sought to find *outside* of us what can only be found *within*. When we retract our faculties from their vain external search, and enfold them again within ourselves, we find that this self of ours is not a mere pin-point of existence, a shadowy and vanishing entity, but that it is a focussing of the universal Self, a coming into conscious and concentrated luminousness of that vast ultimate Being with whom or with which we are essentially one.

“ ‘ If thou wouldst empty all thyself of self  
 Like to a shell dishabited  
 Then might he find thee on the ocean shelf  
 And say, ‘ This is not dead ’  
 And fill thee with himself instead, ’—(T. E. Brown.)

“ We thus reach the climax of Indian thought, the fundamental formula ‘ That art Thou,’ the equation of the self of the individual with the Self of the universe, the establishment of the identity relation with God, both for philosophy and religion. Max Müller describes this as ‘ the boldest and truest synthesis in the whole history of philosophy ’ and an Indian writer thus glowingly describes its supreme significance:—

‘ To think and feel and act as if—as is really the case—I were the universe, this is the grand ideal which the religious books set up before their followers—an ideal which guides the practical conduct and devotional exercises of all true Hindu theists.’ ”

After dwelling on the practical implications of this identity-relation between the Soul and God, the learned writer concludes with a discussion of the religious value of this identity ideal:

“ Finally, we may ask whether the identity relation can provide us with religious satisfaction? This is the ultimate test, a test, however, which the Indian thinker is not always willing explicitly to apply, because he holds that identity is the only relationship between the soul and God which is philosophically tenable, and that if it fails to satisfy our religious needs, religion must give place to philosophy rather than philosophy to religion. In less theoretical moods, however, he would estimate its religious satisfactoriness very highly.

“ And with reason, for in many of its aspects this identity concept seems to express the interest form of religion, the consummation of the longing of the mystic for completeness of harmony with God. It may be reached by negation, but negation is a corollary of the insatiable quest on which religion sets forth as it emerges from the mood of ‘ divine discontent.’ Over against the intensity of its aspiration and the felt importance of the goal, the world of the actual may assume a dream-like character, ‘ relinquishing its hold upon the frame of things.’ The identity concept also expresses an intense dislike of externality in religion, and it is for all of us impossible to find satisfaction in a deistic God, set at a distance from the world and from ourselves. Religion must be ours; our own attitude. God must be brought from the distance into our very heart. For the truly religious man God is not an object but an atmosphere in which our soul can truly breathe the breath of life.

“ Yet notwithstanding the beauty and attractiveness of the identity ideal, it does not seem to reach the possible heights of the religious relationship. Because of its negative character, its denial of our ordinary activities, its emphasis upon the difficulties of the religious search, it seems sometimes to make scepticism the basis of religion, which is uncommonly like making a desert and calling it peace. Further, through its reluctance to ascribe character either to God or ourselves, it does not guard us against making use of lower and even physical conceptions in our interpretation of the religious attitude. The very word “ absorption ” has a physical suggestiveness about it of the “ plop ” of a raindrop into a pool, and it is the same with other identity metaphors. We realise our relationship to God



through those of our faculties which are nearest to unconsciousness or hypnotic states or to our merely physical nature. No room is left for the assertion of freedom or of personality. We are lost in the boundless spaces of the world, and when we ask who *we* are, no answer comes from out the void.

"Surely there is a challenge here both to philosophy in general and to Christian speculative thought. Surely there is a better way of satisfying our religious aspirations—not by way of identity indeed, but by way of communion.

"In our thinking upon religious matters, why should we not turn back to the simplest relationship of all—the subject-object relationship? We do not mean that God should be likened to other objects, still less that we should neglect the Vedantic warning against externality. We should not concretise either the world or God or ourselves so as to lead to distancing or separation. No foreignness, no strangeness can be allowed to enter into or spoil the unity which exists between ourselves and God. But emptiness, either of ourselves or God, is not the necessary consequence of the removal of externality. It is through the activity of the self that we obtain a criterion of reality. But the fuller consciousness of the self is not isolating: along with it there comes a sense of duality, a reaching out to the Other, to the Divine Object.

"And it is on this basis alone that true worship is possible. The identity concept cannot provide for this. Worship implies a relationship between two terms, and cannot persist if the two are fused together. We cannot worship ourselves if we alone exist; nor can *we* continue to offer the worship if God alone exists.

"The truth of the subject-object relationship is continued on to the religious level through the conception of love, which saves us from the danger of the identity concept, especially from the extremes of excessive humility or excessive pride, by establishing both terms of the relationship between man and God and making communion possible between them. The love of man to God is not a merely sentimental human yearning without assurance of any object. And from the side of God this conception implies the outflowing activity of God, in trustfulness towards the world which He has made, suggesting that He would not be God without it and without purposing to satisfy its needs, even when these needs mean the redemption of men from the evil they have wrought and the suffering of God for the restoration of perfect communion.

"Hindu thought, in the implications of the identity conception, tends to deny the reality of the actual and to suggest that God's participation in the actual history of men can only be of the nature of appearance. Christianity comes down into history in order that it may make actual what is possible for men, in order that *we*—in our concrete full human personality, and not as disappearing phantoms in a dream-like world—may become the sons of God. In the connecting of human potentiality with Divine purposefulness Christianity seems to complete the truth of the identity conception. The Hindu formula 'That art Thou' is a challenge sent out by speculative thought, striving to express the persistent yearning of humanity for fulness of communion, and the answer comes back in the name Immanuel, God with us."

# News and Views

*[A Monthly Record of News and Views relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities,  
and other Literary, Cultural and Academic Institutions  
and Movements in India.]*

## Modern History Congress

The First All-India Modern Indian History Congress will be holding its session at Poona on June 8, 9 and 10th next. The Congress will be inaugurated by Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, and will be presided over by Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan of the University of Allahabad. The Congress will deal with that period of the history of India which begins from the entry of Mahomedans into this country and closes with the establishment of British power, that is, from about 800 A.D. to 1818 A.D. The Calcutta University will be represented in the Congress by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., PH.D. (Cal.), B.LITT. (Oxon.), Sir Asutosh Professor of Indian History.

## An Educational Tour

Under the auspices of the International Student Service, an educational tour had been organised for the second year by Mrs. S. K. Datta, wife of Mr. Datta, Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore. A party of about 20 students and teachers left Bombay for Europe on May 23. The return journey will be made on August 10.

## Hindi University at Indore

An association has been formed, with Sir Hukum Chand as president, to inaugurate the proposed Hindi University at Indore, which will be the first of its kind to give instruction through Hindi in all subjects up to post-graduate classes. The only parallel is the Hyderabad Osmania University where the medium is Urdu. Other members of the association are Sir Syed Ross Masood, founder of the Hyderabad Osmania University and ex-Chancellor of Aligarh Moslem University, and Miss Indirabai Bhagwat, Officiating Director of School Education, Holker State.

Four new examinations will be instituted after the vernacular final examination, each a year after the other, the standard of teaching in these classes "approximating to that of matriculation, intermediate, B.A. and M.A." Every graduate will have practical knowledge of an industry or art to fall back upon in cases of emergency. As outstanding feature of the scheme is the choice given to students after "Pravesika" to take up higher training in the industry and art selected by them and acquire technical diplomas or to pursue studies in literary, social or professional subjects. English has been retained as an optional subject. Teachers will be stationed at mofussil centres—forming the nuclei of future Hindi colleges—to prepare private students for university examinations.

### Lucknow University

The decision of the Executive Council of the Lucknow University recommending to His Excellency the Chancellor that Dr. R. P. Paranjpye be re-appointed Vice-Chancellor for another term, has been generally approved in educational circles at Lucknow. Dr. Paranjpye's period of office has been marked by several important changes and a few outstanding achievements. Women's education in the United Provinces has shown remarkable progress in the last few years. The Faculty of Law in Lucknow University, in common with that of other universities in other provinces, had long been the target of criticism, but it was only during Dr. Paranjpye's period of office that any real attempt was made to reorganize the Department. What will remain as a permanent memorial of Dr. Paranjpye's term of office will be the new library building, plans for which have already been drawn up. It is proposed that the University should spend about a lakh and a half and that Government should be requested to contribute an equal amount as a non-recurring grant.

### Bombay Education Week

A scheme of reform with regard to secondary education was outlined by Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, at the annual session of the Bombay Division Education Week held here recently. Mr. Chandavarkar emphasized that the present system of matriculation examination should be made to serve its real and only purpose as a purely entrance examination to the University.

The result of the present arrangement whereby the examination was made to serve both as the university entrance examination as well as the school final examination, was that a number of students really unfit for university education were appearing for it and the examiners were forced to be satisfied with a lower standard of performance by the candidates. The standard of University education was thereby also lowered. The examination, Mr. Chandavarkar stated, acted as a stranglehold on both higher and secondary education. As a remedy against the evil he suggested that students with a technical bent of mind or those aiming at clerical service should be diverted from the examination at the stage of the fourth standard by the holding of examinations specially instituted for the purpose and conducted under the auspices of employers like the Government, the railways and similar bodies.

Mr. Chandavarkar also suggested the development of centres of technical education at various industrial areas of the province, thereby ensuring that only those fitted for university education should proceed to the higher standards.

### The Punjab University

The Punjab University has decided to open a Public Service Class in order to provide training for candidates who propose to take the Indian Civil or Finance Service examinations. The University has appointed a Committee to organize a scheme for this class and has appointed Professor G. C. Chatterjee, Government College, Lahore, as Advisor. He will personally guide the studies of individual students and be in general charge of the Public Service Class.

It is proposed to provide the following facilities for the Public Service Class :—(1) Personal advice with regard to suitability of candidates, choice of subjects to be selected and lectures to be attended by individual candidates. (2) Provision of special courses of lectures in the compulsory group of subjects to meet the requirements of the I.C.S. examination. At present it is proposed to provide instruction in English including Essay writing, and to organize courses of lectures in General Knowledge and Every day Science. (3) To extend permission to the Public Service Class to attend an Honours school of M.A. lectures in various optional subjects, which may prove useful for the higher competitive examinations. The scheme of instruction for the Public Service Examinations will come into force from October, 1935.

#### **Empire Universities' Conference**

It is understood that a quinquennial congress of Universities of the British Empire will be held at Cambridge from July 13 to 17, 1936, immediately after the celebration of the centenary of the University of London. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, has consented to act as President. An interesting programme of addresses and discussions on educational problems and visit to places of interest is being arranged.

The University of Calcutta will be represented at the Congress by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, *Vice-Chancellor*, Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, Professor S. K. Mitra and Sir W. E. Greaves, an ex-Vice-Chancellor and ex-Judge of Calcutta High Court.

#### **Assam University Project**

A Bill initiated by Maulvi Munwar Ali for establishing a university in Assam had been tabled for discussion in the current session of the Legislative Council which was opened by His Excellency the Governor on May 27 last. The Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy had also tabled a resolution on this subject, suggesting that a scheme for a university in the province be immediately prepared and placed before the Council.

His Excellency however, refused sanction to the introduction of the Bill and discussion of the resolution on the ground that it would impose a heavy charge on the revenues of a bankrupt province like that of Assam. He said that the controversy over this question and the deep interest that was being taken in it by the people in both the valleys would necessitate, first of all, a proper inquiry into its various aspects by a special officer and the appointment of a strong, expert, representative committee to consider all the facts placed by him before them, to take evidence if necessary and to make their recommendations to the Government. Without such an inquiry, His Excellency said, the details of a University Bill could not be expected to be hammered out and reconstructed in the Council Chamber.

Public opinion on this subject is sharply divided. Meetings were recently held in connection with All-Assam University Day at Gauhati, Sibsagar, Tezpur, and other places in the Assam valley recording unqualified support for the proposal. On the other hand, a very well-attended and representative meeting at Sylhet registered a united protest against a separate University for Assam.

# Gurselves

[I. Asutosh Day—II. Tibetan and Chinese Studies—III. Inter-University Board and Co-education—IV. All-India Modern History Congress, 1935—V. Sixth International Congress, Amsterdam—VI. Seventh Imperial Social Hygiene Congress, London—VII. Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire—VIII. Nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists, Rome—IX. Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects—X. New Affiliations—XI. Matriculation Examination, 1935—XII. Intermediate Examination in Arts, 1935—XIII. Intermediate Examination in Science, 1935—XIV. Mutual Recognition of the Matriculation Examination—XV. The University of Besançon (Franche Comté)—XVI. A New Ph.D.—XVII. Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose and Mr A. N. Harley—XVIII. Miss Rama Bose—XIX. George V Professor of Philosophy—XX. Tagore Professor of Law—XXI. Some Recent Appointments—XXII. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq—XXIII. A New College—XXIV. St. Anthony's School, Shillong—XXV. Teachers' Training Department—XXVI. Law College Governing Body—XXVII. Birth-Day Honours—XXVIII. An Appreciation—XXIX. Notifications.]

## I. ASUTOSH DAY

The eleventh anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was duly celebrated on the 25th of May. Tributes were offered, of devotion and loyalty, to the cause for which Sir Asutosh worked and died. There was a double programme arranged for the celebration. The morning function was held at Chowringhee Square. A large and distinguished assembly gathered at 7-30 A.M. at the foot of Sir Asutosh's statue, which was thickly bedecked with flowers, and it was presided over by the Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherji. Sir Manmathanath, who spoke in Bengali, dwelt at length on the significance of the annual prayer held in memory of the departed great. He paid an eloquent tribute to the greatness and unique personality of Sir Asutosh. The meeting concluded with offerings of floral tributes and songs sung in chorus by women admirers. The evening function was held at the Darbhanga Buildings at 5-30 P.M. The marble bust of Sir Asutosh on the landing of the grand staircase was decorated with flowers and garlands, and the whole atmosphere breathed, as it were, the sublimity of a Hindu temple, heavily laden as it was with the holy odour of burning incense. The marble staircase was filled with students, teachers and men of light and leading, who gathered together as usual to pay their homage to the memory of a great man who lives enshrined in the heart of every Bengali, nay, every Indian. The Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, who presided, delivered his address with a sonorous voice—so characteristic of him—an address which in depth and solemnity was well worthy of the occasion. Then followed *Kīrtan* songs by Pandit Ramkamal Bhattacharyya after which the function came to an end.

We reproduce the full text of Dr. Urquhart's Address below :

“ It is an honour and privilege to be allowed to take part in the solemn ceremony of to-day—the celebration of the eleventh anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I value all the more the opportunity given to me as an ex-Vice-Chancellor of paying another tribute to him on behalf of the University, because the very inability of the present Vice-Chancellor—in the fitness of things—to preside at this assembly is an evidence of the closeness of the bond between Sir Asutosh and the University which he loved and served so magnificently.

“ There are some commemorations of the illustrious dead which diminish in importance and intensity as the years go by. The stream of enthusiastic remembrance loses itself in the sands of the desert of forgetfulness. The celebration is perfunctory and a matter of tradition rather than of present interest. It is not so in the case of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The affection in which his name is held and the gratitude which his achievements call forth seem to me to be as strong and widespread as on the day of his death. In the years that have elapsed some of his contemporaries and successors have fallen by the way, but others have arisen worthy to take their place and able to maintain the great tradition which has been handed down. Those of us who cherish personal recollections and had the privilege of his friendship and leadership, can bear testimony to the fact that the passing years have not diminished our admiration for his outstanding intellectual qualities and his great powers of organisation.

“ He was taken away from us at a time when it had just become possible for him to take a more direct share in the public life of the country, and it is my firm conviction that, had he been spared to us, this would have made a vast difference to the history of Bengal and to the whole of India.

“ I do not believe that the memory of a great man is a matter solely of the past. I believe a man's place among the immortals of his country—his effective posthumous influence—is based upon the extent to which he was able to make his purposes conform to the Divine purposes working through history—the extent to which he was able to make himself necessary to his fellow men. We in this University have warrant in ascribing on this and other grounds the quality of immortality to Sir Asutosh's work, for assuredly the University had need of him, and he seems to have been the man of destiny in its affairs. Another allied thought which suggests itself to me is that the dead have need of us, and that we are worthy to celebrate their anniversaries only in so far as we share the spirit of their life and are ready to carry forward the work which they have begun. We can believe that it may be a

special joy to Sir Asutosh to know that the guidance of University affairs has been entrusted to his son. By our presence here to-day we share with his family in the tribute of affectionate remembrance, and we give to the world the assurance that the personal links which bind this University to the memory of Sir Asutosh, are strengthened in the minds of many others who also reverence his memory and are ready to carry forward his work."

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## II. TIBETAN AND CHINESE STUDIES

Those interested in Oriental Studies will be glad to be told that this University is making provision for organising Tibetan and Chinese Studies in the Department of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. The Vice-Chancellor himself has taken the initiative in the matter and a scheme has been drawn up and adopted for three years for the present, in consultation with Professor Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi and Dr. Satkari Mukherjee. Years ago the imagination of Sir Asutosh brought into being an arrangement for Tibetan Studies at the University under the direction of a Tibetan Lama; but financial stringency subsequently led to the withdrawal of the arrangement, but not until it had equipped a number of our students and teachers with a knowledge of Tibetan language and literature. Meanwhile, the University has been enriched by the addition, in the Post-Graduate staff, of teachers who are well grounded not only in Tibetan but Chinese as well. Our present Vice-Chancellor has been quick to seize the opportunity, and the result is that a regular scheme of studies in these subjects will begin to work, subject to the approval of the Senate, from the beginning of the next academic year. Students and teachers would thus find a rare opportunity of learning Tibetan and Chinese which provide invaluable material for Indian History and Culture.

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## III. INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD AND CO-EDUCATION

It is gratifying to learn that the resolution regarding the University Education of Women adopted by the Inter-University Board, India, at the last meeting of the Board held at Calcutta in February last, is virtually the same as that adopted by this University some time

back. In fact, the resolution eventually adopted by the Board was originally proposed by this University and ran as follows:

That in the opinion of the Board in Primary and University stages co-education should be encouraged, and that in Secondary and Intermediate stages separate schools for boys and girls are desirable, but where this is not possible, girls should be allowed entrance into general schools, and special arrangements should be made for them.

Now that the Inter-University Board have adopted this resolution, it is to be hoped that other Universities in our country will follow the same principle.

#### IV. ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS, 1935

It is good news to learn that an All-India Modern History Congress has been organised to be held at Poona on the 8th, 9th and 10th of this month. We have already had another important organisation, the All-India Oriental Conference, which has done much useful work in the domain of ancient Indian History and Culture, and now that an All-India Modern History Congress has come into being, students of Indian History will very naturally expect to see a fresh impetus given to historical studies and researches in this country. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan of the University of Allahabad will, we understand, be the first President of the Congress, and let us hope that under his guidance the Congress will make a good start.

We are glad to announce that Professor Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D. (Cal.), B.LITT. (Oxon.), has been appointed a delegate of this University to attend the Congress.

#### V. SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, AMSTERDAM

In response to an invitation from the President and First Secretary, Organising Committee for the Sixth International Congress, Professor S. P. Agharkar, PH.D., has been appointed a delegate to represent this University at the said Congress, which will be held at Amsterdam from the 2nd to the 7th September next. It has been emphasised in the Secretary's letter of invitation that the delegation of this University will be specially and cordially welcomed by the Committee.



## VI. SEVENTH IMPERIAL SOCIAL HYGIENE CONGRESS, LONDON

Dr. C. A. Bentley, O.I.B., M.D., (Cal.), M.B.C.M., (Edin.), D.P.H., D.T.M.&H., has been appointed a delegate of this University on the seventh session of the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress, which will be held at London from 8th July to 12th July next.

## VII. QUINQUENNIAL CONGRESS OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The undermentioned gentlemen have been appointed delegates to represent this University on the next Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire, which will be held at Cambridge from the 13th to the 17th July, 1936, and will be presided over by Mr. Stanley Baldwin.

1. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.C.,  
Vice-Chancellor.
2. Bidhanchandra Ray, Esq., B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.),  
F.S.M.B. (Bengal).
3. Professor Sisirkumar Mitra, D.Sc.
4. Sir William Ewart Greaves, K.T., M.A., D.L.

The delegates have been requested to suggest subjects for discussion at the Congress.

## VIII. NINETEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, ROME

The nineteenth session of the International Congress of Orientalists will be held in Rome from 23rd to 29th September next. The following gentlemen have been appointed delegates to represent this University at the Congress:

1. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.)
2. Niharrajan Ray, Esq., M.A.

## IX. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS, 1934

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific subjects for the year 1934 has been divided equally and awarded to the two under-mentioned candidates for the theses noted against their names :

Mr. Jnanendralal Bhaduri, M.Sc. *The Anatomy of the Adhesive Apparatus in the Tadpoles of Rana Afghana Gunther with special reference to adoption modifications.*

Dr. Umaprāsanna Basu, D.Sc. 1. *A Study of the Michael Re-action.*  
2. *On the Formation of Nitrogen Ring Compounds in Nature.*

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## X. NEW AFFILIATIONS

From the beginning of the next academic session, the following colleges will be further affiliated to the University of Calcutta in the subjects and up to the standards noted against their names :

Uttarpara College, Uttarpara	...	Elements of Civics and Economics (Intermediate Standard).
Rajshahi College, Rajshahi	...	Political Economy and Political Philosophy (B.A. Hons. Standard).
Do. do.	...	Elements of Civics and Economics (Intermediate Standard).
Ripon College, Calcutta	...	Pali (Intermediate and B.A. Pass Standard).
Do. do.	...	Mental and Moral Philosophy (B.A. Hons. Standards).
Vidyasagar College, Calcutta	...	Hindi (as Second Language) (B.A. Standard).
Chittagong College, Chittagong	...	Bengali (as Second Language) (B.A. Standard).

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## XI. MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination 1935 was 24,868, of whom 158 were absent, 2 were disallowed and 202 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 24,708, of whom 22 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 14,696, of whom 4,999 passed in the First Division, 7,836 in the Second Division and 1,861 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 23.

The percentage of passes is 59·6.

The percentage of pass in 1934 was 62·55.

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## XII. INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN ARTS, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts 1935, was 5,440 (including 5 special subjects), of whom 124 were absent, 1 was disallowed and 37 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 5,315, of whom 29 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 3,071, of whom 986 passed in the First Division, 1,633 in the Second Division and 452 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 4, in two subjects only is *nil*, and in three subjects only is *nil*.

The percentage of passes is 57·8.

The percentage of passes last year was 58·7.

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## XIII. INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN SCIENCE, 1935

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science 1935, was 3,666 (including 28 special subjects), of whom 68 were absent, 1 was disallowed and 26 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 3,597, of whom 25 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,855, of whom 633 passed in the First Division, 923 in the Second Division and 299 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 20, in two subjects only is *nil*, and in three subjects only is *nil*.

The percentage of passes is 52·1.

The percentage of passes last year was 54·9.

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#### XIV. MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION

It may be in the recollection of our readers that the Syndicate, sometime ago, appointed a Committee to consider the question of equivalence of the Matriculation Examination of an Indian University or a corresponding Examination of a Secondary Board to the Matriculation Examination of this University. The Committee submitted a report which was adopted by the Syndicate on 13th July, 1934 and circulated to the different Indian Universities and Boards for opinion. These opinions were received and considered by the Syndicate, and the following resolutions were adopted for general guidance :

*Resolved*—(1) That the Matriculation Examination of a recognised University or a corresponding examination of a Secondary Board, in India, with the exception of that of the Universities of Patna and Mysore be recognised as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University subject to the following conditions :—

(a) That so long as the rule *re* a minimum age for admission to the Matriculation Examination of the University is not abolished, candidates for admission to a course of study under this University will be required to conform to that rule.

(b) That where a candidate has passed the S. S. L. C. Examination of any province he will be required to produce a certificate from the educational authorities concerned that he is eligible for admission to the University course of that province.

(c) That candidates who have passed the Matriculation Examination of Patna or Mysore University be required to fulfil the following additional conditions before they are considered eligible for admission to a course of study under this University.

##### *Patna University.*

Candidates must pass the Matriculation Examination of this University in one or more compulsory subjects, in which they have not already passed the Matriculation Examination of the Patna University. They may be provisionally allowed to join the Intermediate course, but they must pass in the subject or subjects concerned in the next following year; otherwise they shall not be permitted to sit at the Final Examination at the end of the two years' course.

##### *Mysore University.*

(a) Candidates must be declared eligible for the University Course.

(b) They must have secured the percentage of marks as stated below, *i. e.*, 40 p. c. marks in English, 30 p. c. in Additional Mathematics, Additional Language or Vocational subjects, 35 p. c. in each of the other subjects.

(c) They should have taken at the Matriculation subjects corresponding to those offered for the Intermediate as far as possible.

(d) In cases where such correspondence is not possible admission will be subject to the Principal certifying that the students are capable of following instructions in the subject.

## XV. THE UNIVERSITY OF BESANÇON (FRANCHE-COMTÉ)

Dr. P. C. Bagchi of our University has been appointed Calcutta Correspondent of the University of Besançon. Besançon is a small but important town in Franche-Comté (France). The University was founded in the 15th century and is thus one of the oldest in Europe. The authorities of the University are now offering certain special advantages to foreign students who might be willing to go there and attend the courses of the *Institut de langue et de la civilisation françaises*. Under the auspices of the University this Institute has organised two courses: the *Usual Course (Cours permanentes)* during the session and *Vacation Course* during the vacation. The courses have been so organised that the foreign students may specialise in the French language, literature, and the history of civilisation within a short time by coming in close contact with the Professors.

The resident students are charged a special rate of 560 francs and all students between the age of 16 and 25 are allowed a reduction of 50% on the actual fare on the French Railways.

Besançon is one of the biggest thermal stations in France and is only nine hours' journey from Marseilles and 6 hours' from Paris.

Further details about the University courses and other information may be had by applying to Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Calcutta University.

## XVI. A NEW PH.D.

We offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Rakesranjan Sarma, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy, Dacca University, who has just been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University for his thesis entitled "Studies in the Philosophy of Buddhist Vijñānavāda." The thesis which was unanimously recommended was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin of the University of Ghent, Professor F. W. Thomas of the University of Oxford and Professor Giuseppe Tucci of the University of Rome. Mr. Sarma is a distinguished graduate of both the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. He won the Griffith Memorial Prize of this University in 1929.

## XVII. DR. GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE AND MR. A. H. HARLEY

We are glad to announce that Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., has been nominated by His Excellency the Chancellor to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Sir C. V. Raman, resigned. Dr. Bose has been attached to the Faculties of Arts and Medicine and has been appointed members of the Boards of Studies in Mental and Moral Philosophy, Experimental Psychology, and Teaching.

Mr. A. H. Harley, M.A., has been re-nominated an Ordinary Fellow with effect from the 11th June, 1935, next, on which date his present term of office is due to expire.

## XVIII. MISS RAMA BOSE

The University has resolved to utilise a portion of the fund created by the bequest of the late Rai Viharilal Mitra, Bahadur, for the furtherance of women's education in the province. A special scholarship of the value of Rs. 2,400 out of this fund has been granted to Miss Rama Bose, M.A., one of our brilliant lady-graduates in Philosophy, for one year from 1st July, 1935, to enable her to complete her researches in Indian Philosophy at Oxford. It may be in the recollection of our readers that a research stipend of Rs. 75, made tenable at Oxford, had been granted to Miss Bose for one year with effect from 1st July, 1934. Since then she has been carrying on her researches abroad to the full satisfaction of Professor F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, who has been guiding her work. She has been permitted to go up for the D.PHIL. degree of Oxford University in two years, having been exempted from the preliminary B.LITT. examination owing to the excellence of her work. We hope Miss Bose will justify the scholarship now granted to her.

Miss Bose graduated with Honours in Philosophy with the first position in the First Class, and took the M.A. degree in the same subject with the same distinction.

## XIX. GEORGE V PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The appointment of Rai Bahadur Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., to act as the George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy

of this University, in the place of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.LITT., the permanent incumbent of the post, will be appreciated by all within and outside the University. Those who know Professor Bhattacharyya, and are aware of his long and brilliant record of teaching and research, his vast erudition, his sober and scholarly habits and his unassuming manners, cannot but feel that the selection has been happy. He is one of the early recipients of the Premchand Roychand Studentship (1901) and he enjoys an extraordinary reputation as a teacher of Philosophy in and outside Bengal. After retirement from Government service he joined this University as a Professor of Philosophy, and subsequently served as Director of Researches in the Philosophical Institute at Amalner.

Professor Bhattacharyya has been appointed at present for a period extending from 1st June, 1935, to 30th April, 1937.

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#### XX. TAGORE PROFESSOR OF LAW

Few appointments in recent years have given so universal satisfaction as that of the Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee, Kt., M.A., B.L., as Tagore Professor of Law. Sir Manmathanath has been invited to accept the appointment for the year 1935, on the usual terms and conditions, and to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on "Res Judicata," on a honorarium of Rs. 9,000. The lectures will be delivered during 1936-37.

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#### XXI. SOME RECENT APPOINTMENTS

We are glad to announce that Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., PH.D., Premchand Roychand Student, has been appointed a whole-time Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit with effect from 1st June, 1935. Dr. Bhattacharyya has been for a good many years a Professor of Sanskrit in the Brajamohan College, Barisal, where he has already built up a reputation for teaching and research. He obtained the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1927 and his

Doctorate in 1934 from this University for a highly commended work on Vedanta. The appointment has been made in the place of Pandit Kokileswara Sastri, M.A., who is retiring after having rendered distinguished service to the University for about a score of years.

We congratulate Mr. Panchanan Chakravarti, M.A., on his appointment as a whole-time Lecturer in the Department of Political Economy and Political Philosophy of this University with effect from 1st June, 1935. Mr. Chakravarti comes with an experience of teaching in different Calcutta Colleges as also in the Post-Graduate Department of our University. He has had a brilliant academic career, having secured the first position in almost all the University examinations.

We also congratulate Dr. Rabindranath Sen, M.A. (Cal.), PH.D. (Edin.), on his appointment as a whole-time Lecturer in the Department of Pure Mathematics of this University. Dr. Sen took his M.A. in Pure Mathematics from our University, and his Doctorate from Edinburgh. He has been serving the University as a part-time Lecturer in Pure Mathematics for some time past, and his appointment now as a whole-time Lecturer will give universal satisfaction.

Mr. Muhammad Ishaque's appointment as a whole-time Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Persian will also be hailed with delight. It may be in the recollection of our readers that Mr. Ishaque was recently honoured by the Persian Government with a gold medal for his work on Persian Literature. He has been on more than one occasion to Persia in connection with his researches which have received wide appreciation. He has already been serving as a Lecturer for a number of years and now his appointment in grade comes in the fitness of things.

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## XXII. MR. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ

We offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, one of our distinguished Fellows, on his election as Mayor of the City of Calcutta. The University took the earliest opportunity to offer its felicitations to him at the meeting of the Senate held on 1st June.

Mr. Huq, the Vice-Chancellor observed, was the third Mayor of this city who had also been associated with this University as



member of the Senate. If Medicine and Commerce had given two, Law had also given one of whose abilities and distinction the University might justly be proud. Recalling with pleasure his services as Minister of Education the Vice-Chancellor said that he could not forget that Mr. Huq was in office at a time when the University was passing almost through a crisis. He was always a champion of its legitimate rights and interests. Concluding the Vice-Chancellor hoped that the Mayor would guide the deliberations of the Corporation so as to advance the cause of its progress and efficiency.

Replying Mr. Huq thanked the Vice-Chancellor and the Senators for their good wishes and felicitations. He recalled with feelings of gratitude the help and co-operation extended to him when in office by the Syndicate and the guidance he had received from Sir Asutosh. "It was his guidance in all matters," Mr. Huq observed, "that enabled me to render services not merely to the University but to the cause of education in this province."

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### XXIII. A NEW COLLEGE

Madaripur, in the district of Faridpur, is going to have a college of her own to be named Tilakchandra Silver Jubilee College. The college has just been granted affiliation in English, Bengali, Logic, History, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian Mathematics, and Elements of Civics and Economics up to the Intermediate standard from the commencement of the academic session of 1936-37, or of the next session (1935-36), if, of course, the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education is agreeable.

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### XXIV. ST. ANTHONY'S SCHOOL, SHILLONG

St. Anthony's School, Shillong, and "Our Lady's House," Shillong, have also been affiliated up to the Intermediate Arts standard with effect from the commencement of the academic session of 1936-37 or of 1935-36, subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education, Government of Bengal.

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## XXV. TEACHERS' TRAINING DEPARTMENT

It will be welcome news to those who are interested in the re-organisation and improvement of the standard of Secondary Education of the province that the Senate has given sanction to the scheme outlined in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate to consider the possibility of starting a Teacher's Training Department directly under the University with a view to provide for facilities for students preparing for the B. T. Degree and arrange for special courses of lectures, including vacation courses, on methods of teaching in selected subjects.

In moving the resolution for acceptance by the Senate the Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart pointed out that the three existing training colleges in the province, of which one was meant for women students alone, were insufficient to meet the ever-growing demand for admission into the training colleges. But as it was not possible for the University at the present stage, to open a complete B. T. Training classe, they should take up the second best course and make arrangements for short and vacation courses. This would in no way prejudice, Dr. Urquhart was certain, the standard of the B. T. Degree; on the other hand, the scheme would yield very good results specially in view of the new Matriculation Regulations that would soon come into force.

The Vice-Chancellor observed that criticisms have of late been heard that there was no adequate supply of trained teachers in our high schools, and education had suffered in consequence. The University was now, therefore, going to take the definite step for providing trained teachers for employment in high schools. In course of time the Senate would be approached to consider the advisability of opening a full-fledged Education Department.

The scheme which has been accepted for five years at present will provide special training in the method of teaching particular subjects, *e.g.*, English, Bengali, Science, Elementary Hygiene, History and Geography. - The necessity of this training will be considerably great in view of the fact that in future all subjects, except English, will be taught in schools through the medium of Vernacular. The Committee therefore rightly recommends that the University ought to provide facilities for training an adequate number of teachers for the purpose. According to future recommendations of the Committee, the Short Course will include two terms of one month each, one in summer and

the other in winter, to be decided finally by the Syndicate which will also take necessary steps to give effect to the scheme from July next.

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## XXVI. LAW COLLEGE GOVERNING BODY

The following gentlemen have been nominated representatives of the Faculty of Law on the Governing Body the University Law College for the year 1935-36 :—

Birajmohan Majumdar, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Sir Z. R. Zahid Suhrawardy, KT., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-law.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee, KT., M.A.,  
B.L.

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## XXVII. BIRTH-DAY HONOURS

Two names closely associated with the University figure prominently in the list of Honours conferred on the occasion of the last birth-day of His Majesty the King Emperor. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Leonard Wilford James Costello, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, has been honoured with a Knighthood. Sir Leonard is one of our distinguished Fellows, and is also a member of the Faculty of Law.

The unique distinction of Mahamahopadhyaya has been conferred on Pandit Sakalanarayan Sarma. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Sakalanarayan Sarma is a distinguished teacher in the Departments of Post-Graduate Teaching in Sanskrit and Indian Vernaculars in our University.

We offer our hearty congratulations on both the recipients of the high distinctions.

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## XXVIII. AN APPRECIATION

The following letter has been received by the Registrar, University of Calcutta, from Prof. E. T. Whittaker of the Mathematical Institute of Edinburgh. The letter speaks for itself and is reproduced for the perusal of the readers of the *Calcutta Review* :—

MATHEMATICAL INSTITUTE  
16, CHAMBERS STREET, EDINBURGH,  
1935, March 27.

To

THE REGISTRAR,  
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the copy of "Introduction to the Geometry of the Fourfold" by Surendra Mohan Ganguli, D.Sc., which you have most kindly sent me, and I would ask you to convey to the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate and to the author my most grateful thanks for it.

Since its arrival, I have been reading it with much appreciation and admiration. The plan is excellent, the exposition clear, and the author well acquainted with the original memoir in which the subject has been developed. It is in my opinion worthy of high recommendation.

Yours faithfully,

E. T. WHITTAKER.

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## XXIX. NOTIFICATION

*Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada Kinkhede Lectureship for 1936 :  
Nagpur University*

Applications are invited for the Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Dada Kinkhedi Lectureship for 1936. The Lecturer will be required to deliver a series of not less than three lectures in English (unless permitted otherwise) in or about November, 1936, on the following subject *viz.* "**Possibilities of Educated Men settling in the countryside and promoting Small Industries subsidiary to Agriculture, with special reference to the Needs and Conditions of the C. P. and Berar.**" The honorarium payable for the lectures is Rs. 1,000. The copyright in the lectures shall vest in the University, which shall publish the lectures. Each candidate shall—(i) state in his application the number of lectures he proposes to deliver, and (ii) submit twelve copies of a synopsis of his proposed lectures and, if he so pleases, an equal number of copies of his introductory lecture. All applications must reach the Registrar, Nagpur University, not later than 17th June, 1935.



